C. W. Frederickson.

E Libris Rich.d Warner

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Jan. 1790

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY,

FROM THE

CLOSE of the ELEVENTH

TO THE

COMMENCEMENT of the EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

TWO DISSERTATIONS.

I. ON THE ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION IN EUROPE.
II. ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND.

VOL. II.

By THOMAS WARTON, B. D.

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OF

ENGLISH POETRY.

SECT. I.

IF Chaucer had not exiſted, the compoſitions of John Gower, the next poet in ſucceſſion, would alone have been ſufficient to reſcue the reigns of Edward the third and Richard the ſecond from the imputation of barbariſm. His education was liberal and uncircumſcribed, his courſe of reading extenſive, and he tempered his ſeverer ſtudies with a knowledge of life. By a critical cultivation of his native language, he laboured to reform its irregularities, and to eſtabliſh an Engliſh ſtyle[a]. In theſe reſpects he reſembled his friend and cotemporary Chaucer[b]: but he participated no conſiderable portion of Chaucer's ſpirit, imagination, and

[a] See ſupr. vol. i. pag. 342.

[b] It is certain that they both lived and wrote together. But I have conſidered Chaucer firſt, among other reaſons hereafter given, as Gower ſurvived him. Chaucer died October 25, 1400, aged 72 years. Gower died, 1402.

elegance.

elegance. His language is tolerably perſpicuous, and his verſification often harmonious: but his poetry is of a grave and ſententious turn. He has much good ſenſe, ſolid reflection, and uſeful obſervation. But he is ſerious and didactic on all occaſions: he preſerves the tone of the ſcholar and the moraliſt on the moſt lively topics. For this reaſon he ſeems to have been characteriſed by Chaucer with the appellation of the MORALL Gower[c]. But his talent is not confined to Engliſh verſe only. He wrote alſo in Latin; and copied Ovid's elegiacs with ſome degree of purity, and with fewer falſe quantities and corrupt phraſes, than any of our countrymen had yet exhibited ſince the twelfth century.

Gower's capital work, conſiſting of three parts, only the laſt of which properly furniſhes matter for our preſent enquiry, is entitled SPECULUM MEDITANTIS, VOX CLAMANTIS, CONFESSIO AMANTIS. It was finiſhed, at leaſt the third part, in the year 1393[d]. The SPECULUM MEDITANTIS, or the *Mirrour of Meditation*, is written in French rhymes, in ten books[e]. This tract, which was never printed, diſplays the general nature of virtue and vice, enumerates the felicities of conjugal fidelity by examples ſelected from various authors, and deſcribes the path which the reprobate ought to purſue for the recovery of the divine grace. The VOX CLAMANTIS, or the *Voice of one crying in the Wilderneſs*, which was alſo never printed, contains ſeven books of Latin elegiacs. This work is chiefly hiſtorical, and is little more than a metrical chronicle of the inſurrection of the commons in the reign of king Richard the ſecond. The beſt and moſt beautiful manuſcript of it is in the library of All Souls college at Oxford; with a dedication in Latin verſe, addreſſed by the author,

[c] Troil. Creſſ. ad calc. pag. 333. edit. Urr. ut ſupr.

[d] CONFESS. AMANT. Prol. fol. 1. a. col. 1. Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, by Thomas Berthelette, the xii. daie of March, ann. 1554. folio. This edition is here always cited.

[e] Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. NE. F. 8. 9. And MSS. Fairf. 3.

when

when he was old and blind, to archbishop Arundel[f]. The CONFESSIO AMANTIS, or the *Lover's Confession*, is an English poem, in eight books, first printed by Caxton, in the year 1483. It was written at the command of Richard the second; who meeting our poet Gower rowing on the Thames near London, invited him into the royal barge, and after much conversation requested him to *book some new thing*[g].

This tripartite work is represented by three volumes on Gower's curious tomb in the conventual church of Saint Mary Overee in Southwark, now remaining in its antient state; and this circumstance furnishes me with an obvious opportunity of adding an anecdote relating to our poet's munificence and piety, which ought not to be omitted. Although a poet, he largely contributed to rebuild that church in its present elegant form, and to render it a beautiful pattern of the lighter Gothic architecture: at the same time he founded, at his tomb, a perpetual chantry.

It is on the last of these pieces, the CONFESSIO AMANTIS, that Gower's character and reputation as a poet are almost entirely founded. This poem, which bears no immediate reference to the other two divisions, is a dialogue between a lover and his confessor, who is a priest of Venus, and, like the mystagogue in the PICTURE of Cebes, is called Genius. Here, as if it had been impossible for a lover not to be a good catholic, the ritual of religion is applied to the tender passion, and Ovid's Art of Love is blended with the breviary. In the course of the confession, every evil affection of the human heart, which may tend to impede the progress or counteract the success of love, is scientifically subdivided; and its fatal effects exemplified by a variety of apposite stories, extracted

[f] MSS. Num. 26. It occurs more than once in the Bodleian library; and, I believe, often in private hands. There is a fine manuscript of it in the British Museum. It was written in the year 1397, as appears by the following line, MSS. Bodl. 294.
Hos ego BIS DENO Ricardi regis in anno.

[g] TO THE READER, in Berthlette's edition. From the PROLOGUE. See supr. vol. i. p. 539. Notes.

 from

from classics and chronicles. The poet often introduces or recapitulates his matter in a few couplets of Latin long and short verses. This was in imitation of Boethius.

This poem is strongly tinctured with those pedantic affectations concerning the passion of love, which the French and Italian poets of the fourteenth century borrowed from the troubadours of Provence, and which I have above examined at large. But the writer's particular model appears more immediately to have been John of Meun's celebrated ROMAUNT DE LA ROSE. He has, however, seldom attempted to imitate the picturesque imageries, and expressive personifications, of that exquisite allegory. His most striking pourtraits, which yet are conceived with no powers of creation, nor delineated with any fertility of fancy, are IDLENESS, AVARICE, MICHERIE or Thieving, and NEGLIGENCE, the secretary of SLOTH [h]. Instead of boldly cloathing these qualities with corporeal attributes, aptly and poetically imagined, he coldly yet sensibly describes their operations, and enumerates their properties. What Gower wanted in invention, he supplied from his common-place book; which appears to have been stored with an inexhaustible fund of instructive maxims, pleasant narrations, and philosophical definitions. It seems to have been his object to croud all his erudition into this elaborate performance. Yet there is often some degree of contrivance and art in his manner of introducing and adapting subjects of a very distant nature, and which are totally foreign to his general design.

In the fourth book, our confessor turns chemist; and discoursing at large on the Hermetic science, developes its principles, and exposes its abuses, with great penetration [i]. He delivers the doctrines concerning the vegetable, mineral,

[h] Lib. iv. f. 62. a. col. 1. Lib. v. f. 94. a. col. 1. Lib. iv. f. 68. a. col. 1. Lib. v. f. 119. a col. 2.
[i] Lib. iv. f. 76. b. col. 2.

and

and animal ſtones, to which Falſtaffe alludes in Shakeſpeare[k], with amazing accuracy and perſpicuity[l]; although this doctrine was adopted from ſyſtems then in vogue, as we ſhall ſee below. In another place he applies the Argonautic expedition in ſearch of the golden fleece, which he relates at length, to the ſame viſionary philoſophy[m]. Gower very probably conducted his aſſociate Chaucer into theſe profound myſteries, which had been juſt opened to our countrymen by the books of Roger Bacon[n].

In the ſeventh book, the whole circle of the Ariſtotelic philoſophy is explained; which our lover is deſirous to learn, ſuppoſing that the importance and variety of its ſpeculations might conduce to ſooth his anxieties by diverting and engaging his attention. Such a diſcuſſion was not very likely to afford him much conſolation: eſpecially, as hardly a ſingle ornamental digreſſion is admitted, to decorate a field naturally ſo deſtitute of flowers. Almoſt the only one is the following deſcription of the chariot and crown of the ſun; in which the Arabian ideas concerning precious ſtones are interwoven with Ovid's fictions and the claſſical mythology.

Of goldè gliſtrende[o], ſpoke and whele,
The Sonne his Carte[p] hath, faire and wele;
In which he ſit, and is croned
With bright ſtones environed:
Of which, if that I ſpeke ſhall
There be[q] tofore, inſpeciall[r],
Set in the front of his corone,
Thre ſtones, which no perſone

[k] Falſtaffe mentions a philoſopher's or chemiſt's *two ſtones*. See P. Henr. iv. Act iii. Sc. 2. Our author abundantly confirms doctor Warburton's explication of this paſſage, which the reſt of the commentators do not ſeem to have underſtood. See Aſhm. Theatr. Chemic. p. 484. edit. Lond. 1652. 4to.

[l] Ibid. f. 77. a. col. 1.

[m] Lib. v. f. 101. a. ſeq.

[n] See ſupr. vol. 1. p. 425.

[o] Gliſtering.

[p] Chariot.

[q] Before.

[r] Above all.

Hath

Hath upon erth: and the firſt is
By name cleped Leucachatis;
That other two cleped thus
Aſtroites and Ceraunus,
In his corone; and alſo byhynde,
By olde bokes, as I fynd,—
There ben of worthy ſtones three,
Set eche of hem in his degree;
Whereof a Criſtelle is that one,
Which that corone is ſett upon:
The ſecond is an Adamant;
The third is noble and avenant [s],
Which cleped is Idriades—
And over this yet natheleſs [t],
Upon the ſidis of the werke,
After the writynge of the clerke [u],
There ſitten five ſtones mo [v];
The Smaragdine is one of tho [x],
Jaſpis, and Helitropius,
And Vandides, and Jacinctus.
Lo! thus the corone is beſet,
Whereof it ſhineth wel the bet [y].
And in ſuch wiſe, his light to ſpreade,
Sit, with his diademe on heade,
The Sonne, ſhinende in his carte:
And for to lead him ſwithe [z] and ſmarte,
After the bright daiès lawe,
There ben ordained for to drawe
Four hors his chare, and him withall,
Whereoff the names tell I ſhall:
Eritheus the firſt is hote [a],
The whiche is redde, and ſhineth hote;

[s] Beautiful. [t] Still farther. [u] The philoſopher. [v] More. [x] Them.
[y] Much better. [z] Swift. [a] Named.

The

The ſecond Acteos the bright,
Lampes the third courſer hight,
And Philogeus is the ferth [b],
That bringen light unto this erth
And gone ſo ſwift upon the heven, &c [c].

Our author cloſes this courſe of the Ariſtotelic philoſophy with a ſyſtem of politics [d]: not taken from Ariſtotle's genuine treatiſe on that ſubject, but from the firſt chapter of a ſpurious compilation entitled, SECRETUM SECRETORUM ARISTOTELIS [e], addreſſed under the name of Ariſtotle to his pupil Alexander the Great, and printed at Bononia in the year 1516. A work, treated as genuine, and explained with a learned gloſs, by Roger Bacon [f]: and of the higheſt reputation in Gower's age, as it was tranſcribed, and illuſtrated with a commentary, for the uſe of king Edward the third, by his chaplain Walter de Millemete, prebendary of the collegiate church of Glaſeney in Cornwall [g]. Under this head, our author takes an opportunity of giving advice to a weak yet amiable prince, his patron king Richard the ſecond, on a ſubject of the moſt difficult and delicate nature, with much freedom and dignity. It might alſo be proved, that Gower, through this detail of the ſciences, copied in many other articles the SECRETUM SECRETORUM; which is a ſort of an abridgement of the Ariſtotelic philoſophy, filled with many Arabian innovations and abſurdities, and enriched with an appendix concerning the choice of wines, phlebotomy, juſtice, public notaries, tournaments, and phyſiognomy, rather than from the Latin tranſlations of Ariſtotle. It is evident, that he copied from this work the doctrine of the three chemical

[b] Fourth. [c] Lib. vii. f. 145. b. col. 1. 2.
[d] Lib. vii. f. 151. a. ~ 145. b
[e] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 132. Notes, x.
[f] See Wood, Hiſt. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 15. col. 1.
[g] Tanner Bibl. p. 527. It is cited by Bradwardine, a famous Engliſh theologiſt, in his grand work de CAUSA DEI. He died 1349.

ſtones,

ſtones, mentioned above[h]. That part of our author's aſtronomy, in which he ſpeaks of the magician Nectabanus inſtructing Alexander the Great, when a youth, in the knowledge of the fifteen ſtars, and their reſpective plants and precious ſtones, appropriated to the operations of natural magic[i], ſeems to be borrowed from Calliſthenes, the fabulous writer of the life of Alexander[k]. Yet many wonderful inventions, which occur in this romance of Alexander, are alſo to be found in the SECRETUM SECRETORUM: particularly the fiction of Alexander's Stentorian horn, mentioned above, which was heard at the diſtance of ſixty miles[l], and of which Kircher has given a curious repreſentation in his PHONURGIA, copied from an antient picture of this gigantic inſtrument, belonging to a manuſcript of the SECRETUM SECRETORUM, preſerved in the Vatican library[m].

It is pretended by the myſtic writers, that Ariſtotle in his old age reviewed his books, and digeſted his philoſophy into one ſyſtem or body, which he ſent, in the form of an epiſtle, to Alexander. This is the ſuppoſititious tract of which I have been ſpeaking; and it is thus deſcribed by Lydgate, who has tranſlated a part of it.

Title of this boke LAPIS PHILOSOPHORUM,
Namyd alſo DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM,
Of philoſophres SECRETUM SECRETORUM.---

[h] There is an Epiſtle under the name of Alexander the Great, *De Lapide Philoſophorum*, among the SCRIPTORES CHEMICI *artis auriferæ*, Basil. 1593. tom. i. And edit. 1610. See below, *Note* [k].

I have mentioned a Latin romance of Alexander's life, as printed by Frederick Corſellis, about 1468. ſupr. vol. i. p. 131. On examination, that impreſſion is ſaid to be finiſhed Decemb. 17, 1468. Unluckily, the ſeventeenth day of December was a Sunday that year. A manifeſt proof that the name of Corſellis was forged.

[i] Lib. vii. f. 148. a. ſeq.

[k] Or from fictitious books attributed to Alexander the Great, *De ſeptem Herbis ſeptem Planetarum*, &c. See Fabric. Bibl. Gr. tom. ii. p. 206. See ſupr. vol. i. p. 129. And p. 223. Notes, f. Calliſthenes is mentioned twice in this poem, Lib. vii. f. 139. b. col. 2. And vi. f. 139. b. col. 2. See a chapter of Calliſthenes and Alexander, in Lydgate's FALL OF PRINCES, B. iv. ch. 1. ſeq. fol. 99. edit. ut infr.

[l] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 132.

[m] Pag. 140. See SECRETUM SECRETORUM, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. D. i. 5. Cap. penult. lib. 5.

The

The which booke direct to the kyng
Alysaundre, both in the werre and pees [n],
Lyke [o] his request and royall commanding,
Fulle accomplishid by *Aristotiles*.
Feeble of age. - - - - -

Then follows a rubric "How Aristotile declareth to kynge "Alysandre of the stonys [p]." It was early translated into French prose [q], and printed in English, "The SECRET OF "ARISTOTYLE, with the GOVERNALE OF PRINCES and every "maner of estate, with rules for helth of body and soul, very "gode to teche children to rede English, newly translated "out of French, and emprented by Robert and William "Copland, 1528 [r]." This work will occur again under Occleve and Lidgate. There is also another forgery consecrated with the name of Aristotle, and often quoted by the astrologers, which Gower might have used: it is DE REGIMINIBUS COELESTIBUS, which had been early translated from Arabic into Latin [s].

Considered in a general view, the CONFESSIO AMANTIS may be pronounced to be no unpleasing miscellany of those shorter tales which delighted the readers of the middle age. Most of these are now forgotten, together with the voluminous chronicles in which they were recorded. The book which appears to have accommodated our author with the largest quantity of materials in this article, was probably a chronicle entitled PANTHEON, or MEMORIÆ SECULORUM,

[n] Peace. [o] According to.

[p] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. B. 24. K. 53. Part of this manuscript is printed by Ashmole, THEATR. CHEMIC. ut supr. p. 397. See Julius Bartolocc. tom. i. Bibl. Rabbinic. p. 475. And Joann. a Lent, Theol. Judaic. p. 6.

[q] Mém. de Litt. tom. xvii. p. 737. 4-to.

[r] Octavo. A work called Aristotle's POLITIQUES, or DISCOURSES OF GOVERNMENT, from the French of Louis le Roy, printed by Adam Islip, in folio, in the year 1527, and dedicated to sir Robert Sidney, is Aristotle's genuine work. In Gresham college library there is "Alexandri M. Epistolæ ad preceptorem Aristotelem, *Anglice factæ*." MSS. 52. But I believ it Occleve's or Lydgate's poem on the subject, hereafter mentioned.

[s] Hotting. Bibl. Orient. p. 255. See Pic. Mirandulan. contra Astrolog. lib. i. p. 284.

 compiled

compiled in Latin, partly in prose and partly in verse, by Godfrey of Viterbo, a chaplain and notary to three German emperours, who died in the year 1190[t]. It commences, according to the established practice of the historians of this age, with the creation of the world, and is brought down to the year 1186. It was first printed at Basil, in the year 1569[u]. The learned Muratori has not scrupled to insert the five last sections of this universal history in the seventh tome of his writers on Italy[w]. The subject of this work, to use the laborious compiler's own expressions, is the whole Old and New Testament; and all the emperours and kings, which have existed from the beginning of the world to his own times: of whom the origin, end, names, and atchievements, are commemorated[x]. The authors which our chronicler professes to have consulted for the gentile story, are only Josephus, Dion Cassius, Strabo, Orosius, Hegesippus[y], Suetonius, Solinus, and Julius Africanus: among which, not one of the purer Roman historians occurs. Gower also seems to have used another chronicle written by the same Godfrey, never printed, called SPECULUM REGUM, or the MIRROUR OF KINGS, which is almost as multifarious as the last; containing a genealogy of all the potentates, Trojan and German, from Noah's flood to the reign of the emperour Henry the sixth, according to the chronicles of the venerable Bede, Eusebius, and Ambrosius[z]. There are besides, two ancient

[t] See sup. vol. i. p. 351. Notes, h. And Jacob. Quetif. i. p. 740.

[u] In folio. Again, among Scriptor. de Reb. Germanicis, by Pistorius. Francof. fol. 1584. And Hanov. 1613. Lastly in a new edit. of Pistorius's collection by Struvius, Ratisbon. 1726. fol. There is a chronicle, I believe sometimes confounded with Godfrey's PANTHEON, called the PANTALEONE, from the creation to the year 1162, about which time it was compiled by the Benedictine monks of Saint Pantaleon at Cologn, printed by Eccard, with a German translation, in the first volume of SCRIPTORES MEDII ÆVI, p. 683. 945. It was continued to the year 1237, by Godfridus, a Pantaleonist monk. This continuation, which has considerable merit as a history, is extant in Freherus, Rer. Germanicar. tom. i. edit. Struvian. p. 335.

[w] P. 346. [x] In proem.

[y] See supr. vol. i. p. 217.

[z] See Lambecc. ii. p. 274.

collectors

collectors of marvellous and delectable occurrences to which our author is indebted, Caſſiodorus and Iſidorus. Theſe are mentioned as two of the chroniclers which Caxton uſed in compiling his CRONICLES OF ENGLAND[a]. Caſſiodorus[b] wrote, at the command of the Gothic king Theodoric, a work named CHRONICON BREVE, commencing with our firſt parents, and deduced to the year 519, chiefly deduced from Euſebius's eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, the chronicles of Proſper and Jerom, and Aurelius Victor's Origin of the Roman nation[c]. An Italian tranſlation by Lodovico Dolce was printed in 1561[d]. Iſidorus, called Hiſpalenſis, cited by Davie and Chaucer[e], in the ſeventh century, framed from the ſame author a CRONICON, from Adam to the time of the emperor Heraclius, firſt printed in the year 1477, and tranſlated into Italian under the title of CRONICA D' ISIDORO, ſo ſoon after as the year 1480[f].

Theſe comprehenſive ſyſtems of all ſacred and profane events, which in the middle ages multiplied to an exceſſive degree, ſuperſeded the uſe of the claſſics and other eſtabliſhed authors, whoſe materials they gave in a commodious abridgement, and in whoſe place, by ſelecting thoſe ſtories only which ſuited the taſte of the times, they ſubſtituted a more agreeable kind of reading: nor was it by theſe means only, that they greatly contributed to retard the acquiſition of thoſe orna-

[a] Bale, apud Lewis's CAXTON, p. xvii. poſt pref. And in the prologue to the FRUCTUS TEMPORUM, printed at St. Alban's in 1483, one of the authors is "Caſſiodorus of the actys of emperours and "biſhoppys."

[b] See CONFES. AMANT. lib. vii. f. 156. b. col. 1. And our author to king Heary, Urry's Ch. p. 542. v. 330.

[c] It has often been printed. See OPERA Caſſiodori, duobus tomis, Rothomag. 1679. fol.

[d] Compendio di Seſto Ruffo, con la CRONICA DI CASSIODORO, de Fatti de Romani, &c. In Venezia, per il Giolito, 1561. 4-to.

[e] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 230, Notes, u.

[f] Stampata nel Friuli. It is ſometimes called *Chronica* DE SEX MUNDI ÆTATIBUS, IMAGO MUNDI, and ABBREVIATIO TEMPORUM. It was continued by Iſidorus Pacenſis from 610 to 754. This continuation was printed in 1634, fol. Pampelon. Under the title "Epitome Imperatorum "vel Arabum Ephemeridos una cum Hiſ-"paniæ Chronico."

Iſidore has likewiſe left a hiſtory or chronicle of the Goths, copied alſo by our author, from the year 176, to the death of king Siſebut in the year 628. It was early printed. See it in Grotius's COLLECTIO RERUM GOTHICARUM, pag. 707. Amſt. 1655. 8-vo.

ments of ſtyle, and other arts of compoſition, which an attention to the genuine models would have afforded, but by being written without any ideas of elegance, and in the moſt barbarous phraſeology. Yet productive as they were of theſe and other inconvenient conſequences, they were not without their uſe in the rude periods of literature. By gradually weaning the minds of readers from monkiſh legends, they introduced a reliſh for real and rational hiſtory; and kindling an ardour of inquiring into the tranſactions of paſt ages, at length awakened a curioſity to obtain a more accurate and authentic knowledge of important events by ſearching the original authors. Nor are they to be entirely neglected in modern and more poliſhed ages. For, beſides that they contain curious pictures of the credulity and ignorance of our anceſtors, they frequently preſerve facts tranſcribed from books which have not deſcended to poſterity. It is extremely probable, that the plan on which they are all conſtructed, that of deducing a perpetual hiſtory from the creation to the writer's age, was partly taken from Ovid's Metamorphoſes, and partly from the Bible.

In the mean time there are three hiſtories of a leſs general nature, which Gower ſeems more immediately to have followed in ſome of his tales. Theſe are Colonna's Romance of Troy, the Romance of Sir Lancelot, and the GESTA ROMANORUM.

From Colonna's Romance, which he calls *The Tale of Troie*, *The Boke of Troie*[g], and ſometimes *The Cronike*[h], he has taken

[g] Of Palamedes and Nauplius, "The *boke of Troie whoſo rede.*" Lib. ii. fol. 52. b. col. 2. The ſtory of Jaſon and Medea, "whereof the tale in ſpeciall is in the "*boke of Troie* writte." Lib. v. fol. 101. a. col. 2. Of the Syrens ſeen by Ulyſſes, "which in the *tale of Troie* I finde." Lib. i. f. 10. b. col. 1. Of the eloquence of Ulyſſes, "As in the *boke of Troie* is "funde." Lib. vii. f. 150. a. col. 1. &c. &c. See ſupr. vol. 1. p. 227.

[h] In the ſtory of the Theban chief Capaneus, "This knight as the CRONIKE "ſeine." Lib. 1. f. 18. b. col. 2. Of Achilles and Teucer, "In a CRONIQUE I "fynde thus." Lib. iii. fol. 62. a. col. 1. Of Peleus and Phocus, "As the CRONIQUE "ſeithe." Lib. iii. f. 61. b. col. 1. Of Ulyſſes and Penelope, "In a CRONIQUE "I finde writte." Lib. iv. f. 63. b. col. 2. He mentions alſo the CRONIQUE for tales of other nations. "In the CRONIQUE "as

all that relates to the Trojan and Grecian ſtory, or, in Milton's language, THE TALE OF TROY DIVINE. This piece was firſt printed at Cologne in the year 1477[i]. At Colonia an Italian tranſlation appeared in the ſame year, and one at Venice in 1481. It was tranſlated into Italian ſo early as 1324, by Philipp Ceffi a Florentine[k]. By ſome writers it is called the Britiſh as well as the Trojan ſtory[l]; and there are manuſcripts in which it is entitled the hiſtory of Medea and Jaſon[m]. In moſt of the Italian tranſlations it is called LA STORIA DELLA GUERRA DI TROJA. This hiſtory is repeatedly called the TROIE BOKE by Lydgate, who tranſlated it into Engliſh verſe[n].

As to the romance of ſir Lancelot, our author, among others on the ſubject, refers to a volume of which he was the hero: perhaps that of Robert Borron, altered ſoon afterwards by Godefroy de Leigny, under the title of le ROMAN DE LA CHARETTE, and printed with additions at Paris by Antony Verard, in the year 1494.

"as I finde, Cham was he which firſt the "letters ſonde, and wrote in Hebrew "with his honde, of naturall philoſophie." Lib. iv. fol. 76. a col. 1. For Darius's four queſtions, Lib. vii. fol. 151. b. col. 1. For Perillus's brazen bull. f. &c. &c. See below.

[i] In quarto. HISTORIA TROJANA, a *Guidone de Columpna Meſſanenſi Judice edita* 1287. *Impreſſa per Arnoldum Therburnem Coloniæ commorantem*, 1477. *Die penult. Nov.* I am miſtaken in what I have ſaid, ſupr. vol. i. p. 126. There is another edition at Oxford by Rood, 1480, 4-to. Two at Straſburgh 1486, and 1489. fol. Ames calls him Columella. Hiſt. Print. p. 204.

[k] See Haym's Bibl. Italian. p. 35. edit. Venez. 1741. 4-to. I am not ſure whether Haym's Italian tranſlation in the year 1477 is not the Latin of that year. They are both in quarto, and by Arnoldo Terbone. A Florence edition of the tranſlation in 1610, quarto, is ſaid to be moſt ſcarce.

[l] Sandius and Hallerwood, in their Supplement to Voſſius's Latin Hiſtorians, ſuppoſe Colonna's Trojan and Britiſh chronicle the ſame. In Theodoric Engelhuſen's CHRONICA CHRONICORUM, compiled about the year 1420, where the author ſpeaks of Troy, he cites Colonna *de Bello Trojano*. In the Preface he mentions Colonna's CHRONICA BRITANNORUM. See Engelhuſen's firſt edition, Helmſt. 1671, 4-to. Or rather, Scriptor. Brunſvic. Leibnitii, tom. p. 977. See alſo Fabyan and other hiſtorians.

[m] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 138. Notes. It will occur again under Lydgate.

[n] Tragedies of Bochas, B. i. ch. xvi. *How the tranſlatoure wrote a booke of the ſiege of Troy, called* TROYE BOKE. And ib. St. 7. 17. 20. edit. Wayland. fol. xxx. b. xxxi. a. And in Lydg. DESTR. of Troy.

For

For if thou wilt the *bokes* rede
Of LAUNCELOT and other mo,
Then might thou ſeen how it was tho
Of armes, for this wolde atteine
To love, which, withouten peine
Maie not be gette of idleneſs:
And that I take to witneſſe
An *old Cronike* in ſpeciall
The which in to memoriall
Is write for his *loves ſake*,
How that a Knight ſhall undertake [o].

He alludes to a ſtory about ſir Triſtram, which he ſuppoſes to be univerſally known, related in this romance.

In everie mans mouth it is
How Triſtram was of love dronke
With Bele Iſolde, whan this dronke
The drinke which Bragweine him betoke,
Er that kyng Marke, &c [p].

And again, in the aſſembly of lovers.

Ther was Triſtram which was beloved
With Bele Iſolde, and Lancelot
Stood with Gonnor [q], and Galahot
With his lady [r]. - - - -

The oldeſt edition of the GESTA ROMANORUM, a manuſcript of which I have ſeen in almoſt Saxon characters, I believe to be this. *Incipiunt Hyſtorie* NOTABILES, *collecte ex* GESTIS ROMANORUM, *et quibuſdam aliis libris cum applicationibus eorundem* [s].

[o] Lib. iv. f. 74. a. col. 2.
[p] Lib. vi. f. 130. b. col. 2.
[q] Geneura, Arthur's queen.
[r] Lib. viii. f. 188. a. col. 1.
[s] *Princip.* "Pompeius regnavit dives, "&c. *Fin.*" "Quidam vero princeps "nomine Cleonicus, &c. Kariſſimi, iſte "princeps eſt xps, &c. Oſcula blandientis, "&c." It is in folio, in double columns, without initials, pages, ſignatures, or catchwords. ANGLIE is mentioned in chapters, 155. 161.

It

It is without date or place, but supposed by the critics in typographical antiquities to have been printed before or about the year 1473. Then followed a second edition at Louvain by John de Westfalia, with this title: *Ex* GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES *de viciis virtutibusque tractantes cum applicationibus moralisatis et mysticis.* At the end this colophon appears: GESTA ROMANORUM *cum quibusdam aliis historiis eisdem annexis ad moralitates dilucide reducta hic finem habent. Quæ diligenter, correctis aliorum viciis, impressit Joannes de Westfalia, alma in Univers. Louvaniensi*[t]. This edition has twenty-nine chapters more than there are in the former: and the first of these additional chapters is the story of Antiochus, related in our author. It is probably of the year 1473. Another followed soon afterwards, by GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES *moralizatæ per Girardum Lieu. Goudæ*, 1480[u]. The next[v] is at Louvain, GESTA ROMANORUM, *cum applicationibus moralisatis ac mysticis.*—At the end.—*Ex* GESTIS ROMANORUM *cum pluribus applicatis* HYSTORIIS *de virtutibus et vitiis mistice ad intellectum transumptis recollectorii finis. Anno nostræ salutis* 1494. *In die sancti Adriani martyris*[x].

It was one of my reasons for giving these titles and colophons so much at large, that the reader might more fully comprehend the nature and design of a performance which operated so powerfully on the present state of our poetry. Servius says that the Eneis was sometimes called GESTA POPULI ROMANI[y]. Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote about the year 450, mentions a work called the GESTORUM VOLUMEN, which according to custom, was solemnly recited to

[t] *Princip.* "De DILECTIONE, cap. i. "Pompeius regnavit dives valde, &c.— "MORALIZATIO. De MISERICORDIA, "cap. ii." De ADULTERIO, in cap. clxxxi. It is in quarto, with signatures to Kk. The initials are written in red ink. Mr. Farmer of Cambridge has this edition.

[u] In quarto.

[v] But I think there is another Goudæ, 1489. fol.

[x] In quarto. Again, Paris. 1499, quarto. Hagen. 1508. fol. Paris. 1521. octav. And undoubtedly others. It appeared in Dutch so early as the year 1484. fol.

[y] Ad Æneid. vi. 752.

the

the emperour[a]. Here perhaps we may perceive the groundwork of the title.

In this mixture of moralisation and narrative, the GESTA ROMANORUM somewhat resembles the plan of Gower's poem. In the rubric of the story of Julius and the poor knight, our author alludes to this book in the expression, *Hic secundum* GESTA, &c[a]. When he speaks of the emperours of Rome paying reverence to a virgin, he says he found this custom mentioned, "Of Rome among the GESTES olde[b]." Yet he adds, that the GESTES took it from Valerius Maximus. The story of Tarquin and his son Arrous is ushered in with this line, "So as these olde GESTES seyne[c]." The tale of Antiochus, as I have hinted, is in the GESTA ROMANORUM; although for some parts of it Gower was perhaps indebted to Godfrey's PANTHEON abovementioned[d]. The foundation of Shakespeare's story of the three casketts in the MERCHANT OF VENICE, is to be found in this favourite collection: this is likewise in our author, yet in a different form, who cites a *Cronike*[e] for his authority. I make no apology for giving the passage somewhat at large, as the source of this elegant little

[a] "Imperatori de more recitatum," Hist. xxix. i. In the title of the SAINT ALBANS CHRONICLE, printed 1483, *Titus Livyus de* GESTIS ROMANORUM is recited.

[a] Lib. viii. f. 153. a. col. 1. And in other rubrics. In the rubric there is also GESTA ALEXANDRI, lib. iii. f. 61. a. col. 1. And in the story of Sardanapalus, "These olde GESTES tellen us," lib. iii. 167. a. col. 1.

[b] Lib. v. f. 118. a. col. 2.

[c] Lib. vii. f. 169. a. col. 1.

[d] See supr. vol i. p. 150. Notes, h.

[e] He refers to a CRONIKE for other stories, as the story of Lucius king of Rome, and the king's fool. "In a CRONIKE it telleth us." Lib. vii. f. 165. a. col. 2. Of the translation of the Roman empire to the Lombards. "This made an emperour anon, whose name, the CHRONICLE telleth was Othes." Prol. fol. 5. b. col. 2. Of Constantine's leprosy. "For in CRONIKE thus I rede." Lib. iii. f. 46. b. col. 2. For which he also cites "the *bokes* of *Latine*," ib. f. 45. a. col. 1. In the story of Caius Fabricius, "In a CRONIQUE I fynde thus." Lib. vii. f. 157. a. col. 2. Of the soothsayer and the emperor of Rome. "As in CRONIKE it is witholde."—"Which the CRONIKE hath autorized." Lib. vii. f. 154. b. col. 1. f. 155. b. col. 2. Of the emperour's son who serves the Soldan of Persia: "There was as the CRONIQUE seith, an emperour, &c." Lib. ii. f. 41. b. col. 1. For the story of Carmidotoirus consul of Rome, he refers to these *olde bokes*. Lib. vii. f. 157. b. col. 2. &c. &c.

apologue,

apologue, which ſeems to be of eaſtern invention, has lately ſo much employed the ſearches of the commentators on Shakeſpeare, and that the circumſtances of the ſtory, as it is told by Gower, may be compared with thoſe with which it appears in other books.

The poet is ſpeaking of a king whoſe officers and courtiers complained, that after a long attendance, they had not received adequate rewards, and preferments due to their ſervices. The king, who was no ſtranger to their complaints, artfully contrives a ſcheme to prove whether this defect proceded from his own want of generoſity, or their want of diſcernment.

Anone he lette two cofres [f] make,
Of one ſemblance, of one make,
So lyche [g], that no life thilke throwe
That one maie fro that other knowe:
Thei were into his chambre brought,
But no man wote why they be brought,
And netheles the kynge hath bede,
That thei be ſette in privie ſtede,
As he that was of wiſdome ſligh,
Whan he therto his tyme ſigh [h],
All privilyche [i], that none it wiſte,
His own hondes that one chiſt [k]
Of *fine golde* and of *fine perie* [l],
(The which oute of his treſurie
Was take) anone he filde full;
That other cofre of *ſtrawe* and *mulle* [m],
With *ſtones mened*, he filde alſo:
Thus be thei full both tho.

[f] Coffers. Chefts.
[g] Like.
[h] Saw.
[i] Privily.
[k] Cheſt.
[l] Gems.
[m] Rubbiſh.

The king aſſembles his courtiers, and ſhewing them the two cheſts, acquaints them, that one of theſe is filled with gold and jewels; that they ſhould chuſe which of the two they liked beſt, and that the contents ſhould inſtantly be diſtributed among them all. A knight by common conſent is appointed to chuſe for them, who fixes upon the cheſt filled with ſtraw and ſtones.

This kynge then in the ſame ſtede[n],
Anone that other cofre undede,
Whereas thei ſawen grete richeſſe
Wile more than thei couthen geſſe.
" Lo, ſaith the kynge, now maie ye ſee
" That there is no default in mee:
" Forthy[o], myſelf I will acquite,
" And beareth your own wite
" Of that fortune hath you refuſed[p]."

It muſt be confeſſed, that there is a much greater and a more beautiful variety of incidents in this ſtory as it is related in the GESTA ROMANORUM, which Shakeſpeare has followed, than in Gower: and was it not demonſtrable, that this compilation preceded our author's age by ſome centuries, one would be tempted to conclude, that Gower's ſtory was the original fable in its ſimple unimproved ſtate. Whatever was the caſe, it is almoſt certain that one ſtory produced the other.

A tranſlation into Engliſh of the GESTA ROMANORUM was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, without date. In the year 1577, one Richard Robinſon publiſhed *A Record of ancient* Hyſtoryes, *in Latin* GESTA ROMANORUM, *peruſed, corrected, and*

[n] Place.
[o] Therefore.
[p] Lib. v. f. 86. a. col. 1. ſeq. The ſtory which follows is ſomewhat ſimilar, in which the emperor Frederick places before two beggars two paſties, one filled with capons, the other with florins. ibid. b. col. 2.

bettered

bettered, by R. Robinson, London, 1577[q]. Of this translation there were six impressions before the year 1601[r]. The later editions, both Latin and English, differ considerably from a manuscript belonging to the British Museum[s], which contains not only the story of the CASKETTS in Shakespeare's MERCHANT of VENICE, but that of the JEW'S BOND in the same play[t]. I cannot exactly ascertain the age of this piece, which has many fictitious and fabulous facts intermixed with true history; nor have I been able to discover the name of its compiler.

It appears to me to have been formed on the model of Valerius Maximus, the favourite classic of the monks. It is quoted and commended as a true history, among many histo-

[q] In twelves. See among the Royal Manuscripts, Brit. Mus. "Richard Robinson's Eupolemia, Archippus and Panoplia: being an account of his Patrons and Benefactions, &c. 1603." See fol. 5. MSS. Reg. 18 A. lxvi. This R. Robinson, I believe, published *Part of the harmony of king David's harp*. A translation of the first twenty one psalms, for J. Wolfe, 1582. 4-to. A translation of Leland's ASSERTIO ARTHURI, for the same, 1582. 4to. *The auncient order societie, &c. of prince Arthure, and his knightly armory of the round table*, in verse, for the same, 1583, 4to.

[r] There is an edition, in black letter, so late as 1689.

[s] MSS. Harl. 2270. 1. See ibid. cap. xcix. for this story. Tit. "*Liber Asceticus cui titulus* Gesta Romanorum, *cum* Reductionibus *sive* Moralitatibus *eorundem*." There is an English translation, ibid. MSS. Harl. 7333. This has the *Jew's bond* and the *Casketts*. In the same library there is a large collection of legendary tales in different hands, written on parchment, 8-vo. MSS. Harl. 2316. One of these is, "De vera amicitia, et de Passione Christi: Narratio a Petro Alphonso." 18. fol. 8. b. The history of the two friends here related, is told more at large in the GESTA ROMANORUM, where the friends are two knights. Peter Alphonsus lived about 1110. This tale, I think, is Lydgate's *fabula duorum mercatorum*, MSS. Harl. 2251. 33. fol. 56. "In Egipt whilom, &c." See also 2255. 17. fol. 72. Manuscripts of these GESTA occur thrice in the Bodleian library. MSS. Bodl. B. 3. 10. Ibid. super O. 1. Art. 17. And Hyper. Bodl. (Cod. Grav.) B. 55. 3. viz. *Narrationes breves e* GESTIS ROMANORUM *et aliorum*. But this last seems rather a defloration. In Hereford cathedral, 73. In Worcester cathedral, 80. In (late) Burscough's (rector of Totness) MSS. Cod. 82. 1. In (late) Sir Symonds D'Ewes's MSS. Cod. 150. 2. In Trinity college Dublin, G. 326. At Oxford, Saint John's college twice, C. 31. 2. G. 41. Magdalen college, twice, Cod. Lat. 13. 60. Lincoln college Libr. Theol. 60. See what is said of *Gesta*, supr. vol. i. p. 74. Among the manuscript books written by Lapus de Castellione, a Florentine civilian, and a great translator from Greek into Latin, about the year 1350, Balusius mentions *De Origine Urbis Romæ, et de Gestis Romanorum*. What this piece is I cannot ascertain. Apud Fabric. Bibl. Med. Inf. Latinitat. iv. 722. Compare de Gestis Imperatorum Liber, MSS. Harl. 5259. i.

[t] Ch. xlviii.

rians of credit, ſuch as Joſephus, Oroſius, Bede, and Euſebius, by Herman Korner, a dominican friar of Lubec, who wrote a CHRONICA NOVELLA, or hiſtory of the world, in the year 1435[t].

In ſpeaking of our author's ſources, I muſt not omit a book tranſlated by the unfortunate Antony Widville, firſt earl of Rivers, chiefly with a view of proving its early popularity. It is the *Dictes or Sayings of Philoſophres*, which lord Rivers tranſlated from the French of William de Thignonville, provoſt of the city of Paris about the year 1408, entitled *Les dictes moraux des philoſophes, les dictes des ſages et les ſecrets d' Ariſtote*[u]. The Engliſh tranſlation was printed by Caxton, in the year 1477. Gower refers to this tract, which firſt exiſted in Latin, more than once; and it is moſt probable, that he conſulted the Latin original[v].

It is pleaſant to obſerve the ſtrange miſtakes which Gower, a man of great learning, and the moſt general ſcholar of his age, has committed in this poem, concerning books which he never ſaw, his violent anachroniſms, and miſrepreſentations of the moſt common facts and characters. He mentions the Greek poet Menander, as one of the firſt hiſtorians, or "firſt enditours of the olde cronike," together with Eſdras, Solinus, Joſephus, Claudius Salpicius, Termegis, Pandulfe, Frigidilles, Ephiloquorus, and Pandas. It is extraordinary that Moſes ſhould not here be mentioned, in preference to Eſdras. Solinus is ranked ſo high, becauſe he recorded nothing but wonders[x]; and Joſephus, on account of his ſubject, had long been placed almoſt on a level with the bible.

[t] See Eccard's Corp. Hiſtor. tom. ii. p. 432.—1343. Lipſ. 1723. fol.

[u] See Mem. de Litt. xvii. 754. 4to.

[v] Among theſe other "*tales wiſe of philoſophers* in this wiſe I rede, &c." Lib. vii. f. 143. a. col. 1. f. 142. b. col. 2. &c. See Walpole's Cat. royal and noble authors. There is another tranſlation, done in 1450, dedicated to ſir John Faſtolfe, knight, by his ſon in law *Stevyn Scrope Squyer*. MSS. Harl. 2265. William de Thignonville is here ſaid to have tranſlated this book into French for the uſe of king Charles the ſixth.

[x] Our author has a ſtory from Solinus concerning a monſtrous bird, lib. iii. f. 62. b. col. 2. See ſupr. vol. i. p. 102. Notes, o.

He

He is ſeated on the firſt pillar in Chaucer's HOUSE OF FAME. His Jewiſh hiſtory, tranſlated into Latin by Rufinus in the fourth century, had given riſe to many old poems and romances[y]: and his MACCABAICS, or hiſtory of the ſeven Maccabees martyred with their father Eleazar under the perſecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, a ſeparate work, tranſlated alſo by Rufinus, produced the JUDAS MACCABEE of Belleperche in the year 1240, and at length enrolled the Maccabees among the moſt illuſtrious heroes of romance[z]. On this account too, perhaps Eſdras is here ſo reſpectably remembered. I ſuppoſe Sulpicius is Sulpicius Severus, a petty annaliſt of the fifth century. Termegis is probably Triſmegiſtus, the myſtic philoſopher, certainly not an hiſtorian, at leaſt not an antient one. Pandulf ſeems to be Pandulph of Piſa, who wrote lives of the popes, and died in the year 1198[a]. Frigidilles is perhaps Fregedaire, a Burgundian, who flouriſhed about the year 641, and wrote a chronicon from Adam to his own times; often printed, and containing the beſt account of the Franks after Gregory of Tours[b]. Our author, who has partly ſuffered from ignorant tranſcribers and printers, by Ephiloquorus undoubtedly intended Eutropius. In the next paragraph indeed, he mentions Herodotus:

[y] See ſupr. vol. 1. p. 217. 311. There is JOSEPHUS *de la* BATTAILLE JUDAIQUE *tranſlaté de Latin en François*, printed by Verard at Paris, 1480. fol. I think it is a poem. All Joſephus's works were printed in the old Latin tranſlation, at Verona 1480. fol. And frequently ſoon afterwards. They were tranſlated into French, German, Spaniſh, and Italian, and printed, between the years 1492 and 1554. See the COLLANA GRECA, in Haym's Bibliothec. p. 6. 7. A French tranſlation was made in 1460, or 1463. Cod. Reg. Pariſ. 7015.

[z] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 417. In the Britiſh Muſeum there is "Maccabeorum et Joſephi "Hiſtoriarum Epitome, metrice." 10 A. viii. 5. MSS. Reg. See MSS. Harl. 5713.

[a] See the ſtory, in our author, of pope Boniface ſupplanting Celeſtine. "In a "CRONYKE of tyme ago." Lib. ii. f. 42. a. col. 2.

[b] See Ruinart. Diſſertat. de Fredegario ejuſque Operibus. tom. ii. Hiſt. Franc. p. 443. There is alſo Fridegodus, a monk of Dover, who wrote the lives of ſome ſainted biſhops about the year 960. And a Frigeridus, known only by a reference which Gregory of Tours makes to the *twelfth book of his Hiſtory*, concerning the times preceding Valentinian the third, and the capture of Rome by Totila. Gregor. Turonenſ. Hiſt. Francor. lib. ii. cap. 8. 9. If this laſt be the writer in the text, a manuſcript of Frigeridus's Hiſtory might have exiſted in Gower's age, which is now loſt.

yet

yet not as an early hiſtorian, but as the firſt writer of a ſyſtem of the metrical art, " of metre, of ryme, and of cadence[c]." We ſmile, when Hector in Shakeſpeare quotes Ariſtotle: but Gower gravely informs his reader, that Ulyſſes was a *clerke*, accompliſhed with a knowledge of all the ſciences, a great rhetorician and magician: that he learned rhetoric of Tully, magic of Zoroaſter, aſtronomy of Ptolomy, philoſophy of Plato, divination of the prophet Daniel, proverbial inſtruction of Solomon, botany of Macer, and medicine of Hippocrates[d]. And in the ſeventh book, Ariſtotle, or the *philoſophre*, is introduced reciting to his ſcholar Alexander the great, a diſputation between a Jew and a Pagan, who meet between Cairo and Babylon, concerning their reſpective religions: the end of the ſtory is to ſhew the cunning, cruelty, and ingratitude of the Jew, which are at laſt deſervedly puniſhed[e]. But I believe Gower's apology muſt be, that he took this narrative from ſome chriſtian legend, which was feigned, for a religious purpoſe, at the expence of all probability and propriety.

The only claſſic Roman writers which our author cites are Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Tully. Among the Italian poets, one is ſurpriſed he ſhould not quote Petrarch: he mentions Dante only, who in the rubric is called " a certain poet of Italy named Dante," *quidam poeta Italiæ qui* DANTE *vocabatur*[f]. He appears to have been well acquainted with the Homelies of pope Gregory the great[g], which were tranſlated into Italian, and printed at Milan, ſo early as the year 1479. I can hardly decypher, and muſt therefore be excuſed from tranſcribing, the names of all the renowned authors which our author has quoted in alchemy, aſtrology, magic, palmiſtry, geomancy, and other branches of the occult philo-

[c] Lib. vi. f. 76. b. col. 1.
[d] Lib. vi. f. 135. a. col. 1.
[e] Lib. vii. f. 156. b. col. 2.
[f] Lib. vii. f. 154. b. col. 1.
[g] Prolog. f. 2. b. col. 1. Lib. v. f. 93. a. col. 1. 2. f. 94. a. col. 1.

ſophy.

ſophy. Among the aſtrological writers, he mentions Noah, Abraham, and Moſes. But he is not ſure that Abraham was an author, having never ſeen any of that patriarch's works: and he prefers Triſmegiſtus to Moſes [h]. Cabaliſtical tracts were however extant, not only under the names of Abraham, Noah, and Moſes, but of Adam, Abel, and Enoch [i]. He mentions, with particular regard, Ptolomy's ALMAGEST; the grand ſource of all the ſuperſtitious notions propagated by the Arabian philoſophers concerning the ſcience of divination by the ſtars [k], Theſe infatuations ſeem to have completed their triumph over human credulity in Gower's age, who probably was an ingenious adept in the falſe and frivolous ſpeculations of this admired ſpecies of ſtudy.

Gower, amidſt his graver literature, appears to have been a great reader of romances. The lover, in ſpeaking of the gratification which his paſſion receives from the ſenſe of hearing, ſays, that to hear his lady ſpeak is more delicious, than to feaſt on all the dainties that could be compounded by a cook of Lombardy. They are not ſo reſtorative

As bin the wordes of hir mouth;
For as the wyndes of the South
Ben moſt of all debonaire,
So when hir luſt [l] to ſpeak faire,
The vertue of her goodly ſpeche
Is verily myne hartes leche [m].

Theſe are elegant verſes. To hear her ſing is paradiſe. Then he adds,

[h] Lib. vii. f. 134. b. col. 1. vii. f. 149. b. col. 1.

[i] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 425. p. 393. Notes, h. And Morhof. Polyhiſt. tom. ii. p. 455. ſeq. edit. 1747.

[k] Mabillon mentions, in a manuſcript of the ALMAGEST written before the year 1240, a drawing of Ptolomy, holding a mirrour, not an optical tube, in his hand, and contemplating the ſtars. Itin. Germanic. p. 49.

[l] She chuſes.

[m] Phyſician.

Full

Full oft tyme it falleth ſo,
My ere[n] with a good pitance
Is fed of *redynge of romance*
Of IDOYNE and AMADAS,
That whilom were in my cas;
And eke of *other, many a ſcore,*
That loved long ere I was bore[o]:
For when I of her[p] loves rede,
Myn ere with the tale I fede;
And with the luſt of her hiſtoire,
Sometime I draw into memoire,
Howe ſorrowe may not ever laſt,
And ſo hope comith in at laſt[q].

The romance of IDOYNE and AMADAS is recited as a favourite hiſtory among others, in the prologue to a collection of legends called CURSOR MUNDI, tranſlated from the French[r]. I have already obſerved our poet's references to Sir LANCELOT's romance.

Our author's account of the progreſs of the Latin language is extremely curious. He ſuppoſes that it was invented by the old Tuſcan propheteſs Carmens; that it was reduced to method, to compoſition, pronunciation, and proſody, by the grammarians Ariſtarchus, Donatus, and Didymus: adorned with the flowers of eloquence and rhetoric by Tully: then enriched by tranſlations from the Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek languages, more eſpecially by the verſion of the Hebrew bible into Latin by ſaint Jerom, in the fourth century: and that at length, after the labours of many celebrated writers, it received its final conſummation in Ovid, the poet of lovers. At the mention of Ovid's name, the poet, with the dexterity and addreſs of a true maſter of

[n] Ear.
[o] Born.
[p] Their.
[q] Lib. vi. f. 133. a. col. 2.
[r] See ſupr. vol. 1. p. 123. Notes, t.

tranſition,

tranſition, ſeizes the critical moment of bringing back the dialogue to its proper argument [s].

The CONFESSIO AMANTIS was moſt probably written after Chaucer's TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. At the cloſe of the poem, we are preſented with an aſſemblage of the moſt illuſtrious lovers [t]. Together with the renowned heroes and heroines of love, mentioned either in romantic or claſſical hiſtory, we have David and Bathſheba, Sampſon and Dalila, and Solomon with all his concubines. Virgil, alſo, Socrates, Plato, and Ovid, are enumerated as lovers. Nor muſt we be ſurpriſed to find Ariſtotle honoured with a place in this gallant groupe: for whom, ſays the poet, the queen of Greece made ſuch a ſyllogiſm as deſtroyed all his logic. But, among the reſt, Troilus and Creſſida are introduced; ſeemingly with an intention of paying a compliment to Chaucer's poem on their ſtory, which had been ſubmitted to Gower's correction [u]. Although this famous pair had been alſo recently celebrated in Boccacio's FILOSTRATO [v]. And in another place, ſpeaking of his abſolute devotion to his lady's will, he declares himſelf ready to acquieſce in her choice, whatſoever ſhe ſhall command: whether, if when tired of dancing and caroling, ſhe ſhould chuſe to play at cheſs, or read TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. This is certainly Chaucer's poem.

That when her liſt on nights wake
In chambre, as to carol and daunce,
Methinke I maie me more avaunce,
If I may gone upon hir honde,
Than if I wynne a kynges londe.
For whan I maie her hand beclip [w],
With ſuch gladneſs I daunce and ſkip,

[s] Lib. iv. f. 77. b. col. 2.
[t] Lib. viii. f. 158. a. col. 2.
[u] Chaucer's Tr. Creſſ. Urr. edit. p. 333.
[v] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 385.
[w] Claſp.

Methinketh I touch not the floore;
The roe which renneth on the moore
Is than nought ſo light as I.----
And whan it falleth other gate[x],
So that hir liketh not to daunce,
But on the dyes to caſt a chaunce,
Or aſke of love ſome demaunde;
Or els that her liſt commaunde
To rede and here of TROILUS[y].

That this poem was written after Chaucer's FLOURE AND LEAFE, may be partly collected from the following paſſage, which appears to be an imitation of Chaucer, and is no bad ſpecimen of Gower's moſt poetical manner. Roſiphele, a beautiful princeſs, but ſetting love at defiance, the daughter of Herupus king of Armenia, is taught obedience to the laws of Cupid by ſeeing a viſion of Ladies.

Whan come was the moneth of Maie,
She wolde walke upon a daie,
And that was er the ſon ariſt[z],
Of women but a fewe it wiſt[a];
And forth ſhe went prively,
Unto a parke was faſte by,
All ſofte walkende on the gras,
Tyll ſhe came there[b] the launde was
Through which ran a great rivere,
It thought her fayre; and ſaid, here
I will abide under the ſhawe;
And bad hir women to withdrawe:
And ther ſhe ſtood alone ſtille
To thinke what was in her wille.

[x] Gaiety, or way.
[y] Lib. iv. f. 78. b. col. 1.
[z] Aroſe.
[a] "But a few of her women knew of this."
[b] There *where*.

She

She ſighe [c] the ſwete floures ſprynge,
She herde glad fowles ſynge;
She ſigh beaſtes in her kynde,
The buck, the doo, the hert, the hynde,
The males go with the femele:
And ſo began there a quarele [d]
Betwene love and her owne herte
Fro whiche ſhe couthe not aſterte.
And as ſhe caſt hir eie aboute,
She ſigh, clad in one ſuit, a route
Of ladies where thei comen ride
Alonge under the wooddè ſide;
On fayre [e] ambulende hors thei ſet,
That were al whyte, fayre, and gret;
And everichone ride on ſide [f].
The ſadels were of ſuch a pride,
So riche ſighe ſhe never none;
With perles and golde ſo wel begone,
In kirtels and in copes riche
Thei were clothed all aliche [g],
Departed even of white and blewe,
With all luſtes [h] that ſhe knewe
Thei wer embroudred over all:
Her [i] bodies weren longe and ſmall,
The beautee of hir fayre face,
There mai none erthly thing deface:
Corownes on their heades thei bare,
As eche of hem a quene were.
That all the golde of Creſus hall
The leaſt coronall of all
Might not have boughte, after the worth,
Thus comen thei ridend forthe.

[c] Saw. [d] Diſpute. [e] Ambling. [f] A mark of high rank. [g] Alike.
[h] Lifts. Colours. [i] Their.

The kynges doughter, whiche this ſigh,
For pure abaſshe drewe hir adrigh,
And helde hir cloſe undir the bough.

At length ſhe ſees riding in the rear of this ſplendid troop, on a horſe lean, galled, and lame, a beautiful lady in a tattered garment, her ſaddle mean and much worn, but her bridle richly ſtudded with gold and jewels: and round her waiſt were more than an hundred halters. The princeſs aſks the meaning of this ſtrange proceſſion; and is anſwered by the lady on the lean horſe, that theſe are ſpectres of ladies, who, when living, were obedient and faithful votaries of love. " As to myſelf, ſhe adds, I am now receiving my " annual penance for being a rebel to love."

For I whilom no love had;
My horſe is now feble and badde,
And al to torn is myn araie;
And everie year this freſhe Maie
Theſe luſtie ladies ride aboute,
And I muſt nedes ſew [k] her route,
In this manner as ye nowe ſee,
And truſſe her hallters forth with mee,
And am but her horſe knave [l].

The princeſs then aſks her, why ſhe wore the rich bridle, ſo inconſiſtent with the reſt of her furniture, her dreſs, and horſe? The lady anſwers, that it was a badge and reward for having loved a knight faithfully for the laſt fortnight of her life.

" Now have ye herde all mine anſwere;
" To god, madam, I you betake,
" And warneth all, for my ſake,

[k] Follow. [l] Their groom.

" Of

" Of love, that thei be not idell,
" And bid hem thinke of my bridell."
And with that worde, all ſodenly
She paſſeth, as it were a ſkie[m],
All clean out of the ladies ſight[n].

My readers will eaſily conjecture the change which this ſpectacle muſt naturally produce in the obdurate heart of the princeſs of Armenia. There is a farther proof that the FLOURE AND LEAFE preceded the CONFESSIO AMANTIS. In the eighth book, our author's lovers are crowned with the Flower and Leaf.

Myn eie I caſte all aboutes,
To knowe amonge hem who was who:
I ſigh where luſtie YOUTH tho,
As he which was a capitayne
Before all others on the playne,
Stode with his route wel begon:
Her heades kempt, and thereupon
Garlondes not of *one* colour,
Some of the *lefe*, ſome of the *floure*,
And ſome of grete perles were:
The new guiſe of Beme[o] was there, &c[p].

I believe on the whole, that Chaucer had publiſhed moſt of his poems before this piece of Gower appeared. Chaucer had not however at this time written his TESTAMENT OF LOVE: for Gower, in a ſort of Epilogue to the CONFESSIO AMANTIS, is addreſſed by Venus, who commands him to greet Chaucer as her favourite poet and diſciple, as one who had employed his youth in compoſing ſongs and ditties to her honour. She adds at the cloſe,

[m] A ſhadow, Σκια, *umbra*. [n] Lib. iv. f. 70. ſeq. [o] Boeme. Bohemia.
[p] Lib. viii. f. 188. a. col. 1. See ſupr. vol. i. p. 466.

For thy,

For thy, now in his *daies olde*,
Thou ſhalt hym tell this meſſage,
That he upon his *later* age
To ſette *an ende* of all his werke
As he, which is myne owne clerke,
Do make his TESTAMENT OF LOVE,
As thou haſt done thy SHRIFTE above:
So that my court it maie recorde[q].

Chaucer at this time was ſixty-five years of age. The Court of Love, one of the pedantries of French gallantry, occurs often. In an addreſs to Venus, "Madame, I am a "man of thyne, that in thy COURTE hath ſerved long[r]." The lover obſerves, that for want of patience, a man ought "amonge the women alle, in LOVES COURTE, by *judgement* "the name beare of paciant[s]." The confeſſor declares, that many perſons are condemned for diſcloſing ſecrets, "In "LOVES COURTE, as it is ſaid, that lette their tonges gone "untide[t]." By *Thy* SHRIFTE, the author means his own poem now before us, the Lover's CONFESSION.

There are alſo many manifeſt evidences which lead us to conclude, that this poem preceded Chaucer's CANTERBURY'S TALES, undoubtedly ſome of that poet's lateſt compoſitions, and probably not begun till after the year 1382. The MAN OF LAWES TALE is circumſtantially borrowed from Gower's CONSTANTIA[u]: and Chaucer, in that TALE, apparently cenſures Gower, for his manner of relating the ſtories of Canace and Apollonius in the third and eighth books of the CONFESSIO AMANTIS[v]. The WIFE OF BATHES TALE is founded

[q] Lib. viii. f. 190. b. col. 1.
[r] Lib. i. f. 8. b. col. 1.
[s] Lib. iii. f. 51. a. col. 1.
[t] Lib. iii. f. 52. a. col. 1. See ſupr. vol. i. p. 460. In the ſame ſtrain, we have Cupid's *parliament*. Lib. viii. f. 187. b. col. 2.

[u] Conf. Amant. Lib. ii f. 30. b. col. 2. See particularly, ibid. f. 35. b. col. 2. a. col. 1. And compare Ch. MAN OF L. T. v. 5505. "Some men wold ſayn, &c." That is, GOWER.

[v] See Chaucer, ibid. v. 4500. And Conf. Amant. Lib. iii. f. 48. a. col. 1. ſeq.

on Gower's Florent, a knight of Rome, who delivers the king of Sicily's daughter from the incantations of her ſtepmother[x]. Although the GESTA ROMANORUM might have furniſhed both poets with this narrative. Chaucer, however, among other great improvements, has judiciouſly departed from the fable, in converting Sicily into the more popular court of king Arthur.

Perhaps, in eſtimating Gower's merit, I have puſhed the notion too far, that becauſe he ſhews ſo much learning he had no great ſhare of natural abilities. But it ſhould be conſidered, that when books began to grow faſhionable, and the reputation of learning conferred the higheſt honour, poets became ambitious of being thought ſcholars; and ſacrificed their native powers of invention to the oſtentation of diſplaying an extenſive courſe of reading, and to the pride of profound erudition. On this account, the minſtrels of theſe times, who were totally uneducated, and poured forth ſpontaneous rhymes in obedience to the workings of nature, often exhibit more genuine ſtrokes of paſſion and imagination, than the profeſſed poets. Chaucer is an exception to this obſervation: whoſe original feelings were too ſtrong to be ſuppreſſed by books, and whoſe learning was overbalanced by genius.

This affectation of appearing learned, which yet was natural at the revival of literature, in our old poets, even in thoſe who were altogether deſtitute of talents, has loſt to poſterity many a curious picture of manners, and many a romantic image. Some of our antient bards, however, aimed at no other merit, than that of being able to verſify; and attempted nothing more, than to cloath in rhyme thoſe ſentiments, which would have appeared with equal propriety in proſe.

ſeq. Lib. viii. f. 175. a. col. 2. ſeq. I have juſt diſcovered, that the favourite ſtory of Apollonius, having appeared in antient Greek, Latin, Saxon, barbarous Greek, and old French, was at length tranſlated from French into Engliſh, and printed in the black letter, by Wynkyn de Worde, A. D. 1510. 4to. "Kynge Appolyn of Thyre." [See ſupr. vol i. p. 350.] A copy is in my poſſeſſion. [x] Lib. i. f. 15. b. col. 2.

SECT.

SECT. II.

ONE of the reasons which rendered the classic authors of the lower empire more popular than those of a purer age, was because they were christians. Among these, no Roman writer appears to have been more studied and esteemed, from the beginning to the close of the barbarous centuries, than Boethius. Yet it is certain, that his allegorical personifications and his visionary philosophy, founded on the abstractions of the Platonic school, greatly concurred to make him a favourite[a]. His CONSOLATION of PHILOSOPHY was translated into the Saxon tongue by king Alfred, the father of learning and civility in the midst of a rude and intractable people; and illustrated with a commentary by Asser bishop of Saint David's, a prelate patronised by Alfred for his singular accomplishments in literature, about the year 890. Bishop Grosthead is said to have left annotations on this admired system of morality. There is a very ancient manuscript of it in the Laurentian library, with an inscription prefixed in Saxon characters[b]. There are few of those distinguished ecclesiastics, whose erudition illuminated the thickest gloom of ignorance and superstition with uncommon lustre, but who either have cited this performance,

[a] It is observable, that this SPIRIT OF PERSONIFICATION tinctures the writings of some of the christian fathers, about, or rather before, this period. Most of the agents in the SHEPHERD of HERMAS are *ideal* beings. An ancient lady converses with Hermas, and tells him that she is the CHURCH OF GOD. Afterwards several virgins appear and discourse with him; and when he desires to be informed who they are, he is told by the SHEPHERD-ANGEL, that they are FAITH, ABSTINENCE, PATIENCE, CHASTITY, CONCORD, &c. Saint Cyprian relates, that the church appeared in a vision, *in visione per noctem*, to Colerinus; and commanded him to assume the office of Reader, which he in humility had declined. Cyprian. Epist. xxxix. edit. Oxon. The church appearing as a woman they perhaps had from the scripture, REV. xii. 1. ESDRAS, &c.

[b] Mabillon. Itin. Ital. p. 221.

or

or honoured it with a panegyric[c]. It has had many imitators. Eccard, a learned French Benedictine, wrote in imitation of this CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY, a work in verse and prose containing five books, entitled the CONSOLATION OF THE MONKS, about the year 1120[d]. John Gerson also, a doctor and chancellor of the university of Paris, wrote the CONSOLATION OF THEOLOGY in four books, about the year 1420[e]. It was the model of Chaucer's TESTAMENT OF LOVE. It was translated into French[f] and English before the year 1350[g]. Dante was an attentive reader of Boethius. In the PURGATORIO, Dante gives THEOLOGY the name of Beatrix his mistress, the daughter of Fulco Portinari, who very gravely moralises in that character. Being ambitious of following Virgil's steps in the descent of Eneas into hell, he introduces her, as a daughter of the empyreal heavens, bringing Virgil to guide him through that dark and dangerous region[h]. Leland, who lived when true literature began to be restored, says that the writings of Boethius still continued to retain that high estimation, which they had acquired in the most early periods. I had almost forgot to observe, that the CONSOLATION was translated into Greek by Maximus Planudes, the most learned and ingenious of the Constantinopolitan monks[i].

[c] He is much commended as a catholic and philosopher by Hincmarus archbishop of Rheims, about the year 880. De Prædestinat. contr. Godeschalch. tom. i. 211. ii. 62. edit. Sirmond. And by John of Salisbury, for his eloquence and argument. Policrat. vii. 15. And by many other writers of the same class.

[d] See Trithem. cap. 387. de S. E. And Illustr. Benedictin. ii. 107.

[e] Opp. tom. i. p. 130. edit. Dupin. I think there is a French CONSOLATIO THEOLOGIÆ by one Cerisier.

[f] See Haym, p. 199.

[g] Beside John of Meun's French version of Boethius, printed at Lyons 1483, with a translation of Virgil by Guillaume le Roy, there is one by De Cis, or Thri, an old French poet. Matt. Annal. Typogr. i. p. 171. Francisc. a Cruce, Bibl. Gallic. p. 216. 247. It was printed in Dutch at Ghent, apud Arend de Keyser, 1485. fol. In Spanish at Valladolid, 1598, fol. See supr. vol. i. p. 458. Polycarpus Leyserus, in that very scarce book DE POESI MEDII ÆVI, [printed HALÆ, 1721, 8vo.] enumerates many curious old editions of Boethius, p. 95. 105.

[h] See PURGAT. Cant. xxx.

[i] Montfauc. Bibl. Coislin. p. 140. Of a Hebrew version, see Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. tom. i. p. 229. 1092. 243. 354. 369.

I can assign only one poet to the reign of king Henry the fourth, and this a translator of Boethius [k]. He is called Johannes Capellanus, or John the *Chaplain*, and he translated into English verse the treatise DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIÆ in the year 1410. His name is John Walton. He was canon of Oseney, and died subdean of York. It appears probable, that he was patronised by Thomas Chaundler, among other preferments, dean of the king's chapel and of Hereford cathedral, chancellor of Wells, and successively warden of Wykeham's two colleges at Winchester and Oxford; characterised by Antony Wood as an able critic in polite literature, and by Leland as a rare example of a doctor in theology who graced scholastic disputation with the flowers of a pure latinity [l]. In the British Museum there is a correct manuscript on parchment of Walton's translation of Boethius: and the margin is filled throughout with the Latin text, written by Chaundler above-mentioned [m]. There is another less elegant manuscript in the same collection. But at the end is this note; *Explicit liber Boecij de Consolatione Philosophie de Latino in Anglicum translatus* A. D. 1410. *per Capellanum Joannem* [n]. This is the beginning of the prologue, "In suffisaunce of cunnyng and witte." And of the translation, "Alas I wretch that whilom was in welth." I have seen a third copy in the library of Lincoln cathedral [o], and a fourth in Baliol college [p]. This is the translation of Boethius printed in the monastery of Tavistoke, in the year 1525. "The BOKE of "COMFORT, called in Latin *Boecius de Consolatione Philosophie*.

[k] I am aware that Occleve's poem, called the *Letter of Cupid*, was written in this king's reign in the year 1402. "In the "year of grace joyfull and joconde, a "thousand fower hundred and seconde." Urry's Chaucer, p. 537. v. 475. But there are reasons for making Occleve, as I have done, something later. Nor is Gower's *Balade to Henry the fourth* a sufficient reason for placing him in that reign. Ibid. p. 540. The same may be said of Chaucer.

[l] Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ii. p. 134. Leland, Script. Brit. CHAUNDLERUS.

[m] MSS. Harl. 43. 1. And MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. 75.

[n] MSS. Harl. 44. chart. et pergam.

[o] MSS. i. 53.

[p] MSS. B. 5. He bequeathed his *Biblia*, and other books, to this library.

"Emprented

" Emprented in the exempt monaſtery of Taveſtock in Den-
" ſhyre, by me Dan Thomas Rychard monke of the ſayd
" monaſtry. To the inſtant deſyre of the right worſhipfull
" eſquyre magiſter Robert Langdon. *Anno Domini*, MDXXV.
" *Deo gracias.*" In octave rhyme [p]. This tranſlation was made at the requeſt of Eliſabeth Berkeley. I forbear to load theſe pages with ſpecimens not original, and which appear to have contributed no degree of improvement to our poetry or our phraſeology. Henry the fourth died in the year 1399.

The coronation of king Henry the fifth, was celebrated in Weſtminſter-hall with a ſolemnity proportioned to the luſtre of thoſe great atchievements which afterwards diſtinguiſhed the annals of that victorious monarch. By way of preſerving order, and to add to the ſplendor of the ſpectacle, many of the nobility were ranged along the ſides of the tables on large war-horſes, at this ſtately feſtival; which, ſays my chronicle, was a ſecond feaſt of Ahaſuerus [q]. But I mention this ceremony, to introduce a circumſtance very pertinent to our purpoſe; which is, that the number of harpers in the hall was innumerable [r], who undoubtedly accompanied their inſtruments with heroic rhymes. The king, however, was no great encourager of the popular minſtrelſy, which ſeems at this time to have flouriſhed in the higheſt degree of perfection. When he entered the city of London in triumph after the battle of Agincourt, the gates and ſtreets were hung with tapeſtry, repreſenting the hiſtories of ancient heroes; and children were placed in artificial turrets, ſinging verſes [s]. But Henry, diſguſted at theſe ſecular vanities, commanded by a formal edict, that for the future no ſongs

[p] This is among Rawlinſon's Codd. impreſſ. Bibl. Bodl. There is an Engliſh tranſlation of Boethius by one George Colvil, or Coldewell, bred at Oxford, with the Latin, " according to the boke " of the tranſlatour, which was a very old " printe." Dedicated to queen Mary, and printed by John Cawood, 1556. 4to. Reprinted 1566. 4to.

[q] Thomæ de Elmham Vit. et Geſt. Henr. V. edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1727. cap. xii. p. 23. Compare Lel. Coll. APPEND. iii. 226. edit. 1770.

[r] Elmham, ubi ſupr. p. 23.

[s] Elmham, ubi ſupr. cap. xxxi. p. 72.

ſhould be recited by the harpers, or others, in praiſe of the recent victory [s]. This prohibition had no other effect than that of diſplaying Henry's humility, perhaps its principal and real deſign. Among many others, a minſtrel-piece ſoon appeared, evidently adapted to the harp, on the SEYGE of HARFLETT and the BATTALLYE of AGYNKOURTE. It was written about the year 1417. Theſe are ſome of the moſt ſpirited lines.

Sent Jorge be fore our kyng they dyd ſe [t],
They trompyd up full meryly,
The grete battell to gederes zed [u];
Our archorys [v] theiy ſchot ful hartely,
They made the Frenche men faſte to blede,
Her arrowys they went with full good ſpede.
Oure enemyes with them they gan down throwe
Thorow breſte plats, habourgenys, and baſnets [x].
Eleven thouſand was ſlayne on a rew [y].
Denters of dethe men myzt well deme,
So fercelly in ffelde theye gan fythe [z].
The heve upon here helmyts ſchene [a],
With axes and with ſwerdys bryzt.
When oure arowys were at a flyzt [b]
Amon the Frenche men was a wel ſory ſchere [c].
Ther was to bryng of gold bokylyd [d] ſo bryzt
That a man myzt holde a ſtrong armoure.
Owre gracyus kyng men myzt knowe
That day fozt with hys owene hond,
The erlys was dys comwityd up on a rowe [e],

[s] "CANTUS de ſuo triumpho fieri, ſeu "per CITHARISTAS, vel alios quoſcunque, "CANTARI, penitus prohibebat.", Ibid. p. 72. And Hearnii Præfat. p. xxix. ſeq. §. viii. See alſo Hollingſh. Chron. iii. p. 556. col. 1. 40.

[t] "The French ſaw the ſtandard of Saint George before our king."

[u] This is Milton's "Together ruſh'd both battles main."

[v] Archers.

[x] Breaſt-plates, habergeons and helmets.

[y] Row.

[z] Fight.

[a] "They ſtruck upon their bright helmets."

[b] Flying.

[c] Much diſtreſs.

[d] Buckled.

[e] I believe it is "The earls he had "ſlain were all thrown together on a heap "or in a row."

That

That he had ſlayne underſtond.
He there [f] ſchevyd oure other lordys of thys lond,
Forſothe that was a ful fayre daye.
Therefore all England maye this ſyng
LAWS [g] DEO we may well ſaye.
The Duke of Glocetor, that nys no nay,
That day full wordely [h] he wrozt,
On every ſide he made goode waye,
The Frenche men faſte to grond they browzt.
The erle of Hontynton ſparyd nozt,
The erle of Oxynforthe [i] layd on all ſoo [k],
The young erle of Devynſchyre he ne rouzt,
The Frenche men faſt to grunde gan goo.
Our Engliſmen thei were ffoul ſekes do
And ferce to fyzt as any lyone.
Baſnets bryzt they craſyd a to [l],
And bet the French banerys adoune;
As thonder-ſtrokys ther was a ſcownde [m],
Of axys and ſperys ther they gan glyd.
The lordys of Franyſe [n] loſt her renowne
With greſoly [o] wondys they gan abyde.
The Frenſche men, for all here pryde,
They fell downe all at a flyzt:
Ie me rende they cryde, on every ſyde,
Our Englys men they underſtod nozt arizt [p].
Their pollaxis owt of her hondys they twizt,
And layde ham along ſtryte [q] upon the graſſe.
They ſparyd nother deuke, erlle, ne knyght [r].

[f] Shewed. [g] *Laus.* [h] Worthily.
[i] Oxford. [k] Alſo.
[l] "They broke the bright helmets in two."
[m] Sound. [n] France.
[o] Grieſly.
[p] "They did not rightly."
[q] Strait.
[r] Printed [from MSS. Cotton. VITELL. D. XII. 11. fol. 214.] by Hearne, Elmham, ut ſupr. APPEND. p. 359. Num. vi. See p. 371. ſeq. There is *The* BATTAYLE of EGYNCOURTE, Libr. impreſſ. Bibl. Bodl. C. 39. 4to. Art. Selden. See OBSERVAT. on Spenſ. ii. 41. Doctor Percy has printed an ancient ballad on this ſubject. ANC. BALL. vol. ii. p. 24. edit. 1767. See Hearne's PRÆFAT. ut ſupr. p. xxx.

Theſe verſes are much leſs intelligible than ſome of Gower's and Chaucer's pieces, which were written fifty years before. In the mean time we muſt not miſtake provincial for national barbariſms. Every piece now written is by no means a proof of the actual ſtate of ſtyle. The improved dialect, which yet is the eſtimate of a language, was confined only to a few writers, who lived more in the world and in polite life: and it was long, before a general change in the public phraſeology was effected. Nor muſt we expect among the minſtrels, who were equally careleſs and illiterate, thoſe refinements of diction, which mark the compoſitions of men who profeſſedly ſtudied to embelliſh the Engliſh idiom.

Thomas Occleve is the firſt poet that occurs in the reign of Henry the fifth. I place him about the year 1420. Occleve is a feeble writer, conſidered as a poet: and his chief merit ſeems to be, that his writings contributed to propagate and eſtabliſh thoſe improvements in our language which were now beginning to take place. He was educated in the municipal law [s], as were both Chaucer and Gower; and it reflects no ſmall degree of honour on that very liberal profeſſion, that its ſtudents were ſome of the firſt who attempted to poliſh and adorn the Engliſh tongue.

The titles of Occleve's pieces, very few of which have been ever printed, indicate a coldneſs of genius; and on the whole promiſe no gratification to thoſe who ſeek for invention and fancy. Such as, *The tale of Jonathas and of a wicked woman* [t]. *Fable of a certain empereſs* [u]. *A prologue of the nine leſſons that is read over Allhalow-day* [w]. *The moſt profitable and holſomeſt craft that is to cunne* [x], *to lerne to dye* [y]. *Conſolation of-*

[s] He ſtudied in *Cheſtres-inn* where Somerſet-houſe now ſtands. See Buck, *De tertia Anglicæ Accademia*, cap. xxv.

[t] Ubi. infr. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. From the GESTA ROMANORUM.

[u] Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Seld. ſupr. 53. Digb. 185. Laud. K. 78. MSS. Reg. Brit. Muſ. 17 D. vi. 2. This ſtory ſeems to be alſo taken from the GESTA ROMANORUM. Pr. "In the ROMAN ACTYS writyn."

[w] Ubi ſupr. Bibl. Bodl. MSS.

[x] Know.

[y] MSS. Bodl. ut ſupr. And MSS. Reg. Brit. Muſ. 17 D. vi. 3. 4. The beſt manuſcript of Occleve.

fered

fered by an old man[z]. *Pentaſtichon to the king. Mercy as defined by Saint Auſtin. Dialogue to a friend*[a]. *Dialogue between Occleef and a beggar*[b]. *The letter of Cupid*[c]. *Verſes to an empty purſe*[d]. But Occleve's moſt conſiderable poem is a piece called a tranſlation of Egidius DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM.

This is a ſort of paraphraſe of the firſt part of Ariſtotle's epiſtle to Alexander abovementioned, entitled SECRETUM SECRETORUM, of Egidius, and of Jacobus de Caſulis, whom he calls *Jacob de Caſſolis*. Egidius, a native of Rome, a pupil of Thomas Aquinas, eminent among the ſchoolmen by the name of *Doctor Fundatiſſimus*, and an archbiſhop, flouriſhed about the year 1280. He wrote a Latin tract in three books DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM, or the ART OF GOVERNMENT, for the uſe of Philip le Hardi, ſon of Louis king of France, a work highly eſteemed in the middle ages, and tranſlated early into Hebrew, French[e], and Italian. In thoſe days eccleſiaſtics and ſchoolmen preſumed to dictate to kings, and to give rules for adminiſtering ſtates, drawn from the narrow circle of ſpeculation, and conceived amid the pedantries of a cloiſter. It was probably recommended to Occleve's notice, by having been tranſlated into Engliſh by John Treviſa, a celebrated tranſlator about the year 1390[f]. The original was printed at Rome in 1482, and at Venice 1498, and,

[z] MSS. Digb. 185. More [Cant.] 427.

[a] MSS. Seld. ut ſupr.

[b] MSS. Harl. 4826. 6.

[c] MSS. Digb. 181. MSS. Arch. Bodl. Seld. B. 24. It is printed in Chaucer's Works, Urr. p. 534. Bale [MS. Glynne] mentions one or two more pieces, particularly *De Theſeo Athenienſi*, lib. i. Pr. "Tum eſſet, ut veteres hiſtoriæ tradunt." This is the beginning of Chaucer's KNIGHT'S TALE. And there are other pieces in the libraries.

[d] This, and the *Pentaſtichon ad Regem*, are in MSS. Fairf. xvi. Bibl. Bodl. And in the editions of Chaucer. But the former appears to be Chaucer's, from the twenty additional ſtanzas not printed in Urry's Chaucer, pag. 549. MSS. Harl. 2251. 133. fol. 298.

[e] Wolf. Biblioth. Hebr. tom. iii. p. 1206. It was tranſlated into French by Henry de Gand, at the command of Philip king of France. Mem. de Lit. tom. xvii. p. 733. 4to.

[f] Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 233. *Princip.* "To his ſpecial, [etc.] politik ſentence "that is." In this manuſcript there is an elegant picture of a monk, or eccleſiaſtic, preſenting a book to a king. See ſupr. vol. i. p. 343. Notes, g.

I think,

I think, again at the ſame place in 1598[h]. The Italian tranſlation was printed at Seville, in folio, 1494, " Tran- " ſladar de Latin en romance don Bernardo Obiſpo de Oſma: " impreſſo por Meynardo Ungut Alemano et Staniſlao Polono " Companeros." The printed copies of the Latin are very rare, but the manuſcripts innumerable. A third part of the third book, which treats of *De Re Militari Veterum*, was printed by Hahnius in 1722[i]. One of Egidius's books, a commentary on Ariſtotle DE ANIMA, is dedicated to our Edward the firſt[k].

Jacobus de Caſulis, or of Caſali in Italy, another of the writers copied in this performance by our poet Occleve, a French Dominican friar, about the year 1290, wrote in four parts a Latin treatiſe on cheſs, or, as it is entitled in ſome manuſcripts, *De moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium ſuper* LUDO LATRUNCULORUM *ſive* SCACCORUM. In a parchment manuſcript of the Harleian library, neatly illuminated, it is thus entitled, LIBER MORALIS DE LUDO SCACCORUM, *ad honorem et ſolacium Nobilium et maxime ludencium, per fratrem* JACOBUM DE CASSULIS *ordinis fratrum Prædicatorum.* At the concluſion, this work appears to be a tranſlation[l]. Pits careleſsly gives it to Robert Holcot, a celebrated Engliſh theologiſt, perhaps for no other reaſon than becauſe Holcot was likewiſe a Dominican. It was printed at Milan in 1479. I believe it was as great a favourite as Egidius on GOVERNMENT, for it was tranſlated into French by John Ferron, and John Du Vignay, a monk hoſpitalar of Saint James du

[h] All in folio. Thoſe of 1482, and 1598, are in the Bodleian library. In All-Souls college library at Oxford, there is a manuſcript TABULA IN ÆGIDIUM DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM, by one Thomas Abyndon. MSS. G. i. 5.

[i] In the firſt tome of *Collectio Monumentorum veter. et recent. ineditorum.* E. Cod. MS. in Biblioth. Obrecktina. The curious reader may ſee a full account of Ægidius de REGIMINE PRINCIPUM in Morlier, *Eſſais de Litterature*, tom. i. p. 198. ſeq. And of the Venetian edition in 1498, in Theophilus Sincerus *De Libris Rariorib.* tom. i. p. 82. ſeq.

[k] Cave, p. 755. edit. 1688.

[l] MSS. Harl. 1275. 1. 4to. membran.

Haut-pag,

Haut-pag[m], under the patronage of Jeanne dutchess of Bourgogne, Caxton's patroness, about the year 1360, with the title of LE JEU DES ECHECS *moralise*, or *Le traite des Nobles et de gens du peuple selon le* JEU DES ECHECS. This was afterwards translated by Caxton, in 1474, who did not know that the French was a translation from the Latin, and called the GAME OF THE CHESS. It was also translated into German, both prose and verse, by Conrade von Almenhusen[n]. Bale absurdly supposes that Occleve made a separate and regular translation of this work[o].

Occleve's poem was never printed. This is a part of the Prologue.

Aristotle, most famous philosofre[p],
His epistles to Alisaunder sent[q];
Whos sentence is wel bet then golde in cofre,
And more holsum, grounded in trewe entent,
Fore all that ever the Epistle ment
To sette us this worthi conqueroure,
In rewle howe to susteyne his honoure,
The tender love, and the fervent good chere,
That the worthi clerke aye to this king bere,
Thrusting sore his welth durable to be,
Unto his hert slah and sate sovere,
That bi writing his counsel gaf he clere

[m] Who also translated the GOLDEN LEGEND of James de Voragine, and the SPECULUM HISTORIALE of Vincent of Beauvais. Vie de Petr. tom. iii. p. 548. And Mem. Lit. xvii. 742. 746. 747. edit. 4to.

[n] See Jacob. Quetif. tom. i. p. 471. ii. p. 818. Lambecc. tom. ii. Bibl. Vindob. p. 848. One Simeon Ailward, an Englishman, about the year 1456, wrote a Latin poem *De Ludo Scaccorum*. Pits. APPEND. p. 909. Princip. "Ludus scaccorum datur hic correctio morum."

[o] Bale in OCCLEVE.

[p] The learned doctor Gerard Langbaine, author of the *Lives of the Dramatick Poets*, speaking of the REGIMINE PRINCIPUM by Occleve, says that it is "collected out "of Aristotle, Alexander, and Ægidius "on the same, and Jacobus de Cassolis "(a fryar preacher) his book of chess, "viz. that part where he speaks of the "king's draught, &c." Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Langb. Cod. xv. pag. 102.

[q] See supr. p. 9.

Unto his lord to hope him from mischaunce,
As witnesseth his Boke of Governaunce[r],
Of which, and of Giles his REGIMENT[s]
Of prince's plotmele, think I to translete, &c.
My dere mayster, god his soul quite[t],
And fader Chaucer fayne would have me taught,
But I was dule[u], and learned lyte or naught.
Alas my worthie maister honorable,
This londis verray tresour and richesse,
Deth by thy deth hathe harme irreparable
Unto us done: his vengeable duresse[x]
Dispoiled hath this lond of the sweetnesse
Of rhetoryke, for unto Tullius
Was never man so like amongest us.
Alas! who was here[y] in phylosophy
To Aristotle in owre tonge but thow?
The steppis of Virgile in poesie
Thou suedest[z] eke: men knowè well inowe
That combre-world[a] that thou, my mayster, slowe[b]:
Wold I slaine were! Deth was too hastise
To remme on thee, and reve thee of thy life:
She might have tarried her vengeaunce awhile
To that some man had egal to thee be:
Nay, let that be: she knew well that this isle
May never man forth bryng like unto thee,
And her of offis nedis do mote she;
God bade her so, I trust for all the best,
O mayster, mayster, god thy soulè rest!

[r] Aristotle's SECRETUM SECRETORUM.
[s] Ægidius de REGIMINE PRINCIPUM.
[t] *Aquitt.* Save.
[u] Dull.
[x] Cruelty.
[y] There.
[z] Followedst.
[a] He calls death the *encumbrance* of the *world*. The expression seems to be taken from Chaucer, where Troilus says of himself, "I *combre-world*, that maie of no-"thing serve." Tr. Cress. p. 307. v. 279. Urr. edit.
[b] Slew.

In

In another part of the Prologue we have theſe pathetic lines, which ſeem to flow warm from the heart, to the memory of the immortal Chaucer, who I believe was rather Occleve's model than his maſter, or perhaps the patron and encourager of his ſtudies.

But weleawaye, ſo is myne hertè wo
That the honour of Engliſh tonge is dede,
Of which I wont was han counſel and rede!
O mayſter dere, and fadir reverent,
My mayſter Chaucer, floure of eloquence,
Mirrour of fructuous entendement,
O univerſal fadir in ſcience,
Alas that thou thine excellent prudence
In thy bed mortel migheſt not bequethe,
What eyled [c] Deth? Alas why would he ſle' the!
O Deth that didiſt nought harm ſingulere
In ſlaughtre of him, but all the lond it ſmertith:
But natheleſſe yit haſtowe [d] no powere
His name to ſle. His hie vertue aſtertith
Unſlayn from thee, which aye us lifely hertith
With boke of his ornatè enditing,
That is to all this lond enlumyning [e].

Occleve ſeems to have written ſome of theſe verſes immediately on Chaucer's death, and to have introduced them long afterwards into this Prologue.

It is in one of the royal manuſcripts of this poem in the Britiſh Muſeum that Occleve has left a drawing of Chaucer [f]:

[c] Ailed.
[d] Haſt thou.
[e] MSS. Rawlinſ. 647. fol. This poem has at the end "Explicit Ægidius de Regimine Principum" in MSS. Laud. K. 78. Bibl. Bodl. See alſo ibid. MSS. Selden. Supr. 53. Digb. 185. MSS. Aſhmol. 40. MSS. Reg. 17 D. vi. 1. 17 D. xviii. MSS. Harl. 4826. 7. and 4866. In ſome of theſe a ſort of dialogue is prefixed between a father and a ſon. Occleve, in the Prologue cited in the text, mentions *Jacobus de Caſſolis* [Caſulis] as one of his authors.
[f] MSS. Reg. 17 D. vi. 1.

 according

according to which, Chaucer's portraiture was made on his monument, in the chapel of Saint Blaſe in Weſtminſter-abbey, by the benefaction of Nicholas Brigham, in the year 1556[g]. And from this drawing, in 1598, John Speed procured the print of Chaucer prefixed to Speght's edition of his works; which has been ſince copied in a moſt finiſhed engraving by Vertue[h]. Yet it muſt be remembered, that the ſame drawing occurs in an Harleian manuſcript written about Occleve's age[i], and in another of the Cottonian department[k]. Occleve himſelf mentions this drawing in his CONSOLATIO SERVILIS. It exactly reſembles the curious picture on board of our venerable bard, preſerved in the Bodleian gallery at Oxford. I have a very old picture of Chaucer on board, much like Occleve's, formerly kept in Chaucer's houſe, a quadrangular ſtone-manſion, at Woodſtock in Oxfordſhire; which commanded a proſpect of the ancient magnificent royal palace, and of many beautiful ſcenes in the adjacent park: and whoſe laſt remains, chiefly conſiſting of what was called Chaucer's bed-chamber, with an old carved oaken roof, evidently original, were demoliſhed about fifteen years ago. Among the ruins, they found an ancient gold coin of the city of Florence[l]. Before the grand rebellion, there was in the windows of the church of Woodſtock, an eſcucheon in painted glaſs of the arms of ſir Payne Rouet, a knight of Henault, whoſe daughter Chaucer married.

Occleve, in this poem, and in others, often celebrates Humphrey duke of Gloceſter[m]; who at the dawn of ſcience

[g] He was of Caverſham in Oxfordſhire. Educated at Hart-Hall in Oxford, and ſtudied the law. He died at Weſtminſter, 1559.

[h] In Urry's edit. 1721. fol.

[i] MSS. Harl. 4866. The drawing is at fol. 91.

[k] MSS. Cotton. OTH. A. 18.

[l] I think a FLORIN, antiently common in England. Chaucer, PARDON. TALE, v. 2290. p. 135. col. 2. "For that the "FLORAINS ben ſo faire and bright." Edward the third, in 1344, altered it from a lower value to 6*s*. and 8*d*. The particular piece I have mentioned ſeems about that value.

[m] As he does John of Gaunt.

was

was a ſingular promoter of literature, and, however unqualified for political intrigues, the common patron of the ſcholars of the times. A ſketch of his character in that view, is therefore too cloſely connected with our ſubject to be cenſured as an unneceſſary digreſſion. About the year 1440, he gave to the univerſity of Oxford a library containing ſix hundred volumes, only one hundred and twenty of which were valued at more than one thouſand pounds. Theſe books are called *Novi Tractatus*, or New Treatiſes, in the univerſity-regiſter [n], and ſaid to be *admirandi apparatus* [o]. They were the moſt ſplendid and coſtly copies that could be procured, finely written on vellum, and elegantly embelliſhed with miniatures and illuminations. Among the reſt was a tranſlation into French of Ovid's Metamorphoſes [p]. Only a ſingle ſpecimen of theſe valuable volumes was ſuffered to remain: it is a beautiful manuſcript in folio of Valerius Maximus, enriched with the moſt elegant decorations, and written in Duke Humphrey's age, evidently with a deſign of being placed in this ſumptuous collection. All the reſt of the books, which, like this, being highly ornamented, looked like miſſals, and conveyed ideas of popiſh ſuperſtition, were deſtroyed or removed by the pious viſitors of the univerſity in the reign of Edward the ſixth, whoſe zeal was equalled only by their ignorance, or perhaps by their avarice. A great number of claſſics, in this grand work of reformation, were condemned as antichriſtian [q]. In the library of Oriel college at Oxford, we find a manuſcript *Commentary on Geneſis*, written by John Capgrave, a monk of ſaint Auſtin's monaſtery at Canterbury, a learned theologiſt of the fourteenth century. It is the author's autograph, and the work is dedicated to Humphrey duke of Glociſter. In the ſuperb

[n] Reg. F. fol. 52. 53. b. Epiſt. 142.
[o] Ibid. fol. 57. b. 60. a. Epiſt. 148.
[p] Leland. coll. iii. p. 58. edit. 1770.
[q] Some however had been before ſtolen, or mutilated. Leland, coll. iii. p. 58. edit. 1770.

initial

initial letter of the dedicatory epiſtle is a curious illumination of the author Capgrave, humbly preſenting his book to his patron the duke, who is ſeated, and covered with a ſort of hat. At the end is this entry, in the hand-writing of duke Humphrey. " *C' eſt livre eſt a moy Humfrey duc de Glou-* " *ceſtre du don de frere Jehan Capgrave, quy le me fiſt preſenter a* " *mon manoyr de Penſherſt le jour . . . de l' an.* MCCCXXXVIII [r]." This is one of the books which Humphrey gave to his new library at Oxford, deſtroyed or diſperſed by the active reformers of the young Edward [s]. John Whethamſtede, a learned abbot of ſaint Alban's, and a lover of ſcholars, but accuſed by his monks for neglecting their affairs, while he was too deeply engaged in ſtudious employments and in procuring tranſcripts of uſeful books [t], notwithſtanding his unwearied aſſiduity in beautifying and enriching their monaſtery [u], was in high favour with this munificent prince [x]. The duke was fond of viſiting this monaſtery, and employed

[r] Cod. MSS. 32.

[s] He gave alſo Capgrave SUPER EXODUM ET REGUM LIBROS. Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon. F. fol. 67. b.

[t] Supr. vol. i. See DISSERTAT. i. Signat. F. 2. We are told in this abbot's GESTA, that ſoon after his inſtallment he built a library for his abbey, a deſign which had long employed his contemplation. He covered it with lead; and expended on the bare walls, beſides deſks, glaſing, and embattelling, or, to uſe the expreſſions of my chronologer, *deducta vitriacione, creſtacione, poſitione deſcorum*, upwards of one hundred and twenty pounds. Apud Hearne's OTTERBOURNE, vol. i. Præfat. Append. p. cxxiii. ed. Oxon. 1732. He founded alſo a library for all the ſtudents of his monaſtery at Oxford. Ibid. p. cxiii. And to each of theſe ſtudents he allowed an annual penſion, at his own expence, of thirteen ſhillings and four-pence. Ibid. p. cxviii. See alſo p. cxxix. A grand tranſcript of the Poſtilla of Nicholas de Lyra on the bible was begun during his abbacy, and at his command, with the moſt ſplendid ornaments and hand-writing. The monk who records this important anecdote, lived ſoon after him, and ſpeaks of this great undertaking, then unfiniſhed, as if it was ſome magnificent public edifice. " God grant, ſays he, " that this work in our days may receive a " happy conſummation!" Ibid. p. cxvi.

[u] Among other things, he expended forty pounds in adorning the roof and walls of the virgin Mary's chapel with pictures. GEST. ut ſupr. p. cx. He gave to the choir of the church an organ; than which, ſays my chronicler, there was not one to be found in any monaſtery in England, more beautiful in appearance, more pleaſing for its harmony, or more curious in its conſtruction. It coſt upwards of fifty pounds. Ibid. p. cxxviii. His new buildings were innumerable: and the MASTER OF THE WORKS was of his inſtitution, with an ample ſalary. Ibid. p. cxiii.

[x] Leland, Script. Brit. p. 437.

abbot

abbot Whethamſtede to collect valuable books for him [y]. Some of Whethamſtede's tracts, manuſcript copies of which often occur in our libraries, are dedicated to the duke [z]: who preſented many of them, particularly a fine copy of Whethamſtede's GRANARIUM [a], an immenſe work, which Leland calls *ingens volumen*, to the new library [b]. The copy of Valerius Maximus, which I mentioned before, has a curious table or index made by Whethamſtede [c]. Many other abbots paid their court to the duke by ſending him preſents of books, whoſe margins were adorned with the moſt exquiſite paintings [d]. Gilbert Kymer, phyſician to king Henry the ſixth, among other eccleſiaſtic promotions, dean of Saliſbury, and chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford [e], inſcribed to duke Humphrey his famous medical ſyſtem *Diaetarium de ſanitatis cuſtodia*, in the year 1424 [f]. I do not mean to anticipate when I remark, that Lydgate, a poet mentioned hereafter, tranſlated Boccacio's book de CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRIUM at the recommendation and command, and under the protection and ſuperintendence, of duke Humphrey: whoſe condeſcenſion in converſing with learned eccleſiaſtics, and diligence in ſtudy, the tranſlator diſplays at large, and in the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of panegyric. He compares the duke to Julius Ceſar, who amidſt the weightieſt cares of ſtate, was not aſhamed to enter the rhetorical ſchool of

[y] Leland, ibid. 442. 432. See alſo Hollinſh. Chron. f. 488. b. And f. 1234. 1235. 1080. 868. 662. Weever FUN. MON. p. 562. 574. Whethamſtede erected in his life-time the beautiful tabernacle or ſhrine of ſtone, now remaining, over the tomb of duke Humphrey in ſaint Alban's abbey church. Hearne's OTTERB. ut ſupr. p. cxxi. ſeq. See alſo ibid. p. cxix. cxvi.

[z] See Whethamſtede, *De viris illuſtribus*, Brit. Muſ. MSS. Cotton. TIBER. D. vi. i. OTH. B. iv. And Hearne, Pref. Pet. Langtoſt. p. xix. ſeq.

[a] Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon. F f. 68.

[b] Leland, ubi modo infr.

[c] MSS. Bodl. NE. vii. ii.

[d] "Multos codices, *pulcherrime pictos*, ab abbatibus dono accepit." The Duke wrote in the frontiſpieces of his books, MOUN BIEN. MONDAIN. Leland. Coll. iii. p. 58. edit. ut ſupr.

[e] By the recommendatory letters of duke Humphrey. Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon. R. fol. 75. Epiſt. 180.

[f] See Hearne's Append. ad Libr. Nigr. Scaccar. p. 550. And Præfat. p. 34.

Cicero.

Cicero at Rome[g]. Nor was his patronage confined only to English scholars. His favour was solicited by the most celebrated writers of France and Italy, many of whom he bountifully rewarded[h]. Leonard Aretine, one of the first restorers of the Greek tongue in Italy, which he learned of Emanuel Chrysoloras, and of polite literature in general, dedicates to this universal patron his elegant Latin translation of Aristotle's POLITICS. The copy presented to the duke by the translator, most elegantly illuminated, is now in the Bodleian library at Oxford[i]. To the same noble encourager of learning, Petrus Candidus, the friend of Laurentius Valla, and secretary to the great Cosmo duke of Milan, inscribed by the advice of the archbishop of Milan, a Latin version of Plato's REPUBLIC[k]. An illuminated manuscript of this translation is in the British museum, perhaps the copy presented, with two epistles prefixed, from the duke to Petrus Candidus[l]. Petrus de Monte, another learned Italian, of Venice, in the dedication of his treatise DE VIRTUTUM ET VITIORUM DIFFERENTIA to the duke of Glocester, mentions

[g] PROL. Sign. A. ii. A. iii. edit. Wayland, ut supr. He adds,

And hath joye with clarkes to commune,
And no man is more expert in langage,
Stable in study.—
His courage never dothe appall
To study in bokes of antiquitie.—
He studieth ever to have intelligence,
Readyng of bokes.—
And with support of his magnificence,
Under the wings of his protection,—
I shall proceed in this translation.—
Lowly submittyng, every houre and space,
My rude langage to my lordes grace.

See also fol. xxxviii. b. col. 2. Lydgate has an epitaph on the duke, MSS. Ashmol. 59. 2. MSS. Harl. 2251. 6. fol. 7. There is a curious letter of Lydgate, in which he sends for a supply of money to the duke, while he was translating BOCHAS. "Litterra dom. Joh. Lydgate missa ad ducem "Glocestrie in *tempore translationis Bochasii*, "pro *opportunitate pecunie*." MSS. ibid. 5. fol. 6. See also ibid. 131. fol. 279. b. of the duke's marriage.

[h] Leland, Script. p. 442.

[i] See MSS. Bodl. D. i. 8. 10. And Leland, Script. p. 443.

[k] Leland, Script. p. 442. And Mus. Ashmol. 789. f. 54. 56. Where are also two of the duke's epistles to Petrus Candidus.

[l] P. Candidi Decembris, Duci Mediolani a secretis, Translatio POLITIÆ Platonis,—ad Humfredum Gloucestrie Ducem, &c. Cui præfiguntur duæ Epistolæ Ducis Glocestriæ ad P. Candidum. Most elegantly written. Membran. ad fin. "Cest livre est "a moy Humfrey Duc de Glocestre du don "P. Candidus secretarie du duc de Mylan." Catal. MSS. Angl. tom. ii. pag. 212. Num. 6858. [See MSS. Harl. 1705. fol.]

the

the latter's ardent attachment to books of all kinds, and the ſingular avidity with which he purſued every ſpecies of literature [m]. A tract, entitled COMPARATIO STUDIORUM ET REI MILITARIS, written by Lapus de Caſtellione, a Florentine civilian, and a great tranſlator into Latin of the Greek claſſics, is alſo inſcribed to the duke, at the deſire of Zeno archbiſhop of Bayeux. I muſt not forget, that our illuſtrious duke invited into England the learned Italian, Tito Livio of Foro-Juli, whom he naturaliſed, and conſtituted his poet and orator [n]. Humphrey alſo retained learned foreigners in his ſervice, for the purpoſe of tranſcribing, and of tranſlating from Greek into Latin. One of theſe was Antonio de Beccaria, a Veroneſe, a tranſlator into Latin proſe of the Greek poem of Dionyſius Afer DE SITU ORBIS [o]: whom the duke employed to tranſlate into Latin ſix tracts of Athanaſius. This tranſlation, inſcribed to the duke, is now among the royal manuſcripts in the Britiſh Muſeum, and at the end, in his own hand-writing, is the following inſertion: " C'eſt livre eſt a moi Homphrey Duc le Glouceſtre: le quel " je fis tranſlater de Grec en Latin par un de mes ſecretaires " Antoyne de Beccara, nè de Verone [p]."

An aſtronomical tract, entitled by Leland TABULÆ DIRECTIONUM, is falſely ſuppoſed to have been written by duke Humphrey [q]. But it was compiled at the duke's inſtance, and according to tables which himſelf had conſtructed, called by the anonymous author in his preface, *Tabulas illuſtriſſimi principis et nobiliſſimi domini mei Humfredi*, &c [r]. In the library of Greſham college, however, there is a ſcheme of calculations in

[m] MSS. Nowic. MORE. 257. Bibl. publ. Cantabrig.

[n] Author of the *Vita Henrici quinti*, printed by Hearne, Oxon. 1716. And of other pieces. See Hollinſh. iii. 585.

[o] Printed at Venice 1477. Ibid. 1498. Pariſ. 1501. Baſil. 1534. 4to.

[p] MSS. Reg. 5 F. 4to. ii. In the ſame library is a fine folio manuſcript of " Chronique des Roys de France juſques a la " mort de S. Loys, l'an. 1270." At the end is written with the duke of Glouceſter's hand, " C eſt livre eſt a moy Homfrey duc " de Glouceſtre du don des executeurs le " Sr de Faunhore." 16 G. vi.

[q] See Hollingſh. Chron. ſub. ann. 1461. f. 662. col. 2.

[r] MSS. More, 820.

 aſtronomy,

aſtronomy, which bear his name [1]. Aſtronomy was then a favourite ſcience: nor is to be doubted, that he was intimately acquainted with the politer branches of knowledge, which now began to acquire eſtimation, and which his liberal and judicious attention greatly contributed to reſtore.

I cloſe this ſection with an apology for Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve; who are ſuppoſed, by the ſeverer etymologiſts, to have corrupted the purity of the Engliſh language, by affecting to introduce ſo many foreign words and phraſes. But if we attend only to the politics of the times, we ſhall find theſe poets, as alſo ſome of their ſucceſſors, much leſs blameable in this reſpect, than the critics imagine. Our wars with France, which began in the reign of Edward the third, were of long continuance. The principal nobility of England, at this period, reſided in France, with their families, for many years. John king of France kept his court in England; to which, excluſive of theſe French lords who were his fellow-priſoners, or neceſſary attendants, the chief nobles of his kingdom muſt have occaſionally reſorted. Edward the black prince made an expedition into Spain. John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, and his brother the duke of York, were matched with the daughters of Don Pedro king of Caſtile. All theſe circumſtances muſt have concurred to produce a perceptible change in the language of the court. It is rational therefore, and it is equitable to ſuppoſe, that inſtead of coining new words, they only complied with the common and faſhionable modes of ſpeech. Would Chaucer's poems have been the delight of thoſe courts in which he lived, had they been filled with unintelligible pedantries? The cotemporaries of theſe poets never complained of their obſcurity. But whether defenſible on theſe principles or not, they much improved the vernacular ſtyle by the uſe of this exotic phraſeology. It was thus that our primitive diction was enlarged and enriched. The Engliſh language owes its copiouſneſs, elegance, and harmony, to theſe innovations.

[1] MSS. Greſh. 66. See MSS. Aſhmol. 856.

SECT.

SECT. III.

I Consider Chaucer as a genial day in an English spring. A brilliant sun enlivens the face of nature with an unusual lustre: the sudden appearance of cloudless skies, and the unexpected warmth of a tepid atmosphere, after the gloom and the inclemencies of a tedious winter, fill our hearts with the visionary prospect of a speedy summer: and we fondly anticipate a long continuance of gentle gales and vernal serenity. But winter returns with redoubled horrors: the clouds condense more formidably than before; and those tender buds, and early blossoms, which were called forth by the transient gleam of a temporary sun-shine, are nipped by frosts, and torn by tempests.

Most of the poets that immediately succeeded Chaucer, seem rather relapsing into barbarism, than availing themselves of those striking ornaments which his judgment and imagination had disclosed. They appear to have been insensible to his vigour of versification, and his flights of fancy. It was not indeed likely that a poet should soon arise equal to Chaucer: and it must be remembered, that the national distractions which ensued, had no small share in obstructing the exercise of those studies which delight in peace and repose. His successors, however, approach him in no degree of proportion. Among these, John Lydgate is the poet who follows him at the shortest interval.

I have placed Lydgate in the reign of Henry the sixth, and he seems to have arrived at his highest point of eminence about the year 1430[t]. Many of his poems, however,

[t] In a copy of Lydgate's *Chronicle of English Kings*, there is a stanza of Edward the fourth. MSS. Harl. 2251. 3. In his poem *Ab inimicis nostris*, &c. Edward the fourth, his *Quene* and *Modir* are remembered. MSS. Harl. ibid. 9. fol. 10. But these pieces could not well be written by Lydgate. For he was ordained a subdeacon, 1389. Deacon,

appeared before. He was a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Bury in Suffolk, and an uncommon ornament of his profession. Yet his genius was so lively, and his accomplishments so numerous, that I suspect the holy father saint Benedict would hardly have acknowledged him for a genuine disciple. After a short education at Oxford, he travelled into France and Italy [u]; and returned a complete master of the language and the literature of both countries. He chiefly studied the Italian and French poets, particularly Dante, Boccacio, and Alain Chartier; and became so distinguished a proficient in polite learning, that he opened a school in his monastery, for teaching the sons of the nobility the arts of versification, and the elegancies of composition. Yet although philology was his object, he was not unfamiliar with the fashionable philosophy: he was not only a poet and a rhetorician, but a geometrician, an astronomer, a theologist, and a disputant. On the whole I am of opinion, that Lydgate made considerable additions to those amplifications of our language, in which Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve led the way: and that he is the first of our writers whose style is cloathed with that perspicuity, in which the English phraseology appears at this day to an English reader.

To enumerate Lydgate's pieces, would be to write the catalogue of a little library. No poet seems to have possessed a greater versatility of talents. He moves with equal ease in every mode of composition. His hymns, and his ballads, have the same degree of merit: and whether his subject be the life of a hermit or a hero, of saint Austin or Guy earl of Warwick, ludicrous or legendary, religious or romantic, a

con, 1393. And priest, 1397. Registr. Gul. Cratfield, abbatis de Bury, MSS. Cott. TIBER. B. ix. fol. 1. 35. 52. Edward came to the crown, 1461. Pitts says, that our author died, 1482. Lydgate, in his PHILOMELA, mentions the death of Henry lord Warwick, who died in 1446. MSS. Harl. ibid. 120. fol. 255.

[u] See one of his DITTIES, MSS. Harl. 2255. 41. fol. 148.

I have been offte in dyvers londys, &c.

history

hiſtory or an allegory, he writes with facility. His tranſitions were rapid from works of the moſt ſerious and laborious kind to ſallies of levity and pieces of popular entertainment. His muſe was of univerſal acceſs; and he was not only the poet of his monaſtery, but of the world in general. If a diſguiſing was intended by the company of goldſmiths, a maſk before his majeſty at Eltham, a maygame for the ſheriffs and aldermen of London, a mumming before the lord mayor, a proceſſion of pageants from the creation for the feſtival of Corpus Chriſti, or a carol for the coronation, Lydgate was conſulted and gave the poetry [x].

About the year 1430, Whethamſtede the learned and liberal abbot of ſaint Albans, being deſirous of familiariſing the hiſtory of his patron ſaint to the monks of his convent, employed Lydgate, as it ſhould ſeem, then a monk of Bury, to tranſlate the Latin legend of his life in Engliſh rhymes. The chronicler who records a part of this anecdote ſeems to conſider Lydgate's tranſlation, as a matter of mere manual mechaniſm; for he adds, that Whethamſtede paid for the tranſlation, the writing, and illuminations, one hundred ſhillings. It was placed before the altar of the ſaint, which Whethamſtede afterwards adorned with much magnificence, in the abbey church [y].

Our author's ſtanzas, called the DANCE OF DEATH, which he tranſlated from the French, at the requeſt of the chapter of ſaint Paul's, to be inſcribed under the repreſentation of DEATH leading all ranks of men about the cloiſter of their

[x] See a variety of his pieces of this kind, MSS. Aſhmol. 59. ii. Stowe ſays, that at the reception of Margaret queen of Henry ſixth, ſeveral pageaunts, the verſes by Lydgate, were ſhewn at Paul's gate, in 1445. Hiſt. p. 385. See alſo MSS. Harl. 2251. 118. fol. 250. b. The COVENTRY PLAY for Corpus Chriſti day, in the Cotton library, was very probably written by our author. VESPAS. D. viii. fol.

[y] GEST. Joh. Whethamſt. ut ſupr. p. cxvi. cxxvii. cxxiv. It is added, that Whethamſtede expended on the binding, and other exterior ornaments of the manuſcript, upwards of three pounds. Bale and Pitts ſay, that Whethamſtede himſelf made the tranſlation. p. 584. 630. It is in Trinity college at Oxford, MSS. 10. And in Lincoln cathedral, MSS. I. 57. Among Lydgate's works is recited, *Vita S. Albani Martyris ad* JOH. FRUMENTARIUM [Whethamſtede] *abbatem.*

church

church in a curious ſeries of paintings, are well known. But their hiſtory has not, I believe, yet appeared. Theſe verſes, founded on a ſort of ſpiritual maſquerade, anciently celebrated in churches [a], were originally written by one Macaber in German rhymes, and were tranſlated into Latin about the year 1460, by one who calls himſelf Petrus Deſrey Orator. This Latin tranſlation was publiſhed by Goldaſtus, at the end of the SPECULUM OMNIUM STATUUM TOTIUS ORBIS TERRARUM compiled by Rodericus Zamorenſis, and printed at Hanau in the year 1613 [b]. But a French tranſlation was made much earlier than the Latin, and written about the walls of ſaint Innocents cloiſter at Paris; from which Lydgate formed his Engliſh verſion [c].

In the Britiſh Muſeum is a moſt ſplendid and elegant manuſcript on vellum, undoubtedly a preſent to king Henry the ſixth [d]. It contains a ſet of Lydgate's poems, in honour of ſaint Edmund the patron of his monaſtery at Bury. Beſides the decoration of illuminated initials, and one hundred and twenty pictures of various ſizes, repreſenting the incidents related in the poetry, executed with the moſt delicate pencil, and exhibiting the habits, weapons, architecture,

[a] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 210. Notes, [h].

A DANCE OF DEATH ſeems to be alluded to ſo early as in Pierce Plowman's VISIONS, written about 1350.

DEATH came driving after and al to duſt paſhed
KYNGS, and KAISARS, KNIGHTS, and POPES.

[b] In 4to.

[c] See the DAUNCE OF MACABRE, MSS. Harl. 116. 9. fol. 129. And OBSERVATIONS on the FAIRY QUEEN, vol. ii. p. 116. ſeq. The DANCE OF DEATH, falſly ſuppoſed to have been invented by Holbein, is different from this, though founded in the ſame idea. It was painted by Holbein in the Auguſtine monaſtery at Baſil, 1543. But it appeared much earlier. In the chronicle of Hartmannus Schedelius, Norimb. 1493. fol. In the Quotidian Offices of the church, Paris, 1515. 8vo. And, in public buildings, at Minden, in Weſtphalia, ſo early as 1383. At Lubec, in the portico of ſaint Mary's church, 1463. At Dreſden, in the caſtle or palace, 1534. At Annaberg, 1525. At Leipſic, &c. Paul Chriſtian Hilſcher has written a very learned and entertaining German book on this ſubject, printed at Dreſden, 1705. 8vo. Engravings of Holbein's pictures at Baſil were publiſhed, curante Matthæo Meriano, at Francfort 1649, and 1725, 4to. The German verſes there aſcribed, appeared in Latin elegiacs, in Caſpar Landiſman's DECENNALIA HUMANÆ PEREGRINATIONIS, A. D. 1584. I have not mentioned in my Obſervations on Spenſer, that Georgius Æmylius publiſhed this DANCE at Lyons, 1542. One year before Holbein's painting at Baſil appeared. Next, at the ſame place, 1547. 8vo.

[d] MSS. Harl. 2278. 4to.

utenſils,

utensils, and many other curious particulars, belonging to the age of the ingenious illuminator, there are two exquisite portraits of the king, one of William Curteis abbot of Bury, and one of the poet Lydgate kneeling at saint Edmund's shrine[e]. In one of the king's pictures, he is represented on his throne, crowned, and receiving this volume from the abbot kneeling: in another he appears as a child prostrate on a carpet at saint Edmund's shrine, which is richly delineated, yet without any idea of perspective or proportion. The figures of a great number of monks, and attendants, are introduced. Among the rest, two noblemen, perhaps the king's uncles, with bonnets, or caps, of an uncommon shape. It appears that our pious monarch kept his Christmas at this magnificent monastery, and that he remained here, in a state of seclusion from the world, and of an exemption from public cares, till the following Easter: and that at his departure he was created a brother of the chapter[f]. It is highly probable, that this sumptuous book, the poetry of which was undertaken by Lydgate at the command of abbot Curteis[g], was previously prepared, and presented to his majesty during the royal visit, or very soon afterwards. The substance of the whole work is the life or history of saint Edmund, whom the poet calls the "precious charboncle of martirs alle[h]." In some of the prefatory pictures, there is a

[e] There is an antient drawing, probably coeval, of Lydgate presenting his poem called the PILGRIM to the earl of Salisbury, MSS. Harl. 4826. 1. It was written 1426. Another of these drawings will be mentioned below.

[f] Fol. 6.

[g] Curteis was abbot of Bury between the years 1429, and 1445. It appears that Lydgate was also commanded, "Late charchyd in myn oold days," to make an English metrical translation of *De Profundis*, &c. To be hung against the walls of the abbey church. MSS. Harl. 2255. 11. fol. 40. See the last stanza.

[h] The poet's *Prayer to saint Edmund for his assistance in compiling his* LIFE, fol. 9. The history begins thus, fol. 10. b.

In Saxonie whilom ther was a kyng
Callid Alkmond of excellent noblesse.

It seems to be taken from John of Tinmouth's SANCTILOGIUM, who flourished about the year 1360. At the end, connected with saint Edmund's legend, and a part of the work, is the life of saint Fremund. fol. 69. b. But Lydgate has made many additions. It begins thus,

Who han remembre the myracles merueilous
Which Crist Jhesu list for his seyntes shewe.

Compare MSS. Harl. 372. 1. 2. fol. 1. 25. 43. b.

description.

deſcription and a delineation of two banners, pretended to belong to ſaint Edmund[i]. One of theſe is moſt brilliantly diſplayed, and charged with Adam and Eve, the ſerpent with a human ſhape to the middle, the tree of life, the holy lamb, and a variety of ſymbolical ornaments. This banner our bard feigns to have been borne by his ſaint, who was a king of the eaſt Angles, againſt the Danes: and he propheſies, that king Henry, with this enſign, would always return victorious[k]. The other banner, given alſo to ſaint Edmund, appears to be painted with the arms of our poet's monaſtery, and its blazoning is thus deſcribed.

The' other ſtandard, ffeld ſable, off colour ynde[l],
In which of gold been notable crownys thre,
The firſt toknè: in cronycle men may fynde,
Grauntyd to hym for royal dignyte:
And the ſecond for his virgynyte:
For martyrdam the thridde, in his ſuffring.

To theſe annexyd feyth, hope, and charyte,
In toknè he was martyr, mayd, and kyng.
Theſe three crownys[m] kynge Edmund bar certeyn,
Whan he was ſent by grace of goddis hand,
At Geyneſburuhe for to ſleyn kyng Sweyn.

A ſort of office, or ſervice to ſaint Edmund, conſiſting of an antiphone, verſicle, reſponſe, and collect, is introduced with theſe verſes.

To all men preſent, or in abſence,
Whiche to ſeynt Edmund have devocion
With hool herte and dewe reverence,
Seyn[n] this antephnè and this oriſon;

[i] Fol. 2. 4. [k] Fol. 2. [l] Blue. [m] See fol. 103. b. f. 104. [n] Sing.

Two

Two hundred days is grauntid of pardoun,
Writ and regiſtred afforn his holy ſhryne,
Which for our feyth ſuffrede paſſioun,
Blyſſyd Edmund, kyng, martyr, and virgyne.

This is our poet's *l'envoye*.

Go littel book, be ferfull, quaak for drede,
For to appere in ſo hyhe preſence [o].

Lydgate's poem called the LYFE OF OUR LADY, printed by Caxton [p], is opened with theſe harmonious and elegant lines, which do not ſeem to be deſtitute of that eloquence which the author wiſhes to ſhare with Tully, Petrarch, and Chaucer [q]. He compares the holy Virgin to a ſtar.

O thoughtfull hertè, plonged in diſtreſſe
With ſlombre of ſlouth, this long wynter's night!
Out of the ſlepe of mortal hevineſſe
Awake anon, and loke upon the light
Of thilkè ſterre, that with her bemys bright,
And with the ſhynynge of her ſtremes meryè,
Is wont to glad all our hemiſperie [r]!—

This ſterre in beautie paſſith Pleiades,
Bothe of ſhynynge, and eke of ſtremes clere,
Bootes, and Arctur, and alſo Iades,
And Eſperus, whan that it doth appere:
For this is Spica, with her brightè ſpere [s],

[o] Fol. 118. b.

[p] "This book was compyled by Dan John Lydgate monke of Burye, at the excitation and ſtyrrynge of the noble and victorious prynce, Harry the fyfthe, in the honowre, glory and reverance of the byrthe of our moſt bleſſed lady, &c." Without date. fol. Afterwards by Robert Redman, 1531. 4to. See MSS. Harl. 629. fol. membran.

[q] Cap. xxxiii. xxxiv.

[r] Hemiſphere.

[s] *Sphere*.

That towarde evyn, at midnyght, and at morowe,
Downe from hevyn adawith [t] al our forowe.—

And dryeth up the bytter terys wete
Of Aurora, after the morowe graye,
That ſhe in wepying dothe on floures flete [u],
In luſty Aprill, and in freſhè Maye:
And cauſeth Phebus, the bryght ſomers daye,
Wyth his wayne gold-yborned [w], bryght and fayre,
To' enchaſe the myſtès of our cloudy ayre.

Now fayrè ſterre, O ſterre of ſterrys all!
Whoſe lyght to ſe the angels do delyte,
So let the gold-dewe of thy grace yfall
Into my breſte, lyke ſcalys fayre and whyte,
Me to enſpire [x]!— — — —

Lydgate's manner is naturally verboſe and diffuſe. This circumſtance contributed in no ſmall degree to give a clearneſs and a fluency to his phraſeology. For the ſame reaſon he is often tedious and languid. His chief excellence is in deſcription, eſpecially where the ſubject admits a flowery diction. He is ſeldom pathetic, or animated.

In another part of this poem, where he collects arguments to convince unbelievers that Chriſt might be born of a pure virgin, he thus ſpeaks of God's omnipotence.

And he that made the high and criſtal heven,
The firmament, and alſo every ſphere,
The golden ax-tre [y], and the ſterres ſeven,
Citherea, ſo luſty for to' appere,

[t] Affright. Remove.
[u] *Float.* Drop.
[w] *Burniſhed with gold.* So in Lydgate's Legend on Dan Joos a monk, taken from Vincentius Bellovacenſis's *Speculum* HISTORIALE, the name Maria is *ful fayre igraven* on a red roſe, in *lettris of* BOURNID *gold.* MSS. Harl. 2251. 39. fol. 71. b.
[x] Prologue.
[y] Of the ſun.

And

And reddè Marſe [z], with his ſternè here;
Myght he not eke onèly for our ſake
Wythyn a mayde of man his [a] kyndè take?

For he that doth the tender braunches ſprynge,
And the freſshe flouris in the gretè mede,
That were in wynter dede and eke droupynge,
Of bawmè all yvoyd and leſtyhede;
Myght he not make his grayne to growe and ſede,
Within her breſt, that was both mayd and wyfe,
Whereof is made the ſothfaſt [b] breade of lyfe [c]?

We are ſurpriſed to find verſes of ſo modern a caſt as the following at ſuch an early period; which in this ſagacious age we ſhould judge to be a forgery, was not their genuineneſs authenticated, and their antiquity confirmed, by the venerable types of Caxton, and a multitude of unqueſtionable manuſcripts.

Like as the dewe diſcendeth on the roſe
With ſylver drops [d].— — —

Our Saviour's crucifixion is expreſſed by this remarkable metaphor.

Whan he of purple did his baner ſprede
On Calvarye abroad upon the rode,
To ſave mankynde [e]. . — — —

Our author, in the courſe of his panegyric on the Virgin Mary, affirms, that ſhe exceeded Heſter in meekneſs, and Judith in wiſdom; and in beauty, Helen, Polyxena, Lucretia, Dido,

[z] *Mars.*
[a] Nature.
[b] True.
[c] Cap. xx.
[d] Cap. xix.
[e] Cap. ix.

Bathſheba, and Rachel[f]. It is amazing, that in an age of the moſt ſuperſtitious devotion ſo little diſcrimination ſhould have been made between ſacred and profane characters and incidents. But the common ſenſe of mankind had not yet attained a juſt eſtimate of things. Lydgate, in another piece, has verſified the rubrics of the miſſal, which he applies to the god Cupid: and declares, with how much delight he frequently meditated on the holy legend of thoſe conſtant martyrs, who were not afraid to ſuffer death for the faith of that omnipotent divinity[g]. There are inſtances, in which religion was even made the inſtrument of love. Arnaud Daniel, a celebrated troubadour of the thirteenth century, in a fit of amorous deſpair, promiſes to found a multitude of annual maſſes, and to dedicate perpetual tapers to the ſhrines of ſaints, for the important purpoſe of obtaining the affections of an obdurate miſtreſs.

[f] Cap. iv. In a LIFE of the Virgin in the Britiſh muſeum, I find theſe eaſy lyrics introduced, MSS. Harl. 2382. 2. 3. fol. 75. fol. 86. b. Though I am not certain that they properly belong to this work.

A mery tale I telle yow may
Of ſeynt Marie that ſwete may:
Alle the tale of this leſſone
Is of her Aſſumptione.——
Mary moder, welle thee be!
Mary mayden, thenk on me!
Mayden and moder was never none,
Togader, lady, ſave thee allone.

But theſe lines will be conſidered again.

[g] MSS. Fairfax, xvi. Bibl. Bodl.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

BUT Lydgate's principal poems are the FALL OF PRINCES, the SIEGE OF THEBES, and the DESTRUCTION OF TROY. Of all these I shall speak distinctly.

About the year 1360, Boccacio wrote a Latin history in ten books, entitled DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ET FEMINARUM ILLUSTRIUM. Like other chronicles of the times, it commences with Adam, and is brought down to the author's age. Its last grand event is John king of France taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Poitiers, in the year 1359[a]. This book of Boccacio was soon afterwards translated into French, by one of whom little more seems to be known, than that he was named Laurence; yet so paraphrastically, and with so many considerable additions, as almost to be rendered a new work[b]. Laurence's French

[a] Printed at Ausbourg. And at Paris, 1544. fol. It is amazing, that Vossius should not know the number of books of which this work consisted, and that it was ever printed. De Hist. Lat. lib. iii. cap. ii. It was translated into Italian by Betussi, in Firenza, 1566. 8vo. 2 volum.

[b] In Lydgate's PROLOGUE, B. i. fol. i. a col. 1. edit. ut infr.

He that sumtime did his diligence
The boke of Bochas *in French to translate*
Out of Latin, he called was LAURENCE.

He says that Laurence (in his Prologue) declares, that he avails himself of the privilege of skillful artificers; who may *chaunge and turne*, by *good discretion*, *shapes and forms*, and newly *them devise*, *make and unmake*, &c. And that old authors may be rendered more agreeable, by being cloathed in new ornaments of language, and improved with new inventions. Ibid. a. col. 1. He adds, that it was Laurence's design, in his translation into French, to *amende*, *correct*, and declare, *and not to spare thinges touched shortly*. Ibid. col. 2. Afterwards he calls him this *noble translatour*. Ibid. b. col. 1. In another place, where a panegyric on France is introduced, he says that this passage is not Boccacio's, but added,

By one LAURENCE, which was *translatour*
Of this processe, to *commende* France;
To prayse that lande was all his *pleasaunce*.

B. ix. ch. 28. fol. 31. a. col. 1. edit ut infr. Our author, in the Prologue above-cited, seems to speak as if there had been a previous translation of Boccacio's book into French. Ut supr. a. col. 1.

Thus LAURENCE from him envy excluded
Though *toforne him translated* was this book.

But I suspect he only means, that Boccacio's original work was nothing more than a collection or compilation from more ancient authors.

translation,

tranſlation, of which there is a copy in the Britiſh Muſeum[c], and which was printed at Lyons in the year 1483[d], is the original of Lydgate's poem. This Laurence or Laurent, ſometimes called Laurent de Premierfait, a village in the dioceſe of Troies, was an eccleſiaſtic, and a famous tranſlator. He alſo tranſlated into French Boccacio's DECAMERON, at the requeſt of Jane queen of Navarre: Cicero DE AMICITIA and DE SENECTUTE; and Ariſtotle's Oeconomics, dedicated to Louis de Bourbon, the king's uncle. Theſe verſions appeared in the year 1414 and 1416[e]. Caxton's TULLIUS OF OLD AGE, or DE SENECTUTE, printed in 1481, is tranſlated from Laurence's French verſion. Caxton, in the poſtſcript, calls him *Laurence de primo facto.*

Lydgate's poem conſiſts of nine books, and is thus entitled in the earlieſt edition. " The TRAGEDIES gathered " by Jhon BOCHAS of all ſuch princes as fell from theyr " eſtates throughe the mutability of fortune ſince the CRE- " ACION of ADAM until his time, &c. Tranſlated into " Engliſh by John Lidgate monke of Burye[f]." The beſt and moſt authentic manuſcript of this piece is in the Britiſh Muſeum; probably written under the inſpection of the author, and perhaps intended as a preſent to Humphrey duke of Gloceſter, at whoſe gracious command the poem, as I have before hinted, was undertaken. It contains among

[c] MSS. Harl. See alſo ibid. MSS. Reg. 18 D. vii. And 16 G. v. And MSS. Bodl. F. 10. 2. [2465.] He is ſaid to have tranſlated this work in 1409. MSS. Reg. ut ſupr. 20 C. iv.

[d] In folio. Bayle ſays, that a French tranſlation appeared at Paris, by Claudius Vitart, in 1578. 8vo. Diction. BOCCACE. Note g.

[e] He died in 1418. See Martene, Ampl. Collect. tom. ii. p. 1405. And Mem. de Litt. xvii. 759. 4to. Compare du Verdier, Biblioth. Fr. p 72. And Bibl. Rom. ii. 291. It is extraordinary that the piece before us ſhould not be mentioned by the French antiquaries as one of Laurence's tranſlations. Lydgate, in the Prologue above-cited, obſerves, that Laurence, who in *cunyng did excel*, undertook this tranſlation at the requeſt of ſome eminent perſonages in France, who had the intereſt of *rhetorike* at heart. Ut ſupr. a. col. 2.

[f] Imprinted at London by John Wayland, without date, fol. He printed in the reign of Henry the eighth. There is a ſmall piece by Lydgate, not connected with this, entitled *The Tragedy of princes that were* LECHEROUS. MSS. Aſhmol. 59. ii.

numerous

numerous miniatures illuſtrating the ſeveral hiſtories, portraits of Lydgate, and of another monk habited in black, perhaps an abbot of Bury, kneeling before a prince, who ſeems to be ſaint Edmund, ſeated on a throne under a canopy, and graſping an arrow[g].

The work is not improperly ſtyled a ſet of tragedies. It is not merely a narrative of men eminent for their rank and misfortunes. The plan is perfectly dramatic, and partly ſuggeſted by the pageants of the times. Every perſonage is ſuppoſed to appear before the poet, and to relate his reſpective ſufferings: and the figures of theſe ſpectres are ſometimes finely drawn. Hence a ſource is opened for moving compaſſion, and for a diſplay of imagination. In ſome of the lives the author replies to the ſpeaker, and a ſort of dialogue is introduced for conducting the ſtory. Brunchild, a queen of France, who murthered all her children, and was afterwards hewn in pieces, appears thus.

She came, arayed nothing like a quene,
Her hair untreſſed, Bochas toke good hede;
In al his booke he had afore not ſene
A more wofull creature indede,
With weping eyne, to torne was al her wede:
Rebuking Bochas cauſe he had left behynde
Her wretchednes for to put in mynde[h].

Yet in ſome of theſe intereſting interviews, our poet excites pity of another kind. When Adam appears, he familiarly accoſts the author with the ſalutation of *Coſyn Bochas*[i].

Nor does our dramatiſt deal only in real characters and hiſtorical perſonages. Boccacio ſtanding penſive in his library, is alarmed at the ſudden entrance of the gigantic and mon-

[g] MSS. Harl. 1766. fol. 5.
[h] Lib. vii. f. xxi. a. col. 1.
[i] B. i. fol. i. a. col. 2. In the ſame ſtyle he calls Ixion Juno's *ſecretary*. B. i. ch. xii. fol. xxi. b. col. 2.

ſtrous

ſtrous image of FORTUNE, whoſe agency has ſo powerful and univerſal an influence in human affairs, and eſpecially in effecting thoſe viciſſitudes which are the ſubject of this work. There is a Gothic greatneſs in her figure, with ſome touches of the groteſque. An attribute of the early poetry of all nations, before ideas of ſelection have taken place. I muſt add, that it was Boethius's admired allegory on the CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY, which introduced perſonification into the poetry of the middle ages.

Whyle Bochas penſyfe ſtode in his lybrarye,
Wyth chere oppreſſed, pale in hys vyſage,
Somedeale abaſhed, alone and ſolitarye;
To hym appeared a monſtruous ymage,
Parted in twayne of color and corage,
Her ryght ſyde ful of ſommer floures,
The tother oppreſſed with winter ſtormy ſhowres.

Bochas aſtonied, full fearfull to abrayde,
When he beheld the wonderfull fygure
Of FORTUNE, thus to hymſelf he ſayde.
" What may this meane? Is this a crëature,
" Or a monſtrè transfourmed agayne nature,
" Whoſe brenning eyen ſpercle of their lyght,
" As do the ſterres the froſty wynter nyght?"

And of her cherè ful god hede he toke;
Her face ſemyng cruel and terrible,
And by diſdaynè menacing of loke;
Her heare untrussd, harde, ſharpe, and horyble,
Frowarde of ſhape, lothſome, and odible:
An hundred handes ſhe had, of eche part[k],
In ſondrye wiſe her gyftes to departe[l].

[k] On either ſide. [l] Diſtribute.

Some

Some of her handès lyft up men alofte,
To hye eſtate of wordlye dignitè;
Another handè griped ful unſofte,
Which caſt another in grete adverſite,
Gave one richeſſe, another poverte, &c.—

Her habyte was of manyfolde colours,
Watchet blewè of fayned ſtedfaſtneſſe,
Her gold allayd like ſun in watry ſhowres,
Meynt [m] with grene, for chaunge and doubleneſſe.—

Her hundred hands, her burning eyes, and diſheveled treſſes, are ſublimely conceived. After a long ſilence, with a ſtern countenance ſhe addreſſes Bochas, who is greatly terrified at her horrible appearance; and having made a long harangue on the revolutions and changes which it is her buſineſs to produce among men of the moſt proſperous condition and the moſt elevated ſtation, ſhe calls up Caius Marius, and preſents him to the poet.

Blacke was his wede, and his habyte alſo,
His heed unkempt, his lockès hore and gray,
His loke downe-caſt in token of ſorowe and wo;
On his chekès the ſaltè teares lay,
Which bare recorde of his deadly affray.——

His robè ſtayned was with Romayne blode,
His ſworde aye redy whet to do vengeaunce;
Lyke a tyraunt moſt furyouſe and wode [n],
In ſlaughter and murdre ſet at his pleſaunce [o].

She then teaches Bochas how to deſcribe his life, and diſappears.

[m] Mingled. [n] Mad. [o] Ibid. f. cxxxviii. b. col. 2.

Theſe wordès ſaydè, Fortune made an ende,
She bete her wynges, and toke her to flyght,
I can not ſè what waye ſhe did wende;
Save Bochas telleth, lyke an angell bryght,
At her departing ſhe ſhewed a great lyght [p].

In another place, Dante, "of Florence the laureate poete, "demure of loke fullfilled with patience," appears to Bochas; and commands him to write the tale of Gualter duke of Florence, whoſe days *for his tiranny, lechery, and covetyſe, ended in miſchefe.* Dante then vaniſhes, and only duke Gualter is left alone with the poet [q]. Petrarch is alſo introduced for the ſame purpoſe [r].

The following golden couplet, concerning the prodigies which preceded the civil wars between Ceſar and Pompey, indicate dawnings of that poetical colouring of expreſſion, and of that facility of verſification, which mark the poetry of the preſent times.

Serpents and adders, ſcaled ſylver-bryght,
Were over Rome ſene flying al the nyght [s].

Theſe verſes, in which the poet deſcribes the reign of Saturn, have much harmony, ſtrength, and dignity.

Fortitude then ſtode ſtedfaſt in his might,
Defended wydowes, cheriſhd chaſtity;
Knyghtehood in prowes gave ſo clere a light,
Girte with his ſworde of truthe and equity [t].

Apollo, Diana, and Minerva, joining the Roman army, when Rome was beſieged by Brennus, are poetically touched.

[p] Ibid. fol. cxxxix. a. col. 2.

[q] B. ix. fol. xxxiv. b. col. 1. 2. In another place Dante's three books on heaven, purgatory, and hell, are particularly commended. B. iv. Prol. fol. xciii. a. col. 1.

[r] B. viii. fol. 1. Prol. a. b. He mentions all Petrarch's works, Prol. B. iv. fol. 93. a. col. 1.

[s] B. vi. fol. 147. a. col. 1.

[t] B. viii. fol. 161. b. col. 1.

Appollo

Appollo firſt yſhewed his preſence,
Freſshe, yonge, and luſty, as any ſunnè ſhene,
Armd all with golde; and with great vyolence
Entred the feldè, as it was wel ſene:
And Dianà came with her arowes kene:
And Mynervà in a bryght haberjoun;
Which in ther coming made a terrible ſoun [u].

And the following lines are remarkable.

God hath a thouſand handès to chaſtyſe,
A thouſand dartès of punicion,
A thouſand bowès made in divers wyſe,
A thouſand arlblaſts bent in his dongeon [v].

Lydgate, in this poem, quotes Seneca's tragedies [x] for the ſtory of Oedipus, Tully, Virgil and his commentator Servius, Ovid, Livy, Lucan, Lactantius, Juſtin [y] or "prudent "Juſtinus an old croniclere," Joſephus, Valerius Maximus, ſaint Jerom's chronicle, Boethius [z], Plato on the immortality of the ſoul [a], and Fulgentius the mythologiſt [b]. He mentions "noble Perſius," Proſper's epigrams, Vegetius's book on Tactics, which was highly eſteemed, as its ſubject coincided with the chivalry of the times, and which had been juſt tranſlated into French by John of Meun and Chriſtina of Piſa, and into Engliſh by John Treviſa [c], "the grene

[u] B. iv. ch. 22. fol. cxiii. a. col. 1,

[v] Tower. Caſtle. B. 1. ch. 3. fol. vi. a. col. 1.

[x] B. i. ch. 9. fol. xviii. a. col. 1.

[y] B. i. ch. 11. fol. xxi. b. col. 2. B. ii. ch. 6. fol. xlv. a. col. 1. B. iii. ch. 14. fol. lxxxi. b col. 1. Ibid. ch. 25. fol. lxxxix. a. col. 2. B. iv. ch. 11. fol. iii. b. col. 1. See PROL. B. i.

[z] B. ii. ch. 15. fol. li. a. col. 1. col. 2. Ibid. ch. 16. fol. 52. a. col. 2. Ibid. ch. 2. fol. xlii. a. col. 1. Ibid. ch. 30. fol. lxii. b. col. 1. B. viii. ch. 24. fol. xiiii. a. col. 2.

[a] B. iii. ch. 5. fol. lxxi. a. col. 1.

[b] B. ix. ch. 1. fol. xx. a. col. 1. From whom Boccacio largely tranſcribes in his GENEALOGIÆ DEORUM, hereafter mentioned.

[c] MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 233. *Princip.* "In olde tyme it was the manere." Finiſhed at the command of his patron Thomas lord Berkeley. See ſupr. vol. i. p. 343.

" chaplet of Esop and Juvenal[d]," Euripides " in his tyme " a great tragician, because he wrote many tragedies," and another called *Clarke* Demosthenes[e]. For a catalogue of Tully's works, he refers to the SPECULUM HISTORIALE[f], or *Myrrour Hystoriall*, of Vyncentius Bellovacensis; and says, that he wrote twelve books of Orations, and several *morall ditties*[g]. Aristotle is introduced as teaching Alexander and Callisthenes philosophy[h]. With regard to Homer, he observes, that " Grete Omerus, in Isidore ye may see, founde amonge " Grekes the crafte of eloquence[i]." By Isidore he means the ORIGINES, or ETYMOLOGIES of Isidore Hispalensis, in twenty books; a system of universal information, the encyclopede of the dark ages, and printed in Italy before the year 1472[k]. In another place, he censures the singular partiality of the book called *Omere*, which places Achilles above Hector[l]. Again, speaking of the Greek writers, he tells us, that Bochas mentions a *scriveyn*, or scribe, who in a small scroll of paper wrote the destruction of Troy, following Homer: a history much esteemed among the Greeks, on account of its brevity[m]. This was Dictys Cretensis, or Dares Phrygius.

[d] Prol. B. iv. fol. 92. a. col. 2. 93. a. col. 1.

[e] B. ii. ch. 22. fol. 54. b. col. 2.

[f] See supr. vol. i. p. .

[g] B. vi. ch. 15. fol. 151. b. col. 1.

[h] B. iv. ch. 9. fol. xcix. seq. This is from Aristotle's SECRETUM SECRETORUM, which Lydgate, as I have mentioned above, translated. But he did not finish the translation: for about the middle of it we have this note. " Here dyed this transl- " lator and notable poet John Lydgate, " monk of Bury, and FOWLER bygan his " prolog in this wyse. *Where floure of knight-* " *hood the bataile doth refuse.*" fol. 336. MSS. Laud. K. 53. The Prologue consists of ten stanzas: in which he compares himself to a dwarf entering the lists when the knight is foiled. But it is the *yong* FOWLER, in MSS. Laud. B. xxiv. In the Harleian copy of this piece I find the following note, at fol. 236. " Here deyde " the translatour a noble poete Dan Johne " Lydgate, and his *folowere* began his " prologe in this wise. Per Benedictum " Burghe. *Where floure of*, &c." MSS. Harl. 2251. 117. Where *Folowere* may be a corruption of *Folwer*, or *Fowler*. But it must be observed, that there was a Benedict Burghe, coeval with Lydgate, and preferred to many dignities in the church, who translated into English verse, for the use of lord Bourchier son of the earl of Essex, CATONIS *moralia carmina*, altered and printed by Caxton, 1483. fol. More will be said of Burgh's work in its proper place.

[i] B. ii. ch. 15. fol. 51. a. col. 2.

[k] See Gesner. Bibl. p. 468. And Matt. Annal. Typ. i. p. 100.

[l] B. iv. Prol. fol. 93. a. col. 1.

[m] B. ii. cap. 15. fol. 51. b. col. 1.

But

But for perpetuating the atchievements of the knights of the round table, he ſuppoſes that a clerk was appointed, and that he compiled a regiſter from the pourſuivants and heralds who attended their tournaments; and that thence the hiſtories of thoſe invincible champions were framed, which, whether read or ſung, have afforded ſo much delight [n]. For the ſtories of Conſtantine and Arthur he brings as his vouchers, the chronicle or romance called BRUT or BRUTUS, and Geoffrey of Monmouth [o]. He concludes the legend of Conſtantine by telling us, that an equeſtrian ſtatue in braſs is ſtill to be ſeen at Conſtantinople of that emperor; in which he appears armed with a prodigious ſword, menacing the Turks [p]. In deſcribing the Pantheon at Rome, he gives us ſome circumſtances highly romantic. He relates that this magnificent fane was full of gigantic idols, placed on lofty ſtages: theſe images were the gods of all the nations conquered by the Romans, and each turned his countenance to that province over which he preſided. Every image held in his hand a bell framed by magic; and when any kingdom belonging to the Roman juriſdiction was meditating rebellion againſt the imperial city, the idol of that country gave, by ſome ſecret principle, a ſolemn warning of the diſtant treaſon by ſtriking his bell, which never ſounded on any other occaſion [q]. Our author, following Boccacio who wrote the THESEID, ſuppoſes that Theſeus founded the order of knighthood at Athens [r]. He introduces, much in the manner of Boethius, a diſputation between Fortune and Poverty; ſuppoſed to have been written by ANDALUS the *blake*, a doctor of aſtronomy at Naples, who was one of Bochas's preceptors.

[n] B. viii. ch. 25. fol. xv. a. col. 1. See ſupr. col. 1. p. 331. ſeq.

[o] B. viii. ch. 13. fol. 7. a. col. 2. fol. 14. b. col. 1. fol. 16. a. col. 2. See ſupr. vol. 1. p. 62.

[p] B. viii. ch. 13. fol. viii. b. col. 2. Boccacio wrote the original Latin of this work long before the Turks took and ſacked Conſtantinople, in 1453.

[q] B. viii. ch. 1. fol. xx. a. col. 1.

[r] B. i. c. 12. fol. xxii. a. col. 2.

At

At Naples whylom, as he dothe ſpecifye,
In his youth when he [t] to ſchole went,
There was a doctour of aſtronomye.—
And he was called *Andalus the blake* [t].

Lydgate appears to have been far advanced in years when he finiſhed this poem: for at the beginning of the eighth book he complains of his trembling joints, and declares that age, having benumbed his faculties, has deprived him "of all "the ſubtylte of curious makyng in Englyſshe to endyte [u]." Our author, in the ſtructure and modulation of his ſtyle, ſeems to have been ambitious of rivalling Chaucer [w]: whoſe capital compoſitions he enumerates, and on whoſe poetry he beſtows repeated encomiums.

I cannot quit this work without adding an obſervation relating to Boccacio, its original author, which perhaps may deſerve attention. It is highly probable that Boccacio learned many anecdotes of Grecian hiſtory and Grecian fable, not to be found in any Greek writer now extant, from his preceptors Barlaam, Leontius, and others, who had lived at Conſtantinople while the Greek literature was yet flouriſhing. Some of theſe are perhaps ſcattered up and down in the compoſition before us, which contains a conſiderable part of the Grecian ſtory; and eſpecially in his treatiſe of the genealogies of the gods [x]. Boccacio himſelf calls his maſter Leontius an inexhauſtible archive of Grecian tales and fables, although not equally converſant with thoſe of

[t] Boccacio.

[t] B. iii. ch. 1. fol. lxv. a. col. 1. "He "rede in ſcholes the moving of the hea-"vens, &c." Boccacio mentions with much regard ANDALUS DE NIGRO as one of his maſters, in his GENEAL. DEOR. lib. xv. cap. vi. And ſays, that Andalus has extant many *Opuſcula aſtrorum cælique motus oſtendentia.* I think Leander, in his ITALIA, calls this Andalus, *Andalotius niger, curioſus aſtrologus.* See Papyrius Maſs. Elog. tom. ii. p. 195.

[u] B. vii. Prol. fol. i. b. col. 2. ad calc. He calls himſelf older than ſixty years.

[w] Prol. B. i. f. ii. a. col. 2. ſeq.

[x] In fifteen books. Firſt printed in 1481, fol. And in Italian by Betuſſi, Venet. 1553. In French at Paris, 1531. fol. In the interpretation of the fables he is very prolix and jejune.

the

the Latins[y]. He confesses that he took many things in his book of the genealogies of the gods from a vast work entitled COLLECTIVUM, now lost, written by his cotemporary Paulus Perusinus, the materials of which had in great measure been furnished by Barlaam[z]. We are informed also, that Perusinus made use of some of these fugitive Greek scholars, especially Barlaam, for collecting rare books in that language. Perusinus was librarian, about the year 1340, to Robert king of Jerusalem and Sicily: and was the most curious and inquisitive man of his age for searching after unknown or uncommon manuscripts, especially histories, and poetical compositions, and particularly such as were written in Greek. I will beg leave to cite the words of Boccacio, who records this anecdote. "Et, si usquam CURIOSISSIMUS fuit "homo in perquirendis, jussu etiam principis, PEREGRINIS "undecunque libris, HISTORIIS et POETICIS operibus, iste "fuit. Et ob id, singulari amicitiæ Barlaæ conjunctus, quæ "a Latinis habere non poterat EO MEDIO INNUMERA exhausit "a GRÆCIS[a]." By these HISTORIÆ and POETICA OPERA, brought from Constantinople by Barlaam, undoubtedly works of entertainment, and perhaps chiefly of the romantic and fictitious species, I do not understand the classics. It is natural to suppose that Boccacio, both from his connections and his curiosity, was no stranger to these treasures: and that many of these pieces, thus imported into Italy by the dispersion of the Constantinopolitan exiles, are only known at present through the medium of his writings. It is certain that many oriental fictions found their way into Europe by means of this communication.

Lydgate's STORIE OF THEBES was first printed by William Thinne, at the end of his edition of Chaucer's works, in

[y] GENEAL. DEOR. lib. xv. cap. vi.

[z] "Quicquid apud Græcos inveniri "potest, ADJUTORIO BARLAÆ arbitror "collegisse." GENEAL. DEOR. lib. xv. cap. vi.

[a] GENEAL. DEOR. lib. xv. cap. vi.

1561.

1561. The author introduces it as an additional Canterbury tale. After a ſevere ſickneſs, having a deſign to viſit the ſhrine of Thomas a Beckett at Canterbury, he arrives in that city while Chaucer's pilgrims were aſſembled there for the ſame purpoſe; and by mere accident, not ſuſpecting to find ſo numerous and reſpectable a company, goes to their inn. There is ſome humour in our monk's travelling figure [b].

In a cope of black, and not of grene,
On a palfray, ſlender, long, and lene,
With ruſty bridle, made not for the ſale,
My man toforne with a void male [c].

He ſees, ſtanding in the hall of the inn, the convivial hoſt of the tabard, full of his own importance; who without the leaſt introduction or heſitation thus addreſſes our author, quite unprepared for ſuch an abrupt ſalutation.

— — — Dan Pers,
Dan Dominike, Dan Godfray, or Clement,
Ye be welcome newly into Kent;
Though your bridle have neither boſs, ne bell [d],
Beſeching you that you will tell,
Firſt of your name, &c. — —
That looke ſo pale, all devoid of blood,
Upon your head a wonder thredbare hood [e].—

Our hoſt then invites him to ſupper, and promiſes that he ſhall have, made according to his own directions, a large pudding, a round *hagis*, a French *moile*, or a *phraſe* of eggs: adding, that he looked extremely lean for a monk, and muſt certainly have been ſick, or elſe belong to a poor monaſtery:

[b] Edit. 1687. fol. ad CALC. CHAUCER'S WORKS. pag. 623. col. 1. Prol.
[c] Portmanteau.
[d] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 164. notes, [h].
[e] Ibid.

that

that ſome nut-brown ale after ſupper will be of ſervice, and that a quantity of the ſeed of annis, cummin, or coriander, taken before going to bed, will remove flatulencies. But above all, ſays the hoſt, chearful company will be your beſt phyſician. You ſhall not only ſup with me and my companions this evening, but return with us to-morrow to London; yet on condition, that you will ſubmit to one of the indiſpenſable rules of our ſociety, which is to tell an entertaining ſtory while we are travelling.

What, looke up, Monke! For by [f] cockes blood,
Thou ſhall be mery, whoſo that ſay nay;
For to-morrowe, anone as it is day,
And that it ginne in the eaſt to dawe [g],
Thou ſhall be bound to a newe lawe,
At going out of Canterbury toun,
And lien aſide thy profeſſioun;
Thou ſhall not cheſe [h], nor thyſelf withdrawe,
If any mirth be found in thy mawe,
Like the cuſtom of this company;
For none ſo proude that dare me deny,
Knight, nor knave, chanon, prieſt, ne nonne,
To telle a tale plainely as they conne [i],
When I aſſigne, and ſee time oportune;
And, for that we our purpoſe woll contune [k],
We will homeward the ſame cuſtome uſe [l].

Our monk, unable to withſtand this profuſion of kindneſs and feſtivity, accepts the hoſt's invitation, and ſups with the pilgrims. The next morning, as they are all riding from Canterbury to Oſpringe, the hoſt reminds his friend DAN JOHN of what he had mentioned in the evening, and without farther ceremony calls for a ſtory. Lydgate obeys

[f] God's. [g] Dawn. [h] Chuſe. [i] *Can*, or Know. [k] *Continue*. [l] Pag. 622. col. 2. ſeq.

his commands, and recites the tragical deſtruction of the city of Thebes[m]. As the ſtory is very long, a pauſe is made in deſcending a very ſteep hill near the *Thrope*[n] *of Broughton on the Blee*; when our author, who was not furniſhed with that accommodation for knowing the time of the day, which modern improvements in ſcience have given to the traveller, diſcovers by an accurate examination of his calendar, I ſuppoſe ſome ſort of graduated ſcale, in which the ſun's horary progreſs along the equator was marked, that it is nine in the morning[o].

It has been ſaid, but without any authority or probability, that Chaucer firſt wrote this ſtory in a Latin narrative, which Lydgate afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh verſe. Our author's originals are Guido Colonna, Statius, and Seneca the tragedian[p]. Nicholas Trevet, an Engliſhman, a Dominican friar of London, who flouriſhed about the year 1330, has left a commentary on Seneca's tragedies[q]: and he was ſo favorite a poet as to have been illuſtrated by Thomas Aquinas[r]. He was printed at Venice ſo early as the year 1482. Lydgate in this poem often refers to *myne auctor*, who, I ſuppoſe, is either Statius, or Colonna[s]. He ſometimes cites Boccacio's Latin tracts: particularly the GENEALOGIÆ DEORUM, a work which at the reſtoration of learning greatly contributed to familiariſe the claſſical ſtories, DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRIUM, the ground-work of the FALL OF PRINCES juſt mentioned, and DE CLARIS MULIERIBUS, in which pope Joan is one of the heroines[t]. From the firſt, he has taken the ſtory of Amphion building the

[m] Ibid.

[n] Or *Thorpe*. Properly a lodge in a foreſt. A hamlet. It occurs again pag. 651. col. 1.

Bren townes, *thropes*, and villages.

And in the TROY-BOKE, he mentions "provinces, borowes, vyllages, and *thropes*." B. ii. c. x.

[o] Pag. 630. col. 2.

[p] See. pag. 630. col. 1.

[q] MSS. Bodl. NE. F. 8. 6. Leland ſaw this Commentary in the library of the Ciſtercian abbey of Buckfaſt-Lees in Devonſhire. Coll. iii. p. 257.

[r] Some ſay, Thomas Anglicus.

[s] Pag. 623. col. 2. 630. col. 1. 632. col. 2. 635. col. 2. 647. col. 2. 654. col. 1. 659. col. 1. See ſupr. vol. i. p. 126.

[t] Firſt printed, Ulm. 1473. fol.

walls

walls of Thebes by the help of Mercury's harp, and the interpretation of that fable, together with the [u] fictions about Lycurgus king of Thrace [v]. From the ſecond, as I recollect, the accoutrements of Polymites [x]: and from the third, part of the tale of Iſophile [y]. He alſo characteriſes Boccacio for a talent, by which he is not now ſo generally known, for his poetry; and ſtyles him, "among poetes in "Itaile ſtalled [z]." But Boccacio's THESEID was yet in vogue. He ſays, that when Oedipus was married, none of the Muſes were preſent, as they were at the wedding of SAPIENCE with ELOQUENCE, deſcribed by that poet *whilom ſo ſage, Matrician inamed de Capella.* This is Marcianus Mineus Felix de Capella, who lived about the year 470, and whoſe Latin proſaico-metrical work, *de Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii*, in two books, an introduction to his ſeven books, or ſyſtem, of the SEVEN SCIENCES, I have mentioned before [a]: a writer highly extolled by Scotus Erigena [b], Peter of Blois [c], John of Saliſbury, and other early authors in corrupt Latinity [d]; and of ſuch eminent eſtimation in the dark centuries, as to be taught in the ſeminaries of philological education as a claſſic [e]. Among the royal manuſcripts in the Britiſh muſeum, a manuſcript occurs written about the eleventh century, which is a commentary on theſe nine books of Capella,

[u] Lydgate ſays, that this was the ſame Lycurgus who came as an ally with Palamon to Athens againſt his brother Arcite, drawn by four white bulls, and crowned with a wreath of gold. Pag. 650. col. 2. See KN. TALE, Urry's Ch. p. 17. v. 2131. ſeq. col. 1. Our author expreſsly refers to Chaucer's KNIGHT'S TALE about Theſeus, and with ſome addreſs, "As ye have before heard it related in "paſſing through Deptford, &c." pag. 568. col. 1.

[v] Pag. 623. col. 2. 624. col. 1. 651. col. 1.

[x] Pag. 634. col. 2.

[y] Pag. 648. col. 1. ſeq.

[z] Pag. 651. col. 1.

[a] See ſupr. vol. 1. p. 391.

[b] De Diviſ. Natur. lib. iii. p. 147. 148.

[c] Epiſt. 101.

[d] See Alcuin. De Sept. Artib. p. 1256. Honorius Auguſtodunus, de Philoſophia Mundi, lib. ii. cap. 5. And the book of Thomas Cantipratanus attributed to Boethius, De Diſciplina Scholarium. Compare Barth. ad Claudian. p. 32.

[e] Barth. ad Briton. p. 110. "Medii "ævi ſcholas tenuit, adoleſcentibus præ-"lectus, &c." See Wilibaldus, Epiſt. 147. tom. ii. Vet. Monum. Marten. p. 334.

compiled by Duncant an Irish bishop[f], and given to his scholars in the monastery of saint Remigius[g]. They were early translated into Latin leonine rhymes, and are often imitated by Saxo Grammaticus[h]. Gregory of Tours has the vanity to hope, that no readers will think his Latinity barbarous: not even those, who have refined their taste, and enriched their understanding with a complete knowledge of every species of literature, by studying attentively this treatise of Marcianus[i]. Alexander Necham, a learned abbot of Cirencester, and a voluminous Latin writer about the year 1210, wrote annotations on Marcianus, which are yet preserved[k]. He was first printed in the year 1499, and other editions appeared soon afterwards. This piece of Marcianus, dictated by the ideal philosophy of Plato, is supposed to have led the way to Boethius's celebrated CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY[m].

The marriage of SAPIENCE and ELOQUENCE, or Mercury and Philology, as described by Marcianus, at which Clio and Calliope with all their sisters assisted, and from which DISCORD and SEDITION, the great enemies of literature, were excluded, is artfully introduced, and beautifully contrasted with that of Oedipus and Jocasta, which was celebrated by an assemblage of the most hideous beings.

[f] Leland says he saw this work in the library of Worcester abbey. Coll. iii. p. 268.

[g] MSS. Reg. 15 A. xxxiii. *Liber olim S. Remig. Studio Gisardi scriptus.* Labb. Bibl. Nov. Manuscr. p. 66. In imitation of the first part of this work, a Frenchman, Jo. Boræus, wrote NUPTIÆ JURISCONSULTI ET PHILOLOGIÆ, Paris. 1651. 4to.

[h] Stephan. in Prolegomen. c. xix. And in the Notes, passim. He is adduced by Fulgentius.

[i] Hist. Fr. lib. x. ad calc. A manuscript of Marcianus, more than seven hundred years old, is mentioned by Bernard a Pez. Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. iii. p. 620. But by some writers of the early ages he is censured as obscure. Galfredus Canonicus, who flourished about 1170, declares, "Non "petimus nos, aut *lasciviire* cum *Sidonio*, "aut *vernare* cum *Hortensio*, aut *involvere* "cum *Marciano*." Apud Marten. ubi supr. tom. i. p. 506. He will occur again.

[k] Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 221. And in other places. As did Scotus Erigena, Labb. Bibl. Nov. Manuscr. p. 45. And others of that period.

[m] See Mabillon. Itin. Ital. p. 221.

Ne

Ne was there none of the Muſes nine,—
By one accorde to maken melody:
For there ſung not by heavenly harmony,
Neyther Clio nor Caliope,
None of the ſiſtren in number thriſe thre,
As they did, when PHILOLAIE [n]
Aſcended up highe above the ſkie,
To be wedded, this lady virtuous,
Unto her lord the god Mercurius.—
But at this weddinge, plainly for to telle,
Was CERBERUS, chiefe porter of hell;
And HEREBUS, fader to Hatred,
Was there preſent with his holle kindred,
His WIFE alſo [o] with her browes blacke,
And her daughters, ſorow for to make,
Hideouſly chered, and uglie for to ſee,
MEGERA, and THESIPHONEE,
ALECTO eke: with LABOUR, and ENVIE,
DREDE, FRAUDE, and falſe TRETCHERIE,
TRESON, POVERT, INDIGENCE, and NEDE,
And cruell DEATH in his rent wede [p]:
WRETCHEDNESSE, COMPLAINT, and eke RAGE,
FEAR full pale, DRONKENESSE, croked AGE:
Cruell MARS, and many a tigre wood [q],
Brenning [r] IRE, and UNKINDE BLOOD,
FRATERNALL HATE depe ſett in the roote,
Sauf only death that there was no boote [s]:
ASSURED OTHES at fine untrew [t],
All theſe folkes were at weddyng new;
To make the town deſolate and bare,
As the ſtory after ſhall declare [u].

[n] PHILOLOGIA.
[o] NIGHT.
[p] Garment.
[q] The attendants on Mars.
[r] Burning.
[s] "Death was the only refuge, or remedy."
[t] "Oaths which proved falſe in the end."
[u] Pag. 629. col. 1.

The

The bare conception of the attendance of this allegorical groupe on these incestuous espousals, is highly poetical: and although some of the personifications are not presented with the addition of any picturesque attributes, yet others are marked with the powerful pencil of Chaucer.

This poem is the THEBAID of a troubadour. The old classical tale of Thebes is here cloathed with feudal manners, enlarged with new fictions of the Gothic species, and furnished with the descriptions, circumstances, and machineries, appropriated to a romance of chivalry. The Sphinx is a terrible dragon, placed by a necromancer to guard a mountain, and to murther all travellers passing by[w]. Tydeus being wounded sees a castle on a rock, whose high towers and *crested* pinnacles of polished stone glitter by the light of the moon: he gains admittance, is laid in a sumptuous bed of cloth of gold, and healed of his wounds by a king's daughter[x]. Tydeus and Polymite tilt at midnight for a lodging, before the gate of the palace of king Adrastus; who is awakened with the din of the strokes of their weapons, which shake all the palace, and descends into the court with a long train by torch-light: he orders the two combatants to be disarmed, and cloathed in rich mantles studded with pearls; and they are conducted to repose by *many a stair* to a stately tower, after being served with a refection of hypocras from golden goblets. The next day they are both espoused to the king's two daughters, and entertained with tournaments, feasting, revels, and masques[y]. Afterwards Tydeus, having a message to deliver to Eteocles king of Thebes, enters the hall of the royal palace, completely armed and on horseback, in the midst of a magnificent festival[z]. This palace, like a Norman fortress, or feudal castle, is

[w] Pag. 627. col. 2.

[x] Pag. 640. col. 2. seq.

[y] Pag. 633. col. 1. seq. Concerning the dresses, perhaps in the masques, we have this line. pag. 635. col. 2.

And the DEVISE of many a SOLEIN WEDE.

[z] Pag 637. col. 2.

guarded

guarded with barbicans, portculliſſes, chains, and foſſes[a]. Adraſtus wiſhes to cloſe his old age in the repoſe of rural diverſions, of hawking and hunting[b].

The ſituation of Polymite, benighted in a ſolitary wilderneſs, is thus forcibly deſcribed.

Holding his way, of hertè nothing light,
Mate[c] and weary, till it draweth to night:
And al the day beholding envirown,
He neither ſawe ne caſtle, towre, ne town;
The which thing greveth him full ſore,
And ſodenly the ſee began to rore,
Winde and tempèſt hidiouſly to ariſe,
The rain down beten in ful griſly wiſe;
That many à beaſt thereof was adrad,
And nigh for ferè gan to waxè mad,
As it ſeemed by the full wofull ſownes
Of tigres, beres, of bores, and of liounes;
Which to refute, and himſelf for to ſave,
Evrich in haſte draweth to his cave.
But Polymitè in this tempeſt huge
Alas the whilè findeth no refuge.
Ne, him to ſhrowde, ſaw no where no ſuccour,
Till it was paſſed almoſt midnight hour[d].

When Oedipus conſults concerning his kindred the oracle of Apollo, whoſe image ſtood on a golden chariot with four wheels *burned bright and ſheen*, animated with a fiend, the manner in which he receives his anſwer is touched with ſpirit and imagination.

And when Edipus by great devotion
Finiſhed had fully his oriſon,
The fiend anon, within inviſible,
With a voice dredefull and horrible,

[a] Pag. 644. col. 2. [b] Pag. 635. col. 1. [c] *Afraid.* Fatigued. [d] P. 631. col. 2.

Bade

Bade him in haſte take his voyage
Towrds Thebes, &c [e].— — —

In this poem, excluſive of that general one already mentioned, there are ſome curious mixtures of manners, and of claſſics and ſcripture. The nativity of Oedipus at his birth is calculated by the moſt learned aſtronomers and phyſicians [f]. Eteocles defends the walls of Thebes with great guns [g]. And the prieſt [h] Amphiorax, or Amphiaraus, is ſtyled a biſhop [i], whoſe wife is alſo mentioned. At a council held at Thebes, concerning the right of ſucceſſion to the throne, Eſdras and Solomon are cited: and the hiſtory of Nehemiah rebuilding the walls of Jeruſalem is introduced [k]. The moral intended by this calamitous tale conſiſts in ſhewing the pernicious effects of war: the diabolical nature of which our author ſtill further illuſtrates by obſerving, that diſcord received its origin in hell, and that the firſt battle ever fought was that of Lucifer and his legion of rebel angels [l]. But that the argument may have the fulleſt confirmation, Saint Luke is then quoted to prove, that avarice, ambition, and envy, are the primary ſources of contention; and that Chriſt came into the world to deſtroy theſe malignant principles, and to propagate univerſal charity.

At the cloſe of the poem, the mediation of the holy virgin is invoked, to procure peace in this life, and ſalvation in the next. Yet it ſhould be remembered, that this piece is written by a monk, and addreſſed to pilgrims [m].

[e] Pag. 626. col. 2.
[f] Pag. 625. col. 1.
[g] Pag. 644. col. 2. Great and ſmall, and ſome as large as *tonnes*.
[h] As in Chaucer.
[i] Pag. 645. col. 1.
[k] Pag. 636. col. 1.
[l] Pag. 660. col. 1.
[m] Lydgate was near fifty when this poem was written. pag. 622. col. 2.

SECT.

SECT. V.

THE third of Lydgate's poems which I propoſed to conſider, is the TROY BOKE, or the DESTRUCTION OF TROY. It was firſt printed at the command of king Henry the eighth, in the year 1513, by Richard Pinſon, with this title, " THE HYSTORY SEGE AND DESTRUCCION OF TROYE. " *The table or rubriſshe of the content of the chapitres*, &c. *Here* " *after foloweth the* TROYE BOKE, *otherwiſe called the* SEGE OF " TROYE. *Tranſlated* by JOHN LYDGATE *monke of Bury, and* " *emprynted at the commaundement of oure ſouveraygne lorde the* " *kynge Henry the eighth*, by Richarde Pinſon, &c. the yere " of our lorde god a M.CCCCC. and XIII [n]." Another, and a much more correct edition followed, by Thomas Marſhe, under the care of one John Braham, in the year 1555 [o]. It was begun in the year 1414, the laſt year of the reign of king Henry the fourth. It was written at that prince's

[n] Among other curious decorations in the title page, there are ſoldiers firing great guns at the city of Troy. Caxton, in his RECUYLE OF THE HYSTORYES OF TROYE, did not tranſlate the account of the final deſtruction of the city from his French author Rauol le Feure, " for as " muche as that worſhipfull and religious " man Dan John Lydgate monke of Burye " did *tranſlate it but late*, after whoſe " worke I feare to take upon me, &c." At the end of B. ii.

[o] With this title. " The auncient hiſ- " torie, and only true and ſyncere croni- " cle, of the warres betwixte the Gre- " cians and the Troyans, and ſubſequently " of the fyrſt evercyon of the auncient and " famouſe cyte of Troye under Laomedon " the king, and of the laſt and fynall de- " ſtructyon of the ſame under Pryam: " wrytten by Daretus a Troyan and Dictus " a Grecian, both ſouldiours and preſent at " and in all the ſayd warres, and digeſted " in Latyn by the learned Guydo de Co- " lumpnis, and ſythes tranſlated into Eng- " lyſhe verſe by John Lydgate moncke of " Burye and newly imprinted." The colophon, " Imprinted at London in Flete- " ſtrete at the ſygne of the Princes Armes " by Thomas Marſhe. Anno. do. M.D.L.V." This book was moderniſed, and printed in five lined ſtanzas, under the title, " The " LIFE AND DEATH OF HECTOR, &c. " written by John Lydgate monk of Berry, " &c. At London, printed by Thomas " Purfoot. Anno Dom. 1614." fol. But I ſuſpect this to be a ſecond edition. *Princip.* " In Theſſalie king Peleus once did " raigne." See Farmer's ESSAY, p. 39. 40. edit. 1767. This ſpurious TROYE-BOKE is cited by Fuller, Winſtanley, and others, as Lydgate's genuine work.

command, and is dedicated to his ſucceſſor. It was finiſhed in the year 1420. In the Bodleian library there is a manuſcript of this poem elegantly illuminated, with the picture of a monk preſenting a book to a king[p]. From the ſplendour of the decorations, it appears to be the copy which Lydgate gave to Henry the fifth.

This poem is profeſſedly a tranſlation or paraphraſe of Guido de Colonna's romance, entitled HISTORIA TROJANA[q]. But whether from Colonna's original Latin, or from a French verſion[r] mentioned in Lydgate's Prologue, and which exiſted ſoon after the year 1300, I cannot aſcertain[s]. I have before obſerved[t], that Colonna formed his Trojan Hiſtory from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretenſis[u]; who perpetually occur as authorities in Lydgate's tranſlation. Homer is however referred to in this work; particularly in the catalogue, or enumeration, of the ſhips which brought the

[p] MSS. Digb. 232.

[q] *Princip.* "Licet cotidie vetera recen-"tioribus obruantur."

[r] Of a Spaniſh verſion, by Petro Nunez Degaldo, ſee Nic. Anton. Bibl. Hiſpan. tom. ii. p. 179.

[s] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 127. Notes. Yet he ſays, having finiſhed his verſion, B. v. Signat. EE. i.

I have no more of *Latin* to tranſlate,
After Dytes, Dares, and Guydo.

Again, he deſpairs of tranſlating Guido's *Latin* elegantly. B. ii. c. x. See alſo B. iii. Sign. R. iii. There was a French tranſlation of Dares printed, Cadom. 1573. See WORKS OF THE LEARNED. A. 1703. p. 222.

[t] Ibid. p. 126.

[u] As Colonna's book is extremely ſcarce, and the ſubject intereſting, I will tranſlate a few lines from Colonna's Prologue and Poſtſcript. From the Prologue. "Theſe "things, originally written by the Gre-"cian Dictys and the Phrygian Dares, (who "were preſent in the Trojan war, and "faithful, relators of what they ſaw,) are "transferred into this book by Guido, of "Colonna, a judge. — And although a "certain Roman, Cornelius by name, the "nephew of the great Salluſtius, tran-"ſlated Dares and Dictys into Latin, yet, "attempting to be conciſe, he has very "improperly omitted thoſe particulars of "the hiſtory, which would have proved "moſt agreeable to the reader. In my "own book therefore every article belong-"ing to the Trojan ſtory will be compre-"hended."—And in his Poſtſcript. "And "I Guido de Colonna have followed the "ſaid Dictys in every particular; for this "reaſon, becauſe Dictys made his work "perfect and complete in every thing.— "And I ſhould have decorated this hiſtory "with more metaphors and ornaments of "ſtyle, and by incidental digreſſions, "which are the *pictures* of compoſition. "But deterred by the difficulty of the work, "&c." Guido has indeed made Dictys nothing more than the ground-work of his ſtory. All this is tranſlated in Lydgate's Prologue.

ſeveral

ſeveral Grecian leaders with their forces to the Trojan coaſt. It begins thus, on the teſtimony of Colonna[v].

> *Myne auctor* telleth how Agamamnon,
> The worthi kynge, an hundred ſhippis brought.

And is cloſed with theſe lines.

> Full many ſhippès was in this navye,
> More than GUIDO maketh reherſayle,
> Towards Troyè with Grekès for to ſayle:
> For as HOMER in his diſcrypcion
> Of Grekès ſhippès maketh mencion,
> Shortly affyrminge the man was never borne
> That ſuch a nombre of ſhippes ſawe to forne[x].

In another place Homer, notwithſtanding *all his rhetoryke and ſugred eloquence*, his *luſty ſonges* and *dytees ſwete*, is blamed as a prejudiced writer, who favours the Greeks[y]: a cenſure, which flowed from the favorite and prevailing notion held by the weſtern nations of their deſcent from the Trojans. Homer is alſo ſaid to paint with colours of gold and azure[z]. A metaphor borrowed from the faſhionable art of illumining. I do not however ſuppoſe, that Colonna, who flouriſhed in the middle of the thirteenth century, had ever ſeen Homer's poems: he might have known theſe and many other particulars, contained in the Iliad, from thoſe factitious hiſ-

[v] From Dict. Cretenſ. lib. i. c. xvii. p. 17. ſeq. edit. Dacer. Amſtel. 1702. 4to. And Dar. Phryg. cap. xiv. p. 158. ibid. There is a very ancient edition of Dares in quarto, without name or place. Of Dictys at Milan, 1477. 4to. Dares is in German, with cuts, by Marcus Tatius, Auguſt. Vindel. 1536. fol. Dictys, by John Herold, at Baſil, 1554. Both in Ruſſian, at Moſcow, 1712. 8vo.

[x] B. ii. c. xvi.

[y] B. iv. c. xxxi. And in the PROLOGUE, Virgil is cenſured for following *the traces of* HOMERIS *ſtyle*, in other reſpects a *true* writer. We have the ſame complaint in our author's FALL OF PRINCIS. See ſupr. And in Chaucer's HOUSE OF FAME, Colonna is introduced, among other authors of the Trojan ſtory, making this objection to Homer's veracity. B. iii. p. 468. col. 1. v. 389. Urr. edit.

> One ſaied that OMERE made lies,
> And feinyng in his poetries;
> And was to the Grekès favorable,
> And therefore held he it but fable.

[z] B. iv. c. xxxi. Signat. X. ii.

torians whom he profeſſes to follow. Yet it is not, in the mean time, impoſſible, that Lydgate might have ſeen the Iliad, at leaſt in a Latin tranſlation. Leontius Pilatus, already mentioned, one of the learned Conſtantinopolitan exiles, had tranſlated the Iliad into Latin proſe, with part of the Odyſſey, at the deſire of Boccacio [a], about the year 1360. This appears from Petrarch's Epiſtles to his friend Boccacio [b]: in which, among other curious circumſtances, the former requeſts Boccacio to ſend him to Venice that part of Leontius's new Latin verſion of the Odyſſey, in which Ulyſſes's deſcent into hell, and the veſtibule of Erebus, are deſcribed. He wiſhes alſo to ſee, how Homer, blind and an Aſiatic, had deſcribed the lake of Averno and the mountain of Circe. In another part of theſe letters, he acknowledges the receipt of the Latin Homer; and mentions with how much ſatisfaction and joy the report of its arrival in the public library at Venice was received, by all the Greek and Latin ſcholars of that city [c]. The Iliad was alſo tranſlated into French verſe, by Jacques Milet, a licentiate of laws, about the year 1430 [d]. Yet I cannot believe that Lydgate had ever conſulted theſe tranſlations, although he had travelled in France and Italy. One may venture to pronounce peremptorily, that he did not underſtand, as he probably never had ſeen, the original. After the migration of the Roman emperors to Greece, Boccacio was the firſt European that could read Homer; nor was there perhaps a copy of either of Homer's poems exiſting in Europe, till about the time the Greeks were driven

[a] It is a ſlight error in Vigneul Marville, that this tranſlation was procured by Petrarch. Mel. Litt. tom. i. p. 21. The very ingenious and accurate author of MEMOIRES POUR LA VIE DE PETRARQUE, is miſtaken in ſaying that Hody ſuppoſes this verſion to have been made by Petrarch himſelf. liv. vi. tom. iii. p. 633. On the contrary, Hody has adjuſted this matter with great perſpicuity, and from the beſt authorities. DE GRÆC. ILLUSTR. lib. i. c. 1. p. 2. ſeq.

[b] SENIL. lib. iii. Cap. 5.

[c] Hody, ubi ſupr. p. 5. 6. 7. 9. The Latin Iliad in proſe was publiſhed under the name of Laurentius Valla, with ſome ſlight alterations, in 1497.

[d] Mem. de Litt. xvii. p. 761. ed. 4to.

by

by the Turks from Conſtantinople[e]. Long after Boccacio's time, the knowledge of the Greek tongue, and conſequently of Homer, was confined only to a few ſcholars. Yet ſome ingenious French critics have inſinuated, that Homer was familiar in France very early; and that Chriſtina of Piſa, in a poem never printed, written in the year 1398, and entitled L'EPITRE D'OTHEA A HECTOR[f], borrowed the word Othea, or WISDOM, from ω θεα in Homer, a formal appellation by which that poet often invocates Minerva[g].

This poem is replete with deſcriptions of rural beauty, formed by a ſelection of very poetical and pictureſque circumſtances, and cloathed in the moſt perſpicuous and muſical numbers. The colouring of our poet's[h] mornings is often remarkably rich and ſplendid.

When that the rowes[h] and the rayes redde
Eaſtward to us full early ginnen ſpredde,
Even at the twylyght in the dawneynge,
Whan that the larke of cuſtom ginneth ſynge,
For to ſalüè[i] in her heavenly laye,
The luſty goddeſſe of the morowe graye,
I meane Aurora, which afore the ſunne
Is wont t'[k] enchaſe the blackè ſkyès dunne,
And al the darkneſſe of the dimmy night:
And freſhe Phebùs, with comforte of his light,

[e] See Boccat. GENEAL. DEOR. xv. 6. 7. Theodorus archbiſhop of Canterbury in the ſeventh century brought from Rome into England a manuſcript of Homer; which is now ſaid to be in Bennet library at Cambridge. See the SECOND DISSERTATION. In it is written with a modern hand, *Hic liber quondam* THEODORI *archiepiſcopi Cant.* But probably this *Theodore* is THEODORE Gaza, whoſe book, or whoſe tranſcript, it might have been. Hody, ubi ſupr. Lib. i. c. 3. p. 59. 60.

[f] In the royal manuſcripts of the Britiſh Muſeum, this piece is entitled LA CHEVALERIE SPIRITUELLE *de ce monde.* 17 E. iv. 2.

[g] Monſ. L'Abbè Sallier, Mem. Litt. xvii. p. 518.

[h] Streaks of light. A very common word in Lydgate. Chaucer, Kn. T. v. 597. col. 2. Urr. p. 455.

And while the twilight and the *rowis* red
Of Phebus light.——

[i] Salute.

[k] Chaſe.

And

And with the brightnes of his bemès ſhene,
Hath overgylt the hugè hyllès grene;
And flourès eke, agayn the morowe-tide,
Upon their ſtalkes gan playn [l] their leavès wide [m].

Again, among more pictures of the ſame ſubject.

When Aurorà the ſylver droppès ſhene,
Her teares, had ſhed upon the freſhè grene;
Complaynyng aye, in weping and in ſorowe,
Her chyldren's death on every ſommer-morowe:
That is to ſayè, when the dewe ſo ſoote,
Embawmed hath the floure and eke roote
With luſtie lycoùr in Aprill and in Maye:
When that the larke, the meſſenger of daye,
Of cuſtom aye Aurora doth ſalúe,
With ſundry notes her ſorowe to [n] tranſmuè [o].

The ſpring is thus deſcribed, renewing the buds or bloſſoms of the groves, and the flowers of the meadows.

And them whom winter's blaſtes have ſhaken bare
With ſotè bloſomes freſhly to repare;
And the meadòws of many a ſundry hewe,
Tapitid ben with divers flourès newe
Of ſundry motleſs [p], luſty for to ſene;
And holſome balm is ſhed among the grene.

Frequently in theſe florid landſcapes we find the ſame idea differently expreſſed. Yet this circumſtance, while it weakened the deſcription, taught a copiouſneſs of diction, and a variety of poetical phraſeology. There is great ſoftneſs and facility in the following delineation of a delicious retreat.

[l] Open. [m] B. i. c. vi. [n] Change. [o] B. iii. c. xxiiii. [p] Colours.

Tyll

Tyll at the laſt, amonge the bowès glade,
Of adventure, I caught a pleſaunt ſhade;
Ful ſmothe, and playn, and luſty for to ſene,
And ſofte as velvette was the yongè grene:
Where from my hors I did alight as faſt,
And on a bowe aloft his reynè caſt.
So faynte and mate of weryneſſe I was,
That I me layd adowne upon the gras,
Upon a brinckè, ſhortly for to telle,
Beſyde the river of a criſtall welle;
And the watèr, as I reherſè can,
Like quickè-ſylver in his ſtreames yran,
Of which the gravell and the bryghtè ſtone,
As any golde, agaynſt the ſun yſhone [q].

The circumſtance of the pebbles and gravel of a tranſparent ſtream glittering againſt the ſun, which is uncommon, has much of the brilliancy of the Italian poetry. It recalls to my memory a paſſage in Theocritus, which has been lately reſtored to its priſtine beauty.

Εὗρον αεαννᾶον κραναν ὑπο λισσαδι πεῖρῃ,
Ὑδαῖι πεπληθυιαν ακηραῖῳ· αἱ δ' ὑπενερθεν
Λαλλαι κρυσαλλῳ ηδ' αργυρῳ ινδαλλονῖο
Εκ βυθου. — —

They found a perpetual ſpring, under a high rock,
Filled with pure water: but underneath
The pebbles ſparkled as with cryſtal and ſilver
From the bottom [r]. — —

There is much elegance of ſentiment and expreſſion in the portrait of Creſeide weeping when ſhe parts with Troilus.

[q] B. ii. cap. xii.

[r] Διοσκουρ. Idyll. xxii. v. 37.

And

And from her eyn the teare's round drops tryll,
That al fordewed have her blackè wede;
And eke untrussd her haire abrode gan sprede,
Lyke golden wyre, forrent and alto torn.—
And over this, her freshe and rosey hewe,
Whylom ymeynt [s] with whitè lylyes newe,
Wyth wofull wepyng pyteously disteynd;
And lyke the herbes in April all bereynd,
Or floures freshè with the dewès swete,
Ryght so her chekès moystè were and wete [t].

The following verses are worthy of attention in another style of writing, and have great strength and spirit. A knight brings a steed to Hector in the midst of the battle.

And brought to Hector. Sothly there he stoode
Among the Grekes, al bathed in their bloode:
The which in haste ful knightly he bestrode,
And them amonge like Mars himselfe he rode [u].

The strokes on the helmets are thus expressed, striking fire amid the plumes.

But strokys felle, that men might herden rynge,
On bassenetts, the fieldès rounde aboute,
So cruelly, that the fyrè sprange oute
Amonge the tuftès brodè, bright and shene,
Of foyle of golde, of fethers white and grene [v].

The touches of feudal manners, which our author affords, are innumerable: for the Trojan story, and with no great difficulty, is here entirely accommodated to the ideas of romance. Hardly any adventure of the champions of the round table

[s] Mingled.
[t] B. iii. c. xxv. So again of Polyxena, B. iv. c. xxx.

And aye she rentè with her fingers smale
Her golden heyre upon her blackè wede.

[u] B. iii. c. xxii.
[v] B. ii. c. xviii.

was

was more chimerical and unmeaning than this of our Grecian chiefs: and the cause of their expedition to Troy was quite in the spirit of chivalry, as it was occasioned by a lady. When Jason arrives at Cholcos, he is entertained by king Oetes in a Gothic castle. Amadis or Lancelot were never conducted to their fairy chambers with more ceremony and solemnity. He is led through many a hall and many a tower, by many a stair, to a sumptuous apartment, whose walls, richly painted with the histories of antient heroes, glittered with gold and azure.

> Through many a halle, and many a riche toure,
> By many a tourne, and many divers waye,
> By many a gree [x] ymade of marbyll graye.—
> And in his chambre', englosed [y] bright and cleare,
> That shone ful shene with gold and with asure,
> Of many image that ther was in picture,
> He hath commaunded to his offycers,
> Only' in honour of them that were straungers,
> Spyces and wyne [z]. — —

The siege of Troy, the grand object of the poem, is not conducted according to the classical art of war. All the military machines, invented and used in the crusades, are assembled to demolish the bulwarks of that city, with the addition of great guns. Among other implements of destruction borrowed from the holy war, the Greek fire, first discovered at Constantinople, with which the Saracens so greatly annoyed the Christian armies, is thrown from the walls of the besieged [a].

[x] *Greece. Degree.* Step. Stair. *Gradus.*

[y] Painted. Or *r.* Englased. Skelton's CROWNE OF LAWRELL, p. 24. edit. 1736.

Wher the postis wer enbulioned with saphir's indy blewe
Englased glitteringe, &c.

[z] B. i. c. v. See Colonna, Signat. b.

[a] B. ii. c. xviii. See supr. vol. i. p. 157. In Caxton's TROY-BOOK, Hercules is said to make the *fire artificiall* as well as Cacus, &c. ii. 24.

Nor are we only presented in this piece with the habits of feudal life, and the practices of chivalry. The poem is enriched with a multitude of oriental fictions, and Arabian traditions. Medea gives to Jason, when he is going to combat the brazen bulls, and to lull the dragon who guarded the golden fleece asleep, a marvellous ring; in which was a gem whose virtue could destroy the efficacy of poison, and render the wearer invisible. It was the same sort of precious stone, adds our author, which Virgil celebrates, and which Venus sent her son Eneas that he might enter Carthage unseen. Another of Medea's presents to Jason, to assist him in this perilous atchievement, is a silver image, or talisman, which defeated all the powers of incantation, and was framed according to principles of astronomy [b]. The hall of king Priam is illuminated at night by a prodigious carbuncle, placed among saphires, rubies, and pearls, on the crown of a golden statue of Jupiter, fifteen cubits high [c]. In the court of the palace, was a tree made by magic, whose trunk was twelve cubits high; the branches, which overshadowed distant plains, were alternately of solid gold and silver, blossomed with gems of various hues, which were renewed every day [d]. Most of these extravagancies, and a thousand more, are in Guido de Colonna, who lived when this mode of fabling was at its height. But in the fourth book, Dares Phrigius is particularly cited for a description of Priam's palace, which seemed to be founded by FAYRIE, or enchantment; and was paved with crystal, built of diamonds, saphires, and emeralds, and supported by ivory pillars, surmounted with golden images [f]. This is not, however, in Dares. The warriors who came to the assistance of the Trojans, afford an ample field for invention. One of them belongs to a region of forests; amid the gloom of which wander many monstrous beasts, not real, but ap-

[b] Ibid. [c] B. ii. c. xi. [d] B. ii. c. xi. [f] Cap. xxvi.

pearances

pearances or illusive images, formed by the deceptions of necromancy, to terrify the traveller[g]. King Epistrophus brings from the land beyond the Amazons, a thousand knights; among which is a terrible archer, half man and half beast, who neighs like a horse, whose eyes sparkle like a furnace, and strike dead like lightening[h]. This is Shakespeare's DREADFUL SAGITTARY[i]. The Trojan horse, in the genuine spirit of Arabian philosophy, is formed of brass[k]; of such immense size, as to contain a thousand soldiers.

Colonna, I believe, gave the Trojan story its romantic additions. It had long before been falsified by Dictys and Dares; but those writers, misrepresenting or enlarging Homer, only invented plain and credible facts. They were the basis of Colonna: who first filled the faint outlines of their fabulous history with the colourings of eastern fancy, and adorned their scanty forgeries with the gorgeous trappings of Gothic chivalry. Or, as our author expresses himself in his Prologue, speaking of Colonna's improvements on his originals.

> For he ENLUMINETH, by crafte and cadence,
> This noble story with many a FRESHE COLOURE
> Of rhetorike, and many a RYCHE FLOURE
> Of eloquence, to make it sound the bett[l].

Cloathed with these new inventions, this favourite tale descended to later times. Yet it appears, not only with these, but with an infinite variety of other embellishments, not fabricated by the fertile genius of Colonna, but

[g] B. ii. c. xviii.

[h] So described by Colonna, Signat. n 4. seq.

[i] Ibid. And B. iii. c. xxiv. The Sagittary is not in Dictys or Dares. In whom also, these warriors are but barely named, and are much fewer in number. See Dar. cap. xviii. p. 161. Dict. lib. ii. cap. xxxv. p. 51. The description of the persons of Helen, and of the Trojan and Grecian heroes [B. ii. c. xv.] is from Dares through Colonna, Daret. Hist. c. xii. p. 156. seq.

[k] In Dictys "tabulatis extruitur ligneis." lib. v. c. x. p. 113. In Gower he is also a *bors of brasse*. Conf. Amant. lib. i. fol. xiiii. a. col. 1. From Colonna, Signat. t 4. Here also are Shakespeare's fabulous names of the gates of Troy. Signat. d 4. seq.

[l] *Better.*

adopted from French enlargements of Colonna, and incorporated from romances on other ſubjects, in the French RECUYEL OF TROY, written by a French eccleſiaſtic, Rauol le Feure, about the year 1464, and tranſlated by Caxton[l].

The deſcription of the city of Troy, as newly built by king Priam, is extremely curious; not for the capricious incredibilities and abſurd inconſiſtencies which it exhibits[m], but becauſe it conveys anecdotes of antient architecture, and eſpecially of that florid and improved ſpecies, which began to grow faſhionable in Lydgate's age. Although much of this is in Colonna. He avoids to deſcribe it geometrically, having never read Euclid. He ſays that Priam procured,

——— Eche carver, and curious joyner,
To make knottes with many a queint floure
To ſette on creſtes within and eke without.—

That he ſent for ſuch as could "grave, groupe, or carve, "were ſotyll in their fantaſye, good devyſours, marveylous "of caſtinge, who could raiſe a wall with batayling and "creſtes marciall, every imageour in entayle[n], and every "portreyour who could paynt the work with freſh hewes, "who could pulliſh alabaſter, and make an ymage."

And yf I ſhulde reherſen by and by,
The corvè knottes by craft of maſonry;

[l] As for inſtance, Hercules having killed the eleven giants of Cremona, builds over them a vaſt tower, on which he placed eleven images of metal, of the ſize and figure of the giants. B. ii. c. 24. Something like this, I think, is in Amadis de Gaul. Robert Braham, in the EPISTLE TO THE READER, prefixed to the edition of Lydgate's TROY-BOOK of 1555, is of opinion, that the fables in the French RECUYEL ought to be ranked with the *trifeling tales* and *barrayne luerdries* of ROBYN HODE and BEVYS OF HAMPTON, and are not to be compared with the *faythful* and *trewe* reports of this hiſtory given by Dares Phrigius and Dictys Cretenſis.

[m] It is three days journey in length and breadth. The walls are two hundred cubits high, of marble and alabaſter, and machiocolated. At every angle was a crown of gold, ſet with the richeſt gems. There were great guns in the towers. On each turret were figures of ſavage and monſtrous beaſts in braſs. The gates were of braſs, and each has a portcullis. The houſes were all uniform, and of marble, ſixty cubits high.

[n] Intaglia.

The

The freſh embowing [o] with verges right as lynes,
And the houſyng full of bachewines,
The ryche coynyng, the luſty tablemènts,
Vinettes [p] running in caſemènts.—
Nor how they put, inſtedè of mortère,
In the joyntoures, coper gilt ful clere;
To make them joyne by levell and by lyne,
Among the marbell freſhly for to ſhyne
Agaynſt the ſunne, whan that his ſhenè light
Smote on the goldè that was burned bright.

The ſides of every ſtreet were covered with *freſhe alures* [q] of marble, or cloiſters, crowned with rich and lofty pinnacles, and fronted with tabernacular or open work [r], vaulted like the dormitory of a monaſtery, and called *deambulatories*, for the accommodation of the citizens in all weathers.

And every houſe ycovered was with lead;
And many a gargoyle, and many a hideous head,
With ſpoutès thorough, &c.—

And again, of Priam's palace.

And the walles, within and eke without,
Endilong were with knottes graven clere,
Depeynt with aſure, golde, cinople', and grene.—
And al the wyndowes and eche feneſtrall
Wrought were with beryll and of clere cryſtall.

[o] Arching.

[p] *Vignettes.*

[q] Allies, or covert-ways. Lat. *Alura*. viz. "ALURA quæ ducit a coquina con-"ventus, uſque ad cameram prioris." Hearne's OTTERB. Præf. Append. p. cxi. Where Hearne derives it from ALA, a wing, or ſide. Rather from *Aller*, whence Allée, Fr. *Alley*. Robert of Glouceſter mentions the ladies ſtanding "upe [upon] "the *alurs* of the caſtle," to ſee a tournament. See ſupr. vol. 1. p. 50. The word *Alura* in not in Du Cange.

[r] Like the latticed ſtone-work, or *cancelli*, of a Gothic ſhrine.

[s] Said to have been invented by Marchion of Arezzo. Walpole, ANECD. PAINT. i. p. 111.

With

With regard to the reality of the laſt circumſtance, we are told, that in Studley caſtle in Shropſhire, the windows, ſo late as the reign of Elizabeth, were of beryl [t].

The account of the Trojan theatre muſt not be omitted, as it diſplays the imperfect ideas of the ſtage, at leaſt of dramatic exhibition, which now prevailed; or rather, the abſolute inexiſtence of this ſort of ſpectacle. Our author ſuppoſes, that comedies and tragedies were firſt repreſented at Troy [u]. He defines a comedy to begin with complaint and to end with *gladneſſe:* expreſſing the actions of thoſe only who live in the loweſt condition. But tragedy, he informs us, begins in proſperity, and ends in adverſity: ſhewing the wonderful viciſſitudes of fortune which have happened in the lives of kings and mighty conquerours. In the theatre of Troy, he adds, was a pulpit, in which ſtood a poet, who rehearſed the *noble dedes that were hiſtorial of kynges, prynces, and worthy emperours*; and, above all, related thoſe fatal and ſudden cataſtrophes, which they ſometimes ſuffered by murther, poiſon, conſpiracy, or other ſecret and unforeſeen machinations.

And this was tolde and redde by the poete.
And while that he in the pulpet ſtode
With deadlye facè all devoyd of blode,
Syngynge his dites with treſſes al to rent;
Amydde the theatre, ſhrowded in a tent,
There came out men, gaſtfull of their cheres,
Disfygured their faces with vyſeres,

[t] Harriſon's DESCRIPT. BRIT. Cap. xii. p. 188. The occupations of the citizens of Troy are mentioned. There were goldſmiths, jewellers, embroiderers, weavers of woollen and linen, of cloth, of gold, damaſk, ſattin, velvet, *ſendel*, or a thin ſilk like cypreſs, and double *ſamyte*, or ſatin. Smiths, who forged poll-axes, ſpears, and *quarrel-heads*, or croſs-bow darts ſhaped ſquare. Armourers, Bowyers, Fletchers, makers of trappings, banners, ſtandards, penons, *and for the fielde freſhe and gaye* GETOURS. I do not preciſely underſtand the laſt word. Perhaps it is a ſort of ornamented armour for the legs.

[u] All that follows on this ſubject, is not in Colonna.

Playing

Playing by ſignès in the people's ſyght
That the poete ſonge hathe on height [u]:
So that there was no maner diſcourdaunce,
Atween his ditees and their countenaunce.
For lyke as he aloftè dyd expreſſe
Wordes of joyè or of hevineſſe,—
So craftely they [w] could them [x] transfygure [y].

It is added, that theſe plays, or *rytes of tragedyes old*, were acted at Troy, and *in the theatre halowed and yholde*, when the months of April and May returned.

In this detail of the dramatic exhibition which prevailed in the ideal theatre of Troy, a poet, placed on the ſtage in a pulpit, and characteriſtically habited, is ſaid to have recited a ſeries of tragical adventures; whoſe pathetic narrative was afterwards expreſſed, by the dumb geſticulations of a ſet of maſqued actors. Some perhaps may be inclined to think, that this imperfect ſpecies of theatric repreſentation, was the rude drama of Lydgate's age. But ſurely Lydgate would not have deſcribed at all, much leſs in a long and laboured digreſſion, a public ſhew, which from its nature was familiar and notorious. On the contrary, he deſcribes it as a thing obſolete, and exiſting only in remote times. Had a more perfect and legitimate ſtage now ſubſiſted, he would not have deviated from his ſubject, to communicate unneceſſary information, and to deliver ſuch minute definitions of tragedy and comedy. On the whole, this formal hiſtory of a theatre, conveys nothing more than an affected diſplay of Lydgate's learning; and is collected, yet with apparent inaccuracy and confuſion of circumſtances, from what the antient grammarians have left concerning the origin of the Greek tragedy.

[u] "That which the poet ſung, ſtanding "in the pulpit."

[w] The actors.

[x] Themſelves.

[y] Lib. ii. cap. x. See alſo, B. iii. c. xxviii.

Or

Or perhaps it might be borrowed by our author from ſome French paraphraſtic verſion of Colonna's Latin romance.

Among the antient authors, beſide thoſe already mentioned, cited in this poem, are Lollius for the hiſtory of Troy, Ovid for the tale of Medea and Jaſon, Ulyſſes and Polyphemus, the Myrmidons and other ſtories, Statius for Polynices and Eteocles, the venerable Bede, Fulgentius the mythologiſt, Juſtinian with whoſe inſtitutes Colonna as a civilian muſt have been well acquainted, Pliny, and Jacobus de Vitriaco. The laſt is produced to prove, that Philometer, a famous philoſopher, invented the game of cheſs, to divert a tyrant from his cruel purpoſes, in Chaldea; and that from thence it was imported into Greece. But Colonna, or rather Lydgate, is of a different opinion; and contends, in oppoſition to his authority, that this game, *ſo ſotyll and ſo marvaylous*, was diſcovered by *prudent clerkes* during the ſiege of Troy, and firſt practiced in that city. Jacobus de Vitriaco was a canon regular at Paris, and, among other dignities in the church, biſhop of Ptolemais in Paleſtine, about the year 1230. This tradition of the invention of cheſs is mentioned by Jacobus de Vitriaco in his ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL HISTORY [2]. The anecdote of Philometer is, I think, in Egidius Romanus on this ſubject, above-mentioned. Chaucer calls Athalus, that is Attalus Philometer, the ſame perſon, and who is often mentioned in Pliny, the inventor of cheſs [3].

I muſt not paſs over an inſtance of Lydgate's gallantry, as it is the gallantry of a monk. Colonna takes all opportunities of ſatiriſing the fair ſex; and Lydgate with great politeneſs declares himſelf abſolutely unwilling to tranſlate thoſe paſſages of this ſevere moraliſt, which contain ſuch unjuſt and illiberal miſrepreſentations of the female character. Inſtead of which, to obviate theſe injurious reflections, our tranſlator enters upon a formal vindication of

[1] Colonna calls him, *ille* FABULARIUS *Sulmonenſis*, — *fabuloſe commentans*, &c. Signat. b 2.

[2] In three books.

[3] DREME, p. 408. col. 2. edit. Urr.

the

the ladies; not by a panegyric on their beauty, nor encomiums on thoſe amiable accompliſhments, by which they refine our ſenſibilities, and give elegance to life; but by a diſplay of that religious fortitude with which ſome women have ſuffered martyrdom; or of that inflexible chaſtity, by means of which others have been ſnatched up alive into heaven, in a ſtate of genuine virginity. Among other ſtriking examples which the calendar affords, he mentions the tranſcendent grace of the eleven thouſand virgins who were martyred at Cologne in Germany. In the mean time, female ſaints, as I ſuſpect, in the barbarous ages were regarded with a greater degree of reſpect, on account of thoſe exaggerated ideas of gallantry which chivalry inſpired: and it is not improbable that the diſtinguiſhed honours paid to the virgin Mary might have partly proceeded from this principle.

Among the anachroniſtic improprieties which this poem contains, ſome of which have been pointed out, the moſt conſpicuous is the fiction of Hector's ſepulchre, or tomb: which alſo merits our attention for another reaſon, as it affords us an opportunity of adding ſome other notices of the modes of antient architecture to thoſe already mentioned. The poet from Colonna ſuppoſes, that Hector was buried in the principal church of Troy, near the high altar, within a magnificent oratory, erected for that purpoſe, exactly reſembling the Gothic ſhrines of our cathedrals, yet charged with many romantic decorations.

With crafty archys rayſyd wonder clene,
Embowed over all the work to cure,
So marveylous was the celature:
That al the roſe, and cloſure envyrowne,
Was of [b] fyne goldè plated up and downe,
With knottès gravè wonder curyous
Fret ful of ſtony's rich and precious, &c.

[b] With.

The ſtructure is ſupported by angels of gold. The ſteps are of cryſtall. Within, is not only an image of Hector in ſolid gold; but his body embalmed, and exhibited to view with the reſemblance of real life, by means of a precious liquor circulating through every part in golden tubes artificially diſpoſed, and operating on the principles of vegetation. This is from the chemiſtry of the times. Before the body were four inextinguiſhible lamps in golden ſockets. To complete the work, Priam founds a regular chantry of prieſts, whom he accommodates with manſions near the church, and endows with revenues, to ſing in this oratory for the ſoul of his ſon Hector [c].

In the Bodleian library, there is a prodigious folio manuſcript on vellum, a tranſlation of Colonna's TROJAN HISTORY into verſe [d]; which has been confounded with Lydgate's TROYE-BOKE now before us. But it is an entirely different work, and is written in the ſhort minſtrel-metre. I have given a ſpecimen of the Prologue, above [e]. It appears to me to be Lydgate's TROYE-BOKE diveſted of the octave ſtanza, and reduced into a meaſure which might more commodiouſly be ſung to the harp [f]. It is not likely that Lydgate is its

[c] B. iii. c. xxviii. Joſeph of Exeter in his Latin poem entitled ANTIOCHEIS, or the CRUSADE, has borrowed from this tomb of Hector, in his brilliant deſcription of the mauſoleum of Teuthras. lib. iv. 451. I have quoted the paſſage in the SECOND DISSERTATION. Signat. i.

[d] MSS. Laud. K. 76. fol.

[e] Supr. vol. i. p. 119. 120.

[f] It may, however, be thought, that this poem is rather a tranſlation or imitation of ſome French original, as the writer often refers to *The Romance*. If this be the caſe, it is not immediately formed from the TROYE-BOKE of Lydgate, as I have ſuggeſted in the text. I believe it to be about Lydgate's age; but there is no other authority for ſuppoſing it to be written by Lydgate, than that, in the beginning of the Bodleian manuſcript now before us, a hand-writing, of about the reign of James the firſt, aſſigns it to that poet. I will give a few lines from the poem itſelf: which begins with Jaſon's expedition to Cholcos, the conſtant prelude to the Trojan ſtory in all the writers of this ſchool.

In Colkos ile a cite was,
That men called hanne Jaconitas;
Ffair, and mekel *, large, and long,
With walles huge and wondir ſtrong,
Fful of toures, and heye paleis,
Off rich knyztes, and burgeis:
A kyng that tyme hete † Eetes
Gouerned than that lond in pes ‡,

With

* Great. † *Hight*, named. ‡ *Peace*.

author: that he ſhould either thus transform his own compoſition, or write a new piece on the ſubject. That it was a poem in ſome conſiderable eſtimation, appears from the ſize and ſplendour of the manuſcript: and this circumſtance

With his baronage, and his meynè,
Dwelleden thanne in that citè:
Ffor al aboute that riche toun
Stode wodes, and parkis, environn,
That were replenyſched wonderful
Of herte, and hynd, bore, and bul,
And othir many ſavage beſtis,
Betwixt that wode and that foreſtis.
Ther was large contray and playn,
Ffaire wodes, and champayn
Fful of ſemely-rennyng welles,
As the ROMAUNCE the ſothe ‖ telles,
Withoute the cite that ther ſprong.
Ther was of briddes michel ſong,
Thorow al the zer § and michel cry,
Of al joyes gret melody.
To that citè [of] Eetes
Zode * Jaſon and Hercules,
And al the ffelawes that he hadde
In clothe of golde as kynges he cladde, &c.

Afterwards, the ſorcereſs Medea, the king's daughter, is thus characteriſed.

Sche couthe the ſcience of clergy,
And mochel of nigramauncy.—
Sche coude with conjuriſouns,
With here ſchleyght †, and oreſouns,
The day, that was moſt fair and lyght,
Make as darke as any nyght:
Sche couthe alſo, in ſelcouthe wiſe,
Make the wynde both blowe and riſe,
And make him ſo loude blowe,
As it ſchold howſes overthrowe.
Sche couth turne, verament,
All weders ‡, and the firmament, &c.

The reader, in ſome of theſe lines, obſerves the appeal to *The romance* for authority. This is common throughout the poem, as I have hinted. But at the cloſe, the poet wiſhes eternal ſalvation to the ſoul of the author of the *Romaunce*.

And he that this *romaunce* wroght and made,
Lord in heven thow him glade.

If this piece is tranſlated from a French romance, it is not from the antient metrical one of Benoit, to whom, I believe, Colonna is much indebted; but perhaps from ſome later French romance, which copied, or tranſlated, Colonna's book. This, among other circumſtances, we may collect from theſe lines.

Dares the herand of Troye ſays,
And Dites that was of the Gregeis, &c.
And after him cometh *maiſter* GY,
That was of Rome a notary.

This *maiſter Gy*, or *Guy*, that is Guido of Colonna, he adds, wrote this hiſtory,

In the *manere* I ſchall telle.

That is "my author, or romance, follows "Colonna." [See ſupr. vol. i. p. 127.] *Dares the heraud* is Dares Phrygius, and *Dites* Dictys Cretenſis.

This poem, in the Bodleian manuſcript aforeſaid, is finiſhed, as I have partly obſerved, with an invocation to god, to ſave the author, and the readers, or hearers; and ends with this line,

Seythe alle Amen for charite.

But this rubric immediately follows, at the beginning of a page. "*Hic bellum de Troye* "*finit et Greci tranſierunt verſus patriam* "*ſuam.*" Then follow ſeveral lineated pages of vellum, without writing. I have never ſeen any other manuſcript of this piece.

‖ Truth. § *Year.* * Came. † *Slight*, art. ‡ *Wethers.*

induces me to believe, that it was at a very early period ascribed to Lydgate. On the other hand, it is extraordinary that the name of the writer of so prolix and laborious a work, respectable and conspicuous at least on account of its length, should have never transpired. The language accords with Lydgate's age, and is of the reign of Henry the sixth: and to the same age I refer the hand-writing, which is executed with remarkable elegance and beauty.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

TWO more poets remain to be mentioned under the reign of Henry the sixth, if mere translation merit that appellation. These are Hugh Campeden and Thomas Chester.

The first was a great traveller, and translated into English verse the French romance of SIDRAC[g]. This translation, a book of uncommon rarity, was printed with the following title, at the expence of Robert Saltwood, a monk of saint Austin's convent at Canterbury, in the year 1510. "The "Historie of king Boccus and SYDRACKE how he confoundyd "his lerned men, and in the sight of them dronke stronge "venyme in the name of the trinite and dyd him no hurt. "Also his divynite that he lerned of the boke of Noe. "Also his profesyes that he had by revelation of the angel. "Also his aunsweris to the questyons of wysdom both "morall and naturall with muche wysdom contayned in "[the] noumber CCCLXV. Translated by Hugo of Caum-"peden out of French into Englisshe, &c[h]. There is no sort of elegance in the diction, nor harmony in the versification. It is in the minstrel-metre[i].

[g] See supr. vol. i. p. 143.

[h] With a wooden cut of Bocchus, and Sidracke. There is a fine manuscript of this translation, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. G. 57. pergam.

[i] MS. Laud. G. 57. Princip.

Men may fynde in olde bookes
Who soo yat in them lookes
That men may mooche here
And yerefore yff yat yee wolle lere
I shall teche yoowe a lytill jeste
That befell oonys in the este
There was a kynge that Boctus hyght
And was a man of mooche myght
His londe lay de grete Inde
Bectorye hight hit as we fynde
After the tyme of Noee even
VIIJ[te] hundred yere fourty and seven
The kynge Bochus hym be thought
That he would have a citee wrought
The rede Jewes fro hym spere
And for to mayntene his were
A yenst a kyng that was hys foe
And hath moste of Inde longyng hym too
His name was Garaab the kyng
Bocchus tho proved all this thing
And smartly a towre begenne he
There he wolde make his citee
And it was right at the incomyng
Of Garabys londe the kyng
The masons with grete laboure
Beganne to worke uppon the toure
And all that they wroghten on day
On night was hit done away
On morn when Bochus hit herde
Hee was wroth that hit so ferde

And

Thomas Cheſtre appears alſo to have been a writer for the minſtrels. No anecdote of his life is preſerved. He has left a poem entitled Sir LAUNFALE, one of Arthur's knights: who is celebrated with other champions in a ſet of French metrical tales or romances, written by ſome Armorican bard, under the name of LANVAL[k]. They are in the Britiſh Muſeum[l].

And dyd hyt all new begynne
At even whan they ſhuld blynne
Off worke when they went to reſte
In the night was all downe heſte
Well vii monthes this thei wrought
And in the night avaylid yt nought
Boccus was wroth wonderly
And callid his folke that was hym by
Coumcellith me lordinges ſeyde hee
Howe I may beſte make this citee
They ſayde ſir ſendith a noon
Aſtir your philoſophers everychon
And the aſtronomers of your londe
Of hem ſhall yee counſeill ſonde.

Afterwards king Tractabare is requeſted to ſend

——— the booke of aſtronomye
That whilom Noe had in baylye,

together with his aſtronomer Sidracke.

At the end.

And that Hugh of Campedene
That this boke hath thorogh ſoght
And untoo Englyſsh ryme hit brought.

Sidrake, who is a chriſtian, at length builds the tower *in Nomine S. Trinitatis*, and he teaches Bocchus, who is an idolater, many articles of true religion. The only manuſcript I have ſeen of this tranſlation is among MSS. Laud. G. 57. fol. ut ſupr.

[k] It begins thus.

LAUNFAL MILES.

Le douzty Artours dawes
That held Engelond in good lawe,
Ther fell a wondyr cas,
Of a ley * that was yſette,
That hyzt LAUNFAL and hatte zette.
Now herkeneth how hyt was;
Douzty Artour ſome whyle
Sojournede yn Kerdenyle †,
With joye and greet ſolas,
And knyzts that wer profitable,
With Artour of the rounde table,
Never noon better ther was.
Sere Perſevall, and ſyr Gawyn,
Syr Gyherther, and ſyr Agrayn,
And Lancelot du Lake,
Syr Kay, and ſyr Ewayn,
That well couthe ſyzt yn playn,
Bateles for to take.
Kyng Ban Boort, and kyng Bos,
Of ham ther was a greet los,
Men ſawe tho no wher ‖ her ‡ make.
Syr Galafre, and ſyr LAUNFALE,
Whereof a noble tale
Among us ſhall a wake.
With Artour ther was a bachelor
And hadde y be well many a zer,
LAUNFAL for ſoot § he hyzt,
He gaf gyftes largelyche
Gold and ſylver and clothes ryche,
To ſquyer and to knyzt.
For hys largeſſe and hys bounte
The kinges ſteward made was he
Ten yer I you plyzt,
Of alle the knyztes of the table rounde
So large there was noon y founde,
Be days ne be nyzt.
So hyt befyll yn the tenth zere
Marlyn was Artours counſalare,
He radde him for to wende
To kyng Ryon of Irlond ryzt,
And ſette hym ther a lady bryzt
Gwenere hys doughter hende, &c.

In the concluſion.

THOMAS CHESTER made thys tale
Of the noble knyzt ſyr Launfale
Good of chyvalrye:
Jeſus that ys hevene kyng
Zeve us all hys bleſſyng
And hys moder Marye.

EXPLICIT LAUNFALE.

Never printed. MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 2. f. 33. I am obliged to doctor Percy for this tranſcript. It was afterwards altered into the romance of ſir LAMBWELL.

[l] MSS. Harl. 978. 112. fol. i. 154. "En Bretains l'apelent LAUNVAL." See a note at the beginning of Diss. i.

* Liege. † Or, Kerdevyle. f. Caerliſle. ‖ Ther. ‡ Match. § Soth.

I think I have ſeen ſome evidence to prove, that Cheſtre was alſo the author of the metrical romance called the ERLE OF THOLOUSE[m]. This is one of the romances called LAIS by the poets of Britany, or Armorica: as appears from theſe lines,

> In romance this geſt
> A LEY[n] of BRITAYN callyd I wys, &c.

And that it is a tranſlation, appears from the reference to an original, "The *Romans* telleth ſo." I will however give the outlines of the ſtory, which is not unintereſting, nor inartificially conſtructed.

Dioclesian, a powerful emperour in Germany, has a rupture with Barnard earl of Tholouſe, concerning boundaries of territory. Contrary to the repeated perſuaſions of the empreſs, who is extremely beautiful, and famous for her conjugal fidelity, he meets the earl, with a numerous army, in a pitched battle, to decide the quarrel. The earl is victorious, and carries home a great multitude of priſoners, the moſt reſpectable of which is ſir Tralabas of Turky, whom he treats as his companion. In the midſt of their feſtivities they talk of the beauties of the empreſs; the earl's curioſity is inflamed to ſee ſo matchleſs a lady, and he promiſes liberty to ſir Tralabas, if he can be conducted unknown to the emperour's court, and obtain a ſight of her without diſcovery. They both ſet forward, the earl diſguiſed like a hermit. When they arrive at the emperour's court, ſir Tralabas proves falſe: treacherouſly imparts the ſecret to the empreſs that he has brought with him the earl

[m] Never printed. MSS. Aſhmol. Oxon. 45. 4to. [6926.] And MSS. More. Camb. 27. *Princip.*

> Jeſu Criſt in trinite,
> Only god in perſons thre, &c.
> Leſe frendys I ſhall you telle
> Of a tale that ſometyme befell
> Far in unkouthe lade,
> Howe a lady had grete myſcheſe, &c.

[n] Perhaps *ley* in the fourth line of ſir LAUNFAL may mean Lay in this ſenſe. See note at the beginning of the FIRST DISSERTATION.

of

of Tholouſe in diſguiſe, who is enamoured of her celebrated beauty; and propoſes to take advantage of ſo fair an opportunity of killing the emperour's great and avowed enemy. She rejects the propoſal with indignation, injoyns the knight not to communicate the ſecret any farther, and deſires to ſee the earl next day in the chapel at maſs. The next day the earl in his hermit's weeds is conveniently placed at maſs. At leaving the chapel, he aſks an alms of the empreſs; and ſhe gives him forty florins and a ring. He receives the preſent of the ring with the higheſt ſatisfaction, and although obliged to return home, in point of prudence, and to avoid detection, comforts himſelf with this reflection.

Well is me, I have thy grace,
Of the to have thys thyng!
If ever I have grace of the,
That *any love betweene us be*,
This may be a TOKENYNG.

He then returns home. The emperour is called into ſome diſtant country; and leaves his conſort in the cuſtody of two knights, who attempting to gain her love without ſucceſs, contrive a ſtratagem to defame her chaſtity. She is thrown into priſon, and the emperour returns unexpectedly *, in conſequence of a viſion. The tale of the two treacherous knights is believed, and ſhe is ſentenced to the flames: yet under the reſtriction, that if a champion can be found who ſhall foil the two knights in battle, her honour ſhall be cleared, and her life ſaved. A challenge is publiſhed in all

* The emperour's diſappointment is thus deſcribed.

Anon to the chamber went he,
He longyd ſore his wyf to ſe,
That was ſo ſwete a wyght:
He callyd theym that ſhulde her kepe,
Where is my wif is ſhe on ſlepe?
How farys that byrd ſo bryght?
The traytors anſweryd anon,
And ye wiſt how ſhe had done, &c.—
The yonge knyght ſir Artour,
That was her hervour, &c.
For bale his armys abrode he ſprede,
And fell in ſwoone on his bed.

parts

parts of the world; and the earl of Tholouſe, notwithſtanding the animoſities which ſtill ſubſiſt between him and the emperour, privately undertakes her quarrel. He appears at the emperour's court in the habit of a monk, and obtains permiſſion to act as confeſſor to the empreſs, in her preſent critical ſituation. In the courſe of the confeſſion, ſhe proteſts that ſhe was always true to the emperour; yet owns that once *ſhe gave a ring to the earl of Tholouſe*. The ſuppoſed confeſſor pronounces her innocent of the charge brought againſt her; on which one of the traiterous knights affirms, that the monk was ſuborned to publiſh this confeſſion, and that he deſerved to be conſumed in the ſame fire which was prepared for the lady. The monk pretending that the honour of his religion and character was affected by this inſinuation, challenges both the knights to combat: they are conquered; and the empreſs, after this trial, is declared innocent. He then openly diſcovers himſelf to be the earl of Tholouſe, the emperour's antient enemy. A ſolemn reconciliation enſues. The earl is appointed ſeneſchal of the emperour's domain. The emperour lives only three years, and the earl is married to the empreſs.

In the execution of this performance, our author was obliged to be conciſe, as the poem was intended to be ſung to the harp. Yet, when he breaks through this reſtraint, inſtead of dwelling on ſome of the beautiful ſituations which the ſtory affords, he is diffuſe in diſplaying trivial and unimportant circumſtances. Theſe popular poets are never ſo happy, as when they are deſcribing a battle or a feaſt.

It will not perhaps be deemed impertinent to obſerve, that about this period the minſtrels were often more amply paid than the clergy. In this age, as in more enlightened times, the people loved better to be pleaſed than inſtructed. During many of the years of the reign of Henry the ſixth, particularly in the year 1430, at the annual feaſt of the fraternity of the Holie Crosse at Abingdon, a town in

Berkshire, twelve priests each received four pence for singing a dirge: and the same number of minstrels were rewarded each with two shillings and four pence, beside diet and horse-meat. Some of these minstrels came only from Maydenhithe, or Maidenhead, a town at no great distance in the same county [p]. In the year 1441, eight priests were hired from Coventry to assist in celebrating a yearly obit in the church of the neighbouring priory of Maxtoke; as were six minstrels, called MIMI, belonging to the family of lord Clinton, who lived in the adjoining castle of Maxtoke, to sing, harp, and play, in the hall of the monastery, during the extraordinary refection allowed to the monks on that anniversary. Two shillings were given to the priests, and four to the minstrels [q]: and the latter are said to have supped in *camera picta*, or the painted chamber of the convent, with the subprior [r], on which occasion the chamberlain furnished eight massy tapers of wax [s]. That the gratuities allowed to priests, even if learned, for their labours, in the same age of devotion, were extremely slender, may be collected from other expences of this priory [t]. In the same year, the prior gives only sixpence [u] for a sermon, to a DOCTOR PRÆDICANS, or an itinerant doctor in theology of one of the mendicant orders, who went about preaching to the religious houses.

We are now arrived at the reign of king Edward the fourth, who acceded to the throne in the year 1461 [v]. But

[p] Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scacc. APPEND. p. 598.

[q] Ex Computis Prioris Priorat. de Maxtock. penes me. [See supr. vol. i. p. 90.] "Dat. sex Mimis domini Clynton cantantibus, citharisantibus, et ludentibus, in aula in dicta Pietantia, iiii. s."

[r] "Mimis cenantibus in camera picta cum supprione eodem tempore," [*the sum obliterated.*]

[s] Ex comp. Camerarii, ut supr.

[t] Ex comp. prædict.

[u] Worth about five shillings of our present money.

[v] I know not whether it is worth mentioning, that a metrical *Dialogue between God and the penitent Soul*, belonging to the preceding reign, is preserved at Caius college, Cambridge. *Pr.* "Our gracious lord "prince of pite." MSS. E. 147. 6. With other pieces of the kind. The writer, William Lichfield, a doctor in theology, shone most in prose; and is said to have written, with his own hand, 3083 English sermons. See T. Gascoign, (MS.) Diction. V. PRÆDICATOR. He died 1447. See Stowe, Lond. 251. 386. Newcourt, i. 819.

before

before I proceed in my ſeries, I will employ the remainder of this ſection in fixing the reader's attention on an important circumſtance, now operating in its full extent, and therefore purpoſely reſerved for this period, which greatly contributed to the improvement of our literature, and conſequently of our poetry: I mean the many tranſlations of Latin books, eſpecially claſſics, which the French had been making for about the two laſt centuries, and were ſtill continuing to make, into their own language. In order to do this more effectually, I will collect into one view the moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe verſions: not ſolicitous about thoſe notices on this ſubject which have before occurred incidentally; nor ſcrupulous about the charge of anticipation, which, to prepare the reader, I ſhall perhaps incur by lengthening this enquiry, for the ſake of comprehenſion, beyond the limits of the period juſt aſſigned. In the mean time it may be pertinent to premiſe, that from the cloſe communication which formerly ſubſiſted between England and France, manuſcript copies of many of theſe tranſlations, elegantly written, and often embelliſhed with the moſt ſplendid illuminations and curious miniatures, were preſented by the tranſlators or their patrons to the kings of England; and that they accordingly appear at preſent among the royal manuſcripts in the Britiſh Muſeum. Some of theſe, however, were tranſcribed, if not tranſlated, by command of our kings; and others brought into England, and placed in the royal library, by John duke of Bedford, regent of France.

It is not conſiſtent with my deſign, to enumerate the Latin legends, rituals, monaſtic rules, chronicles, and hiſtorical parts of the bible, ſuch as the Book of Kings and the Maccabees, which were looked upon as ſtories of chivalry [x], tranſlated by the French before the year 1200. Theſe ſoon

[x] As "Pluſieurs Battailes des Roys d'Iſrael en contre les Philiſtiens et Aſſyriens, &c." Brit. Muſ. MSS. Reg. 19 D. 1. 7.

became obſolete: and are, beſides, too deeply tinctured with the deplorable ſuperſtition and barbarity of their age, to bear a recital[y]. I will therefore begin with the thirteenth century. In the year 1210, Peter Comeſtor's [z] HISTORIA SCHOLASTICA, a ſort of breviary of the old and new teſtament, accompanied with elaborate expoſitions from Joſephus and many pagan writers, a work compiled at Paris about the year 1175, and ſo popular, as not only to be taught in ſchools, but even to be publicly read in the churches with its gloſſes, was tranſlated into French by Guiart des Moulins, a canon of Aire[a]. About the ſame time, ſome of the old tranſlations into French made in the eleventh century by Thibaud de Vernon, canon of Rouen, were retouched: and the Latin legends of many lives of ſaints, particularly of ſaint George, of Thomas a Beckett, and the martyrdom of ſaint Hugh, a child murthered in 1206 by a Jew at Lincoln[b], were reduced into French verſe. Theſe pieces, to which I muſt add a metrical verſion of the bible from Geneſis to Hezekiah, by being written in rhyme, and eaſy to be ſung, ſoon became popular, and produced the deſired impreſſion on the minds of the people[c]. They were ſoon followed by the verſion of ÆGIDIUS DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM[d], by Henri de

[y] I muſt however except their LAPIDAIRE, a poem on precious ſtones, from the Latin of Marbodeus; and the BESTIAIRE, a ſet of metrical fables, from the Latin Eſop. Theſe however ought to be looked upon as efforts of their early poetry, rather than tranſlations.

[z] Or *Le Mangeur*, becauſe he *devoured* the ſcriptures.

[a] The French was firſt publiſhed, without date or place, in two tomes. With old wood-cuts. Voſſius ſays that the original was abridged by Gualter Hunte, an Engliſh Carmelite, about the year 1460. Hiſt. Lat. lib. iii. c. 9. p. 197. edit. Amſt. 1689. fol. It was tranſlated into German rhymes about 1271. Sander. Bibl. Belg. pag. 285. There are numerous and very ſumptuous manuſcripts of this work in the Britiſh Muſeum. One of them, with exquiſite paintings, was ordered to be *written* by Edward the fourth at Bruges, 1470. MSS. Reg. 15 D. i. Another is written in 1382. Ibid. 19. B. xvii.

[b] See Chaucer, PRIORESS. T. p. 144. col. 2. v. 3193.

[c] It is rather beſide my purpoſe to ſpeak particularly of ſome of the divine Offices now made French, and of the church-hymns.

[d] See modo ſupr. p. 39. And MSS. Reg. 15 E. vi. 11. And ibid. 19 B. i. And ibid. 19 A. xx. "Stephanus Fortis clericus ſcripſit. An. 1395."

Gauchi.

Gauchi. Dares Phrygius, The SEVEN SAGES OF ROME by Hebers[e], Eutropius[f], and Ariſtotle's SECRETUM SECRETORUM[g], appeared about the ſame time in French. To ſay nothing of voluminous verſions of PANDECTS and feudal COUTUMES[h], Michael de Harnes tranſlated Turpin's CHARLEMAGNE in the year 1207[i]. It was into proſe, in oppoſition to the practice which had long prevailed of turning Latin proſe into French rhymes. This piece, in compliance with an age addicted to romantic fiction, our tranſlator undoubtedly preferred to the more rational and ſober Latin hiſtorians of Charlemagne and of France, ſuch as Gregory of Tours, Fredegaire, and Eginhart. In the year 1245, the SPECULUM MUNDI, a ſyſtem of theology, the ſeven ſciences, geography, and natural philoſophy[k], was tranſlated at the inſtance of the duke of Berry and Auvergne[l]. Among the royal manuſcripts, is a ſort of ſyſtem of pious tracts, partly of ritual offices, compiled in Latin by the confeſſors of Philip in 1279, tranſlated into French[m]; which tranſlation queen Iſabel ordered to be placed in the church of ſaint Innocents at Paris, for the uſe of the people.

The fourteenth century was much more fertile in French tranſlation. The ſpirit of devotion, and indeed of this ſpecies of curioſity, raiſed by ſaint Louis, after a ſhort intermiſſion, rekindled under king John and Charles the fifth. I paſs over the proſe and metrical tranſlations of the Latin bible in the years 1343, and 1380, by Macè, and Raoul de

[e] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 462.

[f] He was early tranſlated into Greek at Conſtantinople.

[g] Brit. Muſ. MSS. Reg. 20 B. iv. 3.

[h] See a French JUSTINIAN, &c. Brit. Muſ. MSS. Reg. 20 D. ix. 2. 3. A manuſcript before 1300.

[i] Caxton printed a life of CHARLES THE GREAT, 1485.

[k] One of the moſt eminent aſtronomers in this work is the poet Virgil.

I know not when the LE LIVRE ROYALL, a ſort of manual, was made French. The Latin original was compiled at the command of Philip le Bell, king of France, in 1279. Pref. to Caxton's Engl. Tranſlat. 1484. fol.

[l] See Brit. Muſ. MSS. Reg. 19 A. ix. This verſion was tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed, by Caxton, 1480.

[m] Brit. Muſ. MSS. Reg. 19 C. ii.

Preſſes.

Presles. Under those reigns, saint Austin, Cassianus, and Gregory the Great[n], were translated into French; and they are the first of the fathers that appeared in a modern tongue. Saint Gregory's HOMELIES are by an anonymous translator[o]. His DIALOGUES were probably translated by an English ecclesiastic[p]. Saint Austin's DE CIVITATE DEI was translated by Raoul de Presles, who acted professedly both as confessor and translator to Charles the fifth[q], about the year 1374. During the work he received a yearly pension of six hundred livres from that liberal monarch, the first founder of a royal library in France, at whose command it was undertaken. It is accompanied with a prolix commentary, valuable only at present as preserving anecdotes of the opinions, manners, and literature, of the writer's age; and from which I am tempted to give the following specimen, as it strongly illustrates the antient state of the French stage, and demonstrably proves that comedy and tragedy were now known only by name in France[r]. He observes, that Comedies are so denominated from a room of entertainment, or from those places, in which banquets were accustomed to be closed with singing, called in Greek CONIAS: that they were like those *jeux* or plays, which the minstrel, *le Chanteur*, exhibits in halls or other public places, at a feast: and that they were properly styled INTERLUDIA, as being presented between the two courses. Tragedies, he adds, were spectacles, resembling those personages which at this day we see acting in the LIFE

[n] See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. v. 1. 2.

[o] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. v. 1. 20 D. v.

[p] It is supposed that they were rendered by an Englishman, or one living in England, as the translator's name is marked by an A. And as there is a prayer in the manuscript to saint Frideswide, an Oxford saint. Mem. Litt. xvii. p 735. 4to. It is very rare that we find the French translating from us. Yet Fauchett mentions a French poetess, named Marie de France, who translated the Fables of Esop MORALISED, from English into French, about the year 1310. But this was to gratify a *comte Guillaume*, with whom she was in love, and who did not perhaps understand English. See Fauchett, RECUEIL, lxxxiv. p. 163. edit. 1581. I know nothing of the fables.

[q] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. iii. With pictures. And 14 D. i.

[r] See supr. vol. i. p. 235.

and

and PASSION of a matyr [s]. This shews that only the religious drama now subsisted in France. But to proceed, Cassianus's COLLATIONES PATRUM, or the CONFERENCES, was translated by John Goulain, a Carmelite monk, about 1363. Two translations of that theological romance Boethius's CONSOLATION, one by the celebrated Jean de Meun, author of the ROMANCE OF THE ROSE, existed before the year 1340. Others of the early Latin christian writers were ordered to be turned into French by queen Jane, about 1332. But finding that the archbishop of Rouen, who was commissioned to execute this arduous task, did not understand Latin, she employed a mendicant friar. About the same period, and under the same patronage, the LEGENDA AUREA, written by James de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, about the year 1260, that inexhaustible repository of religious fable [t], was translated by Jehan de Vignay, a monk hospitalar [u]. The same translator gave also a version of a famous ritual entitled SPECULUM ECCLESIÆ, or the MIRROUR OF THE CHURCH, of CHESS MORALISED, written by Jacobus de Casulis [w]: and of Odoricus's VOYAGE INTO THE EAST [x]. Thomas Benoit, a prior of saint Genevieve gratified the religious with a translation into a more intelligible language of some Latin liturgic pieces about the year 1330. But his chief performance was a translation into French verse of the RULE OF SAINT AUSTIN. This he undertook merely on a principle of affection and charity, for the edification of his pious brethren who did not understand Latin.

[s] Ch. viii. liv. ii.

[t] In the year 1555, the learned Claud. Espence was obliged to make a public recantation for calling it LEGENDA FERREA. Thuan. sub. ann. Laun. Hist. Gymnas. Navarr. p. 704. 297.

[u] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 B. xvii. The copy was written 1382. This version seems to be the same which Caxton translated, and printed, 1483. While it was printing, William lord Arundel gave Caxton annually a buck in summer and a doe in winter.

[w] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 C. xi. 1. This version was translated in English, and printed, by Caxton, 1474.

[x] Ibid. 19 D. i. 4. 5.

Pour

Pour l'amour de vous, très chers freres,
En François ai traduit ce Latin.

And in the preface he ſays, " Or ſçai-je que *pluſieurs* de vous " n' *entendent pas bien* LATIN auquel il fut choſe neceſſaire " de la rieule [regle] *entendre*." Benoit's ſucceſſour in the priorate of ſaint Genevieve was not equally attentive to the diſcipline and piety of his monks. Inſtead of tranſlating monkiſh Latin, and enforcing the ſalutary regulations of ſaint Auſtin, he wrote a ſyſtem of rules for BALLAD-WRITING, L'ART DE DICTIER BALLADE ET RONDELS, the firſt Art of poetry that ever appeared in France.

Among the moral books now tranſlated, I muſt not omit the SPIRITUELLE AMITIÉ of John of Meun, from the Latin of Aldred an Engliſh monk [y]. In the ſame ſtyle of myſtic piety was the treatiſe of CONSOLATION, written in Latin, by Vincent de Beauvais, and ſent to ſaint Louis, tranſlated in the year 1374. In the year 1340, Henri de Suſon, a German dominican and a myſtic doctor, wrote a moſt comprehenſive treatiſe called HOROLOGIUM SAPIENTIÆ. This was tranſlated into French by a monk of ſaint François [z]. Even the officers of the court of Charles the fifth were ſeized with the ardour of tranſlating religious pieces, no leſs than the eccleſiaſtics. The moſt elegant tract of moral Latinity tranſlated into French, was the celebrated book of our countryman John of Saliſbury, DE NUGIS CURIALIUM. This verſion was made by Denis Soulechart, a learned Cordelier, about the year 1360. Notwithſtanding the EPISTLES of Abelard and Eloiſa, not only from the celebrity of Abelard as a Pariſian theologiſt, but on account of the intereſting hiſtory of that unfortunate pair, muſt have been as commonly known, and as likely to be read in the original, as any Latin

[y] It is mentioned in the catalogue of his *traductions*, at the beginning of his *Conſolation philoſophique*. I am not acquainted with the Engliſh monk.

[z] Engliſhed, and printed by Caxton, very early.

book

book in France, they were tranſlated into French in this century, by John of Meun; who proſtituted his abilities when he relinquiſhed his own noble inventions, to interpret the pedantries of monks, ſchoolmen, and proſcribed claſſics. I think he alſo tranſlated Vegetius, who will occur again[a]. In the library of ſaint Genevieve, there is, in a ſort of ſyſtem of religion, a piece called JERARCHIE, tranſlated from Latin into French at the command of our queen Elinor in the year 1297, by a French friar[b]. I muſt not however forget, that amidſt this profuſion of treatiſes of religion and inſtruction, civil hiſtory found a place. That immenſe chaos of events real and fictitious, the HISTORICAL MIRROUR of Vincent de Beauvais, was tranſlated by Jehan de Vignay above mentioned[c]. One is not ſurpriſed that the tranſlator of the GOLDEN LEGEND ſhould make no better choice.

The deſolation produced in France[d] by the victorious armies of the Engliſh, was inſtantly ſucceeded by a flouriſhing ſtate of letters. King John, having indulged his devotion, and ſatisfied his conſcience, by procuring numerous verſions of books written on ſacred ſubjects, at length turned his attention to the claſſics. His ignorance of Latin was a fortunate circumſtance, as it produced a curioſity to know the treaſures of Latin literature. He employed Peter Bercheur, prior of ſaint Eloi at Paris, an eminent theologiſt, to tranſlate Livy into French[e]; notwithſtanding that author

[a] There is a copy written in 1284, [1384,] Brit. Muſ. MSS. Reg. 20 B. xv. Often, ibid. John of Meun is alſo ſaid to have tranſlated MIRABILIA HIBERNIÆ.

[b] "Cette JERARCHIE tranſlata frere "Jehan de Pentham de Latin en Françoys, "à la requeſte la reine d'Engleterre Alie-"nore femme le roy Edward." There is alſo this note in the manuſcript. "Ceſt "livre reſigna frere Jordan de Kyngeſtone "à la commune des freres Menurs de "Southampton, par la volunte du graunt "frere Willame Notington [ſ. Northing-"ton in Hampſhire,] miniſtre d'Engle-"terre . . . l'an. de grace M.CCC.XVII."

[c] Brit. Muſ. MSS. Reg. 14 E. i.

[d] A curious picture of the diſtracted ſtate of France is recorded by Petrarch. The king, with the Dauphin, returning from his captivity in England, in paſſing through Picardy, was obliged to make a pecuniary bargain with the numerous robbers that infeſted that country, to travel unmoleſted. VIE PETR. iii. 543.

[e] See Henault, NOUVEL. ABREG. HIST. FR. p. 229. edit. 1752. 4to. And VIE DE PETRARQUE, iii. p. 547.

had been anathematised by pope Gregory. But so judicious a choice was undoubtedly dictated by Petrarch, who regarded Livy with a degree of enthusiasm, who was now resident at the court of France, and who perhaps condescended to direct and superintend the translation. The translator in his Latin work called REPERTORIUM, a sort of general dictionary, in which all things are proved to be allegorical, and reduced to a moral meaning, under the word ROMA, records this great attempt in the following manner. "TITUM LIVIUM, ad "requisitionem domini Johannis inclyti Francorum regis, "*non sine labore et sudoribus*, in linguam Gallicam transtuli[f]." To this translation we must join those of Sallust, Lucan, and Cesar: all which seem to have been finished before the year 1365. This revival of a taste for Roman history, most probably introduced and propagated by Petrarch during his short stay in the French court, immediately produced a Latin historical compilation called ROMULEON, by an anonymous gentleman of France; who soon found it necessary to translate his work into the vernacular language. Valerius Maximus could not remain long untranslated. A version of that favourite author, begun by Simon de Hesdin, a monk, in 1364, was finished by Nicolas de Gonesse, a master in theology, 1401[g]. Under the last-mentioned reign, Ovid's Metamorphoses MORALISED[h] were translated by Guillaume de Nangis: and the same poem was translated into French verse, at the request of Jane de Bourbonne, afterwards the consort

[f] This was the translation of Livy, which, with other books, the duke of Bedford, regent of France, about 1425, sent into England to Humphrey duke of Gloucester. The copy had been a present to the king of France. Mem. Litt. ii. 747. 4to. See the SECOND DISSERTATION. In the Sorbonne library at Paris, there is a most valuable manuscript of this version in two folio volumes. In the front of each book are various miniatures and pictures, most beautifully finished. Dan. Maichel de Bibliothec. Paris. p. 79. There is a copy, transcribed about the time the translation was finished. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. vi. DES FAIS DE ROMAINS. With pictures.

[g] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 18 E. iii. iv. With elegant delineations, and often in the same library.

[h] Perhaps written in Latin by Joannes Grammaticus, about 1070. See the SECOND DISSERTATION.

of

of Charles the fifth, by Philip de Vitri, bishop of Meaux, Petrarch's friend, who was living in 1361[i]. A bishop would not have undertaken this work, had he not perceived much moral doctrine couched under the pagan stories. Jean le Fevre, by command of Charles the fifth, translated the poem DE VETULA, falsly ascribed to Ovid[k]. Cicero's RHETORICA appeared in French by master John de Antioche, at the request of one friar William, in the year 1383. About the same time, some of Aristotle's pieces were translated from Latin; his PROBLEMS by Evrard de Conti, physician to Charles the fifth: and his ETHICS and POLITICS by Nicholas d'Oresme, while canon of Rouen. This was the most learned man in France, and tutor to Charles the fifth; who, in consequence of his instructions, obtained a competent skill in Latin, and in the rules of the grammar[l]. Other Greek classics, which now began to be known by being translated into Latin, became still more familiarised, especially to general readers, by being turned into French. Thus Poggius Florentinus's recent Latin version of Xenophon's CYROPEDIA was translated into French by Vasque de Lucerie, 1370[m]. The TACTICS of Vegetius, an author who frequently confounds the military practices of his own age with those of antiquity, appeared under the title of LIVRES DES FAIS D'ARMES ET DE CHEVALLERIE, by Christina of Pisa[n]. Pe-

[i] There was a French Ovid in duke Humphrey's library at Oxford. See supr. p. 45. And Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. iv. 1. This version, as I apprehend, is the same that Caxton translated into English prose, and printed, 1480. A manuscript is in Bibl. Pepys. Magd. Coll. Cant. Cat. MSS. Angl. &c. tom. ii. N. 6791.

[k] Polycarpus Leyserus supposes this piece to be the forgery of one Leo Protonotarius, an officer in the court at Constantinople, who writes the preface. Hist. Poes. Med. Æv. p. 2089. He proves the work supposititious, from its several Arabicisms and scriptural expressions, &c. Brawardine cites many lines from it, Adverf. Pelag. p. 33. As does Bacon, in his astrological tracts. It is condemned by Bede as heretical. In Boeth. de Trinit. Selden intended a DISSERTATION on this forgery, De Synedr. iii. 16. It is in hexameters, in three books.

[l] Christin. VIE CHARLES V.

[m] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. v. 1. And 16 G. ix. With pictures.

[n] MSS. Reg. 19 B. xviii. &c. Vegetius was early translated into all the modern languages. There is an English one, probably by John Trevisa, as it is addressed to his patron lord Berkeley, A. D. 1408. MSS.

trarch DE REMEDIIS UTRIUSQUE FORTUNÆ, a set of Latin dialogues, was translated, not only by Nicholas d'Oresme, but by two of the officers of the royal houshold [o], in compliment to Petrarch at his leaving France [p]. Many philosophical pieces, particularly in astrology, of which Charles the fifth was remarkably fond, were translated before the end of the fourteenth century. Among these, I must not pass over the QUADRIPARTITUM of Ptolemy, by Nicholas d'Oresme; the AGRICULTURE [q], or LIBRI RURALIUM COMMODORUM, of Peter de Crescentiis, a physician of Bononia, about the year 1285, by a nameless friar preacher [r]; and the book DE PROPRIETATIBUS RERUM of Bartholomew Anglicus, the Pliny of the monks, by John Corbichon, an Augustine monk [s]. I have seen a French manuscript of Guido de Colonna's Trojan romance, the hand-writing of which belongs to this century [t].

In the fifteenth century it became fashionable among the

MSS. Digb. 233. *Princ.* "In olde tyme "it was the manere." There is a translation of Vegetius, *written* at Rhodes, "die 25 Octobris, 1459, per Johannem "Newton." ad calc. Bibl. Bodl. K. 53. Laud. MSS. Christina's version was translated, and printed, by Caxton, 1489. See supr. p. 67.

[o] See Niceron, tom. 28. p. 384.

[p] Monf. l'Ab. Lebeuf says *Seneca* instead of *Petrarch*. Mem. Litt. xvii. p. 752.

I must not forget to observe, that several whole books in Brunetto's TRESOR consist of translations from Aristotle, Tully, and Pliny, into French. Brunetto was a Florentine, and the master of Dante. He died in 1295. The TRESOR was a sort of Encyclopede, exhibiting a course of practical and theoretic philosophy, of divinity, cosmography, geography, history sacred and profane, physics, ethics, rhetoric, and politics. It was written in French by Brunetto during his residence in France: but he afterwards translated it into Italian, and it has been translated by others into Latin. It was the model and foundation of Bartholomeus of the PROPERTIES OF THINGS, of Bercheur's REPERTORIUM, and of many other works of the same species, which soon followed. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. i. It will occur again.

[q] DES PROUFFITZ CHAMPESTRES ET RURAUX. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 14 E.

[r] In twelve books. See Jacob. Quetif. tom. i. p. 666.

[s] Leland says, that this translation is elegant; and that he saw it in duke Humfrey's library at Oxford. Script. Brit. cap. ccclxviii. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. iii. With pictures. Ibid. 15 E. ii. Where the translation is assigned to the year 1362. The writing of the manuscript, to 1482. With pictures.

[t] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 16 F. ix. A new translation seems to have been made by Rauol le Feure, in 1464. Englished by Caxton, and printed, 1471. Caxton's GODEFROY OF BOLOGNE, translated from the French, and printed 1481, had a Latin original. The French, a fine copy, is in Brit. Mus. 17 F. v. MSS. Reg. Sæpius ibid. [See supr. p. 99.]

French,

French, to polish and reform their old rude translations made two hundred years before; and to reduce many of their metrical versions into prose. At the same time, the rage of translating ecclesiastical tracts began to decrease. The latter circumstance was partly owing to the introduction of better books, and partly to the invention of printing. Instead of procuring laborious and expensive translations of the antient fathers, the printers, who multiplied greatly towards the close of this century, found their advantage in publishing new translations of more agreeable books, or in giving antient versions in a modern dress [u]. Yet in this century some of the more recent doctors of the church were translated. Not to mention the epistles of saint Jerom, which Antoine Dufour, a Dominican frier, presented in French to Anne de Bretagne, consort to king Charles the eighth, we find saint Anselm's CUR DEUS HOMO [w], The LAMENTATIONS OF SAINT BERNARD, The SUM OF THEOLOGY of Albertus Magnus, The PRICK OF DIVINE LOVE [x] of saint Bonaventure a seraphic doctor [y], with other pieces of the

[u] I take this opportunity of observing, that one of these was the romance of sir LANCELOT DU LAC, translated from the Latin by Robert de Borron, at the command of our Henry the second or third. See supr. vol. i. p. 114. This new LANCELOT, I believe, is the same which was printed at Paris by Antony Verard, 1494. In three vast folio volumes. Another, is the romance of GYRON LE COURTOIS, translated also from Latin, at the command of the same monarch, by Lucas, or Luce, *chevalier du Chateau du Gast*, or *Gat*, or *Gal*, and printed by Verard as above. See Lenglet, Bibl. Rom. ii. p. 117. The old GUIRON LE COURTOIS is said to be translated by "LUCE chevalier seigneur du "chasteau du Gal, [perhaps *Sal.* an abre-"viation for Salisbury,] voisin prochain "du sire du Sablieres, par le commende-"ment de tres noble et tres puissant prince "M. le roy Henry jadis roy d'Angle-"terre." Bibl. Reg. Paris. Cod. 7586. See supr. vol. i. p. 115. Notes.

[w] Written in 1098.

[x] Supr. vol. i. p. 77.

[y] He flourished in Italy, about the year 1270. The enormous magnificence of his funeral deserves notice, more than any anecdote of his life; as it paints the high devotion of the times, and the attention formerly paid to theological literature. There were present pope Gregory the tenth, the emperour of Greece by several Greek noblemen his proxies, Baldwin the second the Latin eastern emperour, James king of Arragon, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, all the cardinals, five hundred bishops and archbishops, sixty abbots, more than a thousand prelates and priests of lower rank, the ambassadors of many kings and potentates, the deputies of the Tartars and other nations, and an innumerable concourse of people of all orders and degrees. The sepulchral ceremonies were celebrated with the most consummate pomp, and the funeral oration was pronounced

kind, exhibited in the French language before the year 1480, at the petition and under the patronage of many devout ducheſſes. Yet in the mean time, the lives of ſaints and ſacred hiſtory gave way to a ſpecies of narrative more entertaining and not leſs fabulous. Little more than Joſephus, and a few MARTYRDOMS, were now tranſlated from the Latin into French.

The truth is, the French tranſlators of this century were chiefly employed on profane authors. At its commencement, a French abridgement of the three firſt decads of Livy was produced by Henri Romain a canon of Tournay. In the year 1416, Jean de Courci, a knight of Normandy, gave a tranſlation of ſome Latin chronicle, a HISTORY OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, entitled BOUQUASSIERE. In 1403, Jean de Courteauiſſe, a doctor in theology at Paris, tranſlated Seneca on the FOUR CARDINAL VIRTUES [x]. Under the reign of king Charles the ſeventh, Jean Coſſa tranſlated the CHRONOLOGY of Mattheus Palmerius a learned Florentine, and a writer of Italian poetry in imitation of Dante. In the dedication to Jane the third, queen of Jeruſalem, and among other titles counteſs of Provence, the tranſlator apologiſes for ſuppoſing her highneſs to be ignorant of Latin; when at the ſame time he is fully convinced, that a lady endowed with ſo much natural grace, muſt be perfectly acquainted with that language. "Mais pour ce que le vulgar Françoys eſt plus "commun, j' ai pris peine y tranſlater ladite oeuvre." Two other tranſlations were offered to Charles the ſeventh in the year 1445. One, of the FIRST PUNIC war of Leonard of Arezzo, an anonymous writer, who does not chuſe to publiſh his name *a cauſe de ſa petiteſſe*; and the STRATAGEMS of

nounced by a future pope. Miræi Auctar. Script. Eccleſ. pag. 72. edit. Fabric. [See ſupr. vol. i. p. 77.]

[x] It is ſuppoſititious. It was forged, about the year 560, by Martianus an archbiſhop of Portugal, whom Gregory of Tours calls the moſt eminent writer of his time. Hiſt. Franc. v. 38. It was a great favourite of the theological ages.

Frontinus,

Frontinus, often cited by John of Salisbury, and mentioned in the Epistles of Peter of Blois [a], by Jean de Rouroy, a Parisian theologist. Under Louis the eleventh, Sebastian Mamerot of Soissons, in the year 1466, attempted a new translation of the ROMULEON: and he professes, that he undertook it solely with a view of improving or decorating the French language [b].

Many French versions of classics appeared in this century. A translation of Quintus Curtius is dedicated to Charles duke of Burgundy, in 1468 [c]. Six years afterwards, the same liberal patron commanded Cesar's COMMENTARIES to be translated by Jean du Chesne [d]. Terence was made French by Guillaume Rippe, the king's secretary, in the year 1466. The following year a new translation of Ovid's METAMORPHOSES was executed by an ecclesiastic of Normandy [e]. But much earlier in the century, Laurence Premierfait, mentioned above, translated, I suppose from the Latin, the OECONOMICS of Aristotle, and Tully's DE AMICITIA and DE SENECTUTE, before the year 1426 [f]. He is said also to have translated some pieces, perhaps the EPISTLES, of Seneca [g].

[a] Epist. 94.

[b] I am not sure whether this is not much the same as LE GRANDE HISTOIRE CESAR, &c. Taken from Lucan, Suetonius, Orosius, &c. Written at Bruges at the command of our Edward the fourth, in 1479. That is, ordered to be *written* by him. A manuscript with pictures. MSS. Reg. 17 F. ii. 1. Brit. Mus. But see ibid. ROMELEON, *ou des Faits des Romains*, in ten books. With pictures. MSS. Reg. 19 E. v. See also 20 C. i.

[c] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. i. With beautiful pictures.

[d] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 16 G. viii. With pictures. Another appeared by Robert Gaguen in 1485.

[e] Perhaps this might be Caxton's copy. See above, p. 115.

[f] The two latter versions were translated into English by William Botoner, and John Tiptoft earl of Worcester, and printed by Caxton, 1481. Botoner presented his manuscript copy to William of Waynflete bishop of Winchester in 1473. See supr. p. 62. Caxton's English CATO, printed 1483, was from the French. As were his FABLES OF ÆSOP, printed 1483.

[g] Crucimanius mentions a version of Seneca by Premierfait, as printed at Paris, in 1500. Bibl. Gall. p. 287. A translation of Seneca's DE QUATUOR VIRTUTIBUS CARDINALIBUS, but supposititious, is given to Premierfait, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 A. xii. Sanders recites the EPISTLES of Seneca, translated into French by some anonymous writer, at the command of Messire Barthelemi Siginulfe a nobleman of Naples. Bibl. Cathedr. Tornacens. p. 209. Pieces of Seneca have been frequently translated into French, and very early.

Encouraged

Encouraged by this example, Jean de Luxembourgh, Laurence's cotemporary, tranſlated Tully's Oration againſt Verres. I muſt not forget, that Hippocrates and Galen were tranſlated from Latin into French in the year 1429. The tranſlator was Jean Tourtier, ſurgeon to the duke of Bedford, then regent of France; and he humbly ſupplicates Rauoul Palvin, confeſſor and phyſician to the ducheſs, and John Major, firſt phyſician to the duke, and graduate *en l'eſtude d'Auxonford*[h], and maſter Roullan, phyſician and aſtronomer of the univerſity of Paris, amicably to amend the faults of this tranſlation, which is intended to place the ſcience and practice of medicine on a new foundation. I preſume it was from a Latin verſion that the ILIAD, about this period, was tranſlated into French metre.

Among other pieces that might be enumerated in this century, in the year 1412, Guillaume de Tignonville, provoſt of Paris, tranſlated the DICTA PHILOSOPHORUM[i]: as did Jean Gallopes dean of the collegiate church of ſaint Louis, of Salſoye, in Normandy, the ITER VITÆ HUMANÆ of Guillaume prior of Chalis[k]. This verſion, entitled LE PELERINAGE DE LA VIE HUMAINE, is dedicated to Jean queen of Sicily, above mentioned; a ducheſs of Anjou and a counteſs of Provence: who, without any ſort of difficulty, could make a tranſition from the Life of ſir Lancelot to that of ſaint Auſtin, and who ſometimes quitted the tribunal of the COURT OF LOVE to confer with learned eccleſiaſtics, in an age when gallantry and religion were of equal importance. He alſo tranſlated, from the ſame author, a compoſition of the ſame ideal and contemplative caſt, called LE PELERIN DE L'AME, highly eſteemed by thoſe viſionaries who preferred

[h] Oxonford. Oxford.

[i] Brit. Muſ. MSS. Reg. 19 A. viii. Sæpius. ibid. This verſion was tranſlated into Engliſh by lord Rivers, and printed by Caxton, 1477.

[k] See Labb. Bibl. MSS. p. 317. Bibl. Roman. ii. 236. And Oudin. iii. 976. Guillaum lived about 1352. Some of the French literary antiquaries ſuppoſe this to be a Latin piece. It is, however, in French verſe, which was reduced into proſe by Gallopes.

religious

religious allegory to romance, which was dedicated to the duke of Bedford[l]. In Bennet college library at Cambridge, there is an elegant illuminated manuſcript of Bonaventure's LIFE OF CHRIST, tranſlated by Gallopes; containing a curious picture of the tranſlator preſenting his verſion to our Henry the fifth[m]. About the ſame time, but before 1427, Jean de Guerre tranſlated a Latin compilation of all that was marvellous in Pliny, Solinus, and the OTIA IMPERIALIA, a book abounding in wonders, of our countryman Gervais of Tilbury[n]. The French romance, entitled L' ASSAILLANT, was now tranſlated from the Latin chronicles of the kings of Cologne: and the Latin tract DE BONIS MORIBUS of Jacobus Magnus, confeſſor to Charles the ſeventh, about the year 1422, was made French[o]. Rather earlier, Jean de Premierfait tranſlated BOCCACIO DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRIUM[p]. Nor ſhall I be thought to deviate too far from my detail, which is confined to Latin originals, when I mention here a book, the tranſlation of which into French conduced in an eminent degree to circulate materials for poetry: this is Boccacio's DECAMERON, which Premierfait alſo tranſlated, at the command of queen Jane of Navarre, who ſeems to have made no kind of conditions about ſuppreſſing the licentious ſtories, in the year 1414[q].

I am not exactly informed, when the ENEID of Virgil was tranſlated into a ſort of metrical romance or hiſtory of Eneas;

[l] I am not certain, whether this is Caxton's PILGRIMAGE OF THE SOWLE, an Engliſh tranſlation from the French, printed in 1483. fol. Ames ſays, that Antonine Gerard is the author of the French, which was printed at Paris, 1480. Hiſt. Print. p. 34.

[m] See ARCHÆOL. vol. ii. p. 194. And Brit. Muſ. MSS. Reg. 16 G. iii. 20 B. iv. Engliſhed about 1410, and printed by Caxton very early. The Engliſh tranſlator, I believe, is John Morton, an Auguſtine frier.

[n] He flouriſhed about the year 1218.

[o] See ſupr. p. 61. There is a verſion of Boccacio's DE CLARIS MULIERIBUS, perhaps by Premierfait, Brit. Muſ. MSS. Reg. 20 C. v.

[p] This verſion was Engliſhed, and printed, by Caxton, 1487.

[q] See Brit. Muſ. MSS. Reg. 19 E. i. Where it is ſaid that the Decameron was firſt tranſlated into Latin. It is not very literal. It was printed at Paris 1485. fol. Again, ibid. 1534. 8vo. It was again tranſlated by Antoine le Macon, fol. Paris 1543. And often afterwards.

 under

under the title of LIVRE D' ENEIDOS COMPILE PAR VIRGILE, by Guillaume de Roy. But that tranſlation was printed at Lyons in 1483, and appears to have been finiſhed not many years before. Among the tranſlator's hiſtorical additions, are the deſcription of the firſt foundation of Troy by Priam, and the ſucceſſion of Aſcanius and his deſcendants after the death of Turnus. He introduces a digreſſion upon Boccacio, for giving in his FALL OF PRINCES an account of the death of Dido, different from that in the fourth book of the Eneid. Among his omiſſions, he paſſes over Eneas's deſcent into hell, as a tale manifeſtly forged, and not to be believed by any rational reader: as if many other parts of the tranſlator's ſtory were not equally fictitious and incredible[r].

The concluſion intended to be drawn from this long digreſſion is obvious. By means of theſe French tranſlations, our countrymen, who underſtood French much better than Latin, became acquainted with many uſeful books which they would not otherwiſe have known. With ſuch aſſiſtances, a commodious acceſs to the claſſics was opened, and the knowledge of antient literature facilitated and familiariſed in England, at a much earlier period than is imagined; and at a time, when little more than the productions of ſpeculative monks, and irrefragrable doctors, could be obtained or were ſtudied. Very few Engliſhmen, I will venture to pronounce, had read Livy before the tranſlation of Bercheur was imported by the regent duke of Bedford. It is certain that many of the Roman poets and hiſtorians were now read in England, in the original. But the Latin language was for the moſt part confined to a few eccleſiaſtics. When theſe authors, therefore, appeared in a language almoſt as intelligible as the Engliſh, they fell into the hands of illiterate and common readers, and contributed to ſow the ſeeds of a national erudition, and to form a popular taſte.

[r] It was tranſlated, and printed, by Caxton, 1490.

Even

Even the French verſions of the religious, philoſophical, hiſtorical, and allegorical compoſitions of thoſe more enlightened Latin writers who flouriſhed in the middle ages, had their uſe, till better books came into vogue: pregnant as they were with abſurdities, they communicated inſtruction on various and new ſubjects, enlarged the field of information, and promoted the love of reading, by gratifying that growing literary curioſity which now began to want materials for the exerciſe of its operations. How greatly our poets in general availed themſelves of theſe treaſures, we may collect from this circumſtance only: even ſuch writers as Chaucer and Lydgate, men of education and learning, when they tranſlate a Latin author, appear to execute their work through the medium of a French verſion. It is needleſs to purſue this hiſtory of French tranſlation any farther. I have given my reaſon for introducing it at all. In the next age, a great and univerſal revolution in literature enſued; and the Engliſh themſelves began to turn their thoughts to tranſlation.

Theſe French verſions enabled Caxton, our firſt printer, to enrich the ſtate of letters in this country with many valuable publications. He found it no difficult taſk, either by himſelf, or the help of his friends, to turn a conſiderable number of theſe pieces into Engliſh, which he printed. Antient learning had as yet made too little progreſs among us, to encourage this enterpriſing and induſtrious artiſt to publiſh the Roman authors in their original language [1]: and had not the French furniſhed him with theſe materials, it is not likely, that Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, and many other good

[1] It is, however, remarkable, that from the year 1471, in which Caxton began to print, down to the year 1540, during which period the Engliſh preſs flouriſhed greatly under the conduct of many induſtrious, ingenious, and even learned artiſts, only the very few following claſſics, ſome of which hardly deſerve that name, were printed in England. Theſe were, BOETHIUS *de Conſolatione*; both Latin and Engliſh, for Caxton, without date. The Latin ESOPIAN Fables, in verſe, for Wynkyn de Worde, 1503. 4to. [And once or twice afterwards.] TERENCE, with the Comment of Badius Aſcenſius, for the ſame, 1504. 4to. VIRGIL'S BUCOLICS, for the

writers, would by the means of his preſs have been circulated in the Engliſh tongue, ſo early as the cloſe of the fifteenth century[t].

the ſame, 1512. 4to. [Again, 1533. 4to.] TULLY'S OFFICES, Latin and Engliſh, the tranſlation by Whittington, 1533. 4to. The univerſity of Oxford, during this period, produced only the firſt Book of TULLY'S EPISTLES, at the charge of cardinal Wolſey, without date, or printer's name. Cambridge not a ſingle claſſic.

No Greek book, of any kind, had yet appeared from an Engliſh preſs. I believe the firſt Greek characters uſed in any work printed in England, are in Linacer's tranſlation of *Galen de Temperamentis*, printed at Cambridge in 1521, 4to. A few Greek words, and abbreviatures, are here and there introduced. The printer was John Siberch, a German, a friend of Eraſmus, who ſtyles himſelf *primus* UTRIUSQUE *linguæ in Anglia impreſſor*. There are Greek characters in ſome of his other books of this date. But he printed no entire Greek book. In Linacer's treatiſe *De emendata Structura Latini ſermonis*, printed by Pinſon in 1524, many Greek characters are intermixed. In the ſixth book are ſeven Greek lines together. But the printer apologiſes for his imperfections and unſkillfulneſs in the Greek types; which, he ſays, were but recently caſt, and not in a ſufficient quantity for ſuch a work. The paſſage is curious. "Æquo animo feras "ſiquæ literæ, in exemplis Helleniſmi, "vel *tonis* vel *ſpiritibus* careant. His "enim non *ſatis inſtructus* erat typogra-"phus, videlicet *recens* ab *eo fuſis* cha-"racteribus Græcis, nec *parata* ei *copia* "qua ad hoc agendum opus eſt." About the ſame period of the Engliſh preſs, the ſame embarraſſments appear to have happened with regard to Hebrew types; which yet were more likely, as that language was ſo much leſs known. In the year 1524, doctor Robert Wakefield, chaplain to Henry the eighth, publiſhed his *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ, et Hebraicæ*, &c. 4to. The printer was Wynkyn de Worde; and the author complains, that he was obliged to omit his whole third part, becauſe the printer had no Hebrew types. Some few Hebrew and Arabic characters, however, are introduced; but extremely rude, and evidently cut in wood. They are the firſt of the ſort uſed in England. This learned orientaliſt was inſtrumental in preſerving, at the diſſolution of monaſteries, the Hebrew manuſcripts of Ramſey abbey, collected by Holbech one of the monks, together with Holbech's *Hebrew Dictionary*. Wood, Hiſt. Ant. Univ. Oxon. ii. 251. Leland. Scriptor. v. HOLBECCUS.

It was a circumſtance favourable at leaſt to Engliſh literature, owing indeed to the general illiteracy of the times, that our firſt printers were ſo little employed on books written in the learned languages. Almoſt all Caxton's books are Engliſh. The multiplication of Engliſh copies multiplied Engliſh readers, and theſe again produced new vernacular writers. The exiſtence of a preſs induced many perſons to turn authors, who were only qualified to write in their native tongue.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

THE first poet that occurs in the reign of king Edward the fourth is John Harding[t]. He was of northern

[t] To the preceding reign of Henry the sixth, belongs a poem written by James the first, king of Scotland, who was atrociously murthered at Perth in the year 1436. It it entitled the KING'S COMPLAINT, is allegorical, and in the seven-lined stanza. The subject was suggested to the poet by his own misfortunes, and the mode of composition by reading Boethius. At the close, he mentions Gower and Chaucer as seated on the *steppys of rhetoryke*. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Selden. Archiv. B. 24. chart. fol. [With many pieces of Chaucer.] This unfortunate monarch was educated while a prisoner in England, at the command of our Henry the fourth, and the poem was written during his captivity there. The Scotch historians represent him as a prodigy of erudition. He civilised the Scotch nation. Among other accomplishments, he was an admirable musician, and particularly skilled in playing on the harp. See Lesley, DE REB. GEST. SCOT. lib. vii. p. 257. 266. 267. edit. 1675. 4to. The same historian says, "ita orator erat, ut ejus "dictione nihil fuerit artificiosius: ita "POETA, ut carmina non tam arte strin-"xisse, quam natura sponte fudisse videre-"tur. Cui rei fidem faciunt carmina di-"versi generis, quæ in rhythmum Scotice "illigavit, eo artificio, &c." Ibid. p. 267. See also Buchanan, RER. Scot. lib. x. p. 186.—196. Opp. tom. i. Edingb. 1715. Among other pieces, which I have never seen, Bale mentions his CANTILENÆ SCOTICÆ, and RHYTHMI LATINI. Bale, paral. post. Cent. xiv. 56. pag. 217. It is not the plan of this work to comprehend and examine in form pieces of Scotch poetry, except such only as are of singular merit. Otherwise, our royal bard would have been considered at large, and at his proper period, in the text. I will, however, add here, two stanzas of the poem contained in the Selden manuscript, which seems to be the most distinguished of his compositions, and was never printed.

In ver that full of vertue is and gude,
When nature first begynneth her empryse,
That quilham was be cruell frost and flude,
And shoures scharp, oppreſt in many wyse;
And Cynthius gynneth to aryse
Heigh in the eſt a morow soft and swete
Upwards his course to drive in Ariete:

Passit bot mydday foure grees evyn
Off lenth and brede, his angel wingis bright
He spred uppon the ground down fro the hevyn;
That for gladness and confort of the sight,
And with the tiklyng of his hete and light
The tender floures opinyt thanne and sprad
And in thar nature thankit him for glad.

This piece is not specified by Bale, Dempster, or Mackenzie. See Bale, ubi supr. Dempster, SCOT. SCRIPTOR. ix. 714. pag. 380. edit. 1622. Mackenzie, vol. i. p. 318. Edingb. 1708. fol.

John Major mentions the beginning of some of his other poems, viz. "Yas "sen, &c." And "At Beltayn, &c." Both these poems seem to be written on his wife, Joan daughter of the dutchess of Clarence, with whom he fell in love while a prisoner in England. Major mentions besides, a *libellus artificiosus*, whether verse or prose I know not, which he wrote on this lady in England, before his marriage; and which Bale entitles, *Super Uxore futura*. This historian, who flourished about the year 1520, adds, that our monarch's CANTILENÆ were commonly sung by the Scotch as the most favorite compositions: and that he played better on the harp, than

extraction, and educated in the family of lord Henry Percy [u]: and, at twenty-five years of age, hazarded his fortunes as a volunteer at the decisive battle of Shrewsbury, fought against the Scots in the year 1403. He appears to have been indefatigable in examining original records, chiefly with a design of ascertaining the fealty due from the Scottish kings to the crown of England: and he carried many instruments from Scotland, for the elucidation of this important enquiry, at the hazard of his life, which he delivered at different times to the fifth and sixth Henry, and to Edward the fourth [v]. These investigations seem to have fixed his mind on the study of our national antiquities and history. At length he cloathed his researches in rhyme, which he dedicated under that form to king Edward the fourth, and with the title of *The Chronicle of England unto the reigne of king Edward the fourth in verse* [x]. The copy probably presented to the king, although it exhibits at the end the arms of Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, most elegantly transcribed on vellum, and adorned with superb illuminations, is preserved

than the most skillful Irish or highland harper. Major does not enumerate the poem I have here cited. Major, GEST. SCOT. lib. vi. cap. xiv. fol. 135. edit. 1521, 4to. Doctor Percy has one of James's CANTILENÆ, in which there is much merit.

[u] One William Peeris, a priest, and secretary to the fifth earl of Northumberland, wrote in verse, *William Peeris's discouts of the Lord Percis. Pr.* Prol. "Cronykills "and annuel books of kyngs." Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 18 D. 9. Then immediately follows (10.) in the same manuscript, perhaps written by the same author, a collection of metrical proverbs painted in several chambers of Lekingfield and Wrefille, antient seats of the Percy family.

[v] Henry the sixth granted immunities to Harding in several patents for procuring the Scottish evidences. The earliest is dated an. reg. xviii. [1440.] There is a memorandum in the exchequer, that, in 1458, John Harding of Kyme delivered to John Talbot, treasurer of England, and chancellor of the exchequer, five Scottish letters patent, acknowledging various homages of the kings and nobility of Scotland. They are enclosed in a wooden box in the exchequer, kept in a large chest, under the mark, SCOTIA. HARDING. So says Ashmole [MSS. Ashmol. 860. p. 186.] from a register in the exchequer called the YELLOW-BOOK.

[x] Printed, at London, 1543. 4to. by Grafton, who has prefixed a dedication of three leaves in verse to Thomas duke of Norfolk. A continuation in prose from Edward the fourth to Henry the eighth is added, probably by Grafton. But see Grafton's Preface to his ABRIDGEMENT OF THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, edit. 1570.

among

among Selden's manuſcripts in the Bodleian library [7]. Our author is conciſe and compendious in his narrative of events from Brutus to the reign of king Henry the fourth: he is much more minute and diffuſe in relating thoſe affairs of which, for more than the ſpace of ſixty years, he was a living witneſs, and which occurred from that period to the reign of Edward the fourth. The poem ſeems to have been completed about the year 1470. In his final chapter he exhorts the king, to recall his rival king Henry the ſixth, and to reſtore the partiſans of that unhappy prince.

This work is almoſt beneath criticiſm, and fit only for the attention of an antiquary. Harding may be pronounced to be the moſt impotent of our metrical hiſtorians, eſpecially when we recollect the great improvements which Engliſh poetry had now received. I will not even except Robert of Glouceſter, who lived in the infancy of taſte and verſification. The chronicle of this authentic and laborious annaliſt has hardly thoſe more modeſt graces, which could properly recommend and adorn a detail of the Britiſh ſtory in proſe. He has left ſome pieces in proſe: and Winſtanly ſays, "as "his proſe was very uſefull, ſo was his poetry as much de-"lightfull." I am of opinion, that both his proſe and poetry are equally uſeful and delightful. What can be more frigid and unanimated than theſe lines?

Kyng Arthur then in Avalon ſo dyed,
Where he was buryed in a chapel fayre,
Whiche nowe is made, and fully edifyed,
The mynſter church, this day of great repayre
Of Glaſtenbury, where nowe he hath his layre;
But then it was called the blacke chapell
Of our lady, as chronicles can tell.

[7] MSS. Archiv. Seld. B. 26. It is richly bound and ſtudded. At the end is a curious map of Scotland; together with many proſe pieces by Harding of the hiſtorical kind. The Aſhmolean manuſcript is entitled, *The* CHRONICLE OF JOHN HARDING *in metre from the beginning of England unto the reign of Edward the fourth.* MSS. Aſhmol. Oxon. 34. membran.

Where

Where Geryn earle of Chartres then abode
Besyde his tombe, for whole devocion,
Whither Lancelot de Lake came, as he rode
Upon the chase, with trompet and claryon;
And Geryn told hym, ther all up and downe
How Arthur was there layd in sepulture
For which with hym to abyde he hyght ful sure[a].

Fuller affirms our author to have "drunk as deep a "draught of Helicon as any of his age." An assertion partly true: it is certain, however, that the diction and imagery of our poetic composition would have remained in just the same state had Harding never wrote.

In this reign, the first mention of the king's poet, under the appellation of LAUREATE, occurs. John Kay was appointed poet laureate to Edward the fourth. It is extraordinary, that he should have left no pieces of poetry to prove his pretensions in some degree to this office, with which he is said to have been invested by the king, at his return from Italy. The only composition he has transmitted to posterity is a prose English translation of a Latin history of the Siege of Rhodes[b]: in the dedication addressed to king Edward, or rather in the title, he styles himself *hys humble poete laureate.* Although this our laureate furnishes us with no materials as a poet, yet his office, which here occurs for the first time under this denomination, must not pass unnoticed

[a] Ch. lxxxiv. fol. lxxvii. edit. Graft. 1543.

[b] MSS. Cotton. Brit. Mus. VITELL. D. xii. 10. It was printed at London, 1506. This impression was in Henry Worsley's library, Cat. MSS. Angl. etc. tom. ii. p. 212. N. 6873. 25. I know nothing of the Latin; except that Gulielmus Caorsinus, vice-chancellor for forty years of the knights of Malta, wrote an OBSIDIO RHODIÆ URBIS, when it was in vain attempted to be taken by the Turks in 1480. Separately printed without date or place in quarto. It was also printed in German, Argentorat. 1513. The works of this Gulielmus, which are numerous, were printed together, at Ulm, 1496. fol. with rude wooden prints. See an exact account of this writer, Diar. Eruditor. Ital. tom. xxi. p. 412.

One John Caius a poet of Cambridge is mentioned in sir T. More's WORKS, p. 204. And in Parker's *Def. of Pr. Marr. against Martin,* p. 99.

in

in the annals of Engliſh poetry, and will produce a ſhort digreſſion.

Great confuſion has entered into this ſubject, on account of the degrees in grammar, which included rhetoric and verſification [b], antiently taken in our univerſities, particularly at Oxford: on which occaſion, a wreath of laurel was preſented to the new graduate, who was afterwards uſually ſtyled *poeta laureatus* [c]. Theſe ſcholaſtic laureations, however, ſeem to have given riſe to the appellation in queſtion. I will give ſome inſtances at Oxford, which at the ſame time will explain the nature of the ſtudies for which our academical philologiſts received their rewards. About the year 1470, one John Watſon, a ſtudent in grammar, obtained a conceſſion to be graduated and laureated in that ſcience; on condition that he compoſed one hundred Latin verſes in praiſe of the univerſity, and a Latin comedy [d]. Another grammarian was diſtinguiſhed with the ſame badge, after having ſtipulated, that, at the next public Act, he would affix the ſame number of hexameters on the great gates of ſaint Mary's church, that they might be ſeen by the whole univerſity. This was at that period the moſt convenient mode of publication [e]. About the ſame time, one Maurice Byr-

[b] In the antient ſtatutes of the univerſity of Oxford, every Regent Maſter in Grammar is prohibited from reading in his faculty, unleſs he firſt paſs an examination DE MODO VERSIFICANDI *et dictandi*, &c. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. fol. membran. Arch. A. 91. [nunc 2874.] f. 55. b. This ſcholaſtic cultivation of the art of PROSODY gave riſe to many Latin ſyſtems of METRE about this period. Among others, Thomas Langley, a monk of Hulm in Norfolk, in the year 1430, wrote, in two books, DE VARIETATE CARMINUM. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 100. One John Seguard, a Latin poet and rhetorician of Norwich, about the year 1414, wrote a piece of this kind called METRISTENCHIRIDION, addreſſed to Courtney biſhop of Norwich, treating of the nature of metre in general, and eſpecially of the *common* metres of the *Hymns* of Boecius and *Oracius* [Horace.] Oxon. MSS. Coll. Merton. Q. iii. 1.

[c] When any of theſe graduated grammarians were licenced to teach boys, they were publicly preſented in the Convocation-houſe with a rod and ferrel. Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 72. a.

[d] Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 143. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the learned Mr. Swinton, keeper of the Archives at Oxford, for giving me frequent and free acceſs to the Regiſters of that univerſity.

[e] Ibid. fol. 162.

chensaw, a scholar in rhetoric, supplicated to be admitted to read lectures, that is, to take a degree, in that faculty; and his petition was granted, with a provision, that he should write one hundred verses on the glory of the university, and not suffer Ovid's ART OF LOVE, and the Elegies of Pamphilus [f], to be studied in his auditory [g]. Not long afterwards, one John Bulman, another rhetorician, having complied with the terms imposed, of explaining the first book of Tully's OFFICES, and likewise the first of his EPISTLES, without any pecuniary emolument, was graduated in rhetoric; and a crown of laurel was publicly placed on his head by the hands of the chancellour of the university [h]. About the year 1489 [i], Skelton was laureated at Oxford, and in the year 1493, was permitted to wear his laurel at Cambridge [k]. Robert Whittington affords the last instance of a rhetorical degree at Oxford. He was a secular priest, and eminent for his various treatises in grammar, and for his facility in Latin poetry: having exercised his art many years, and submitting to the customary demand of an hundred verses, he was honoured with the laurel in the year 1512 [l]. This title is

[f] Ovid's suppositiitious pieces, and other verses of the lower age, were printed together by Goldastus, Francof. 1610. 8vo. Among these is, "Pamphili Mauriliani "PAMPHILUS, sive de Arte Amandi, "Elegiæ lxiii." This is from the same school with Ovid DE VETULA, and by some thought to be forged by the same author.

[g] Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 134. a.

[h] Registr. ut supr. G. fol. 124. b.

[i] Caxton, in the preface to his English ENEYDOS, Mentions "mayster John Skel-"ton, late created poete laureate in the "universite of Oxenford, &c." This work was printed in 1490. Churchyard mentions Skelton's accademical laureation, in his poem prefixed to Skelton's works, Lond. 1568. 8vo.

Nay Skelton wore the *laurel wreath*,
And *past* in *scholes* ye knoe.

And again,

That *war* the garland wreath
Of *laurel leaves so late*.

[k] Registr. Univ. Cantabrig. sub anno. Con-"ceditur Johanni Skelton poetæ in partibus "transmarinis atque Oxonii laurea ornato, "ut apud nos eadem decoraretur." And afterwards, Ann. 1504, 5. "Conceditur "Johanni Skelton poete laureato quod "possit constare eodem gradu hic quo "stetit Oxonii, et quod possit uti habitu "sibi concesso a principe." The latter clause, I believe, relates to some distinction of habit, perhaps of fur or velvet, granted him by the king. Skelton is said to have been poet laureate to Henry the eighth. He also styles himself *Orator regius*, p. 1. 6. 109. 107. 284. 285. 287. Works, 1736.

[l] Registr. Univ. Oxon. ut supr. G. 173. b. 187. b.

prefixed

prefixed to one of his grammatical systems. "ROBERTI "WHITTINTONI, *Lichfeldiensis*, *Grammatices Magistri*, PRO-"TOVATIS *Angliæ*, *in florentissima Oxoniensi Achademia* LAU-"REATI, DE OCTO PARTIBUS ORATIONIS[m]." In his PANEGYRIC to cardinal Wolsey, he mentions his laurel,

Suscipe LAURICOMI munuscula parva Roberti[n].

With regard to the Poet laureate of the kings of England, an officer of the court remaining under that title to this day, he is undoubtedly the same that is styled the KING'S VERSIFIER, and to whom one hundred shillings were paid as his annual stipend, in the year 1251[o]. But when or how that title commenced, and whether this officer was ever solemnly crowned with laurel at his first investiture, I will not pretend to determine, after the searches of the learned Selden on this question have proved unsuccessful. It seems most probable, that the barbarous and inglorious name of VERSIFIER gradually gave way to an appellation of more elegance and dignity: or rather, that at length, those only were in general invited to this appointment, who had received accademical sanction, and had merited a crown of laurel in the universities for their abilities in Latin composition, particularly Latin versification. Thus the *king's Laureate* was nothing more than "a *graduated* rhetorician

[m] Lond. 1513. See the next note.

[n] In his "Opusculum Roberti Whittin-"toni in florentissima Oxoniensi achademia "laureati." Signat. A. iii. Bl. Let. 4to. Colophon, "Expliciunt Roberti Whit-"tintoni Oxonii protovatis epigrammata, "una cum quibusdam panegyricis, im-"pressa Londini per me Wynandum de "Worde. Anno post virgineum partum "M.CCCCC. xix. decimo vero Kal. Maii." The Panegyrics are, on Henry the eighth, and cardinal Wolsey. The Epigrams, which are long copies of verse, are addressed to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, sir Thomas More, and to Skelton, under the title *Ad lepidissimum poetam* SCHELTONEM *carmen*, &c. Some of the lines are in a very classical style, and much in the manner of the earlier Latin Italian poets. At the end of these Latin poems is a defence of the author, called ANTILYCON, &c. This book is extremely scarce, and not mentioned by Wood, Ames, and some other collectors. These pieces are in manuscript, Oxon. MSS. Bodl. D. 3. 22.

[o] See supr. vol. i. p. 47.

" employed in the ſervice of the king." That he originally wrote in Latin, appears from the antient title *verſificator:* and may be moreover collected from the two Latin poems, which Baſton and Gulielmus, who appear to have reſpectively acted in the capacity of royal poets to Richard the firſt and Edward the ſecond, officially compoſed on Richard's cruſade, and Edward's ſiege of Striveling caſtle[p].

Andrew Bernard, ſucceſſively poet laureate of Henry the ſeventh and the eighth, affords a ſtill ſtronger proof that this officer was a Latin ſcholar. He was a native of Tholouſe, and an Auguſtine monk. He was not only the king's poet laureate[q], as it is ſuppoſed, but his hiſtoriographer[r], and preceptor in grammar to prince Arthur. He obtained many eccleſiaſtical preferments in England[s]. All the pieces now to be found, which he wrote in the character of poet laureate, are in Latin[t]. Theſe are, *an* ADDRESS *to Henry the*

[p] See ſupr. vol. I. p. 232. By the way, Baſton is called by Bale " *laureatus apud* " *Oxonienſes.*" Cent. iv. cap. 92.

[q] See an inſtrument PRO PORTA LAUREATO. dat. 1486. Rymer's FOED. tom. xii. p. 317. But, by the way, in this inſtrument there is no ſpecification of any thing to be done *officially* by Bernard. The king only grants to Andrew Bernard, *Poetæ laureato*, which we may conſtrue either THE *laureated poet*, or *A poet laureate*, a ſalary of ten marcs, till he can obtain ſome equivalent appointment. This, however, is only a precept to the treaſurer and chamberlains to diſburſe the ſalary, and refers to letters patent, not printed by Rymer. It is certain that Gower and Chaucer were never appointed to this office, notwithſtanding this is commonly ſuppoſed. Skelton, in his CROWNE OF LAWRELL, ſees Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate approach: he deſcribes their whole apparel as glittering with the richeſt precious ſtones, and then immediately adds,

They wanted nothing but the LAUREEL.

Afterwards, however, there is the rubric *Maiſter Chaucer* LAUREATE *poete to Skelton.* Works, p. 21. 22. edit. 1736.

[r] Apoſtolo Zeno was both poet and hiſtoriographer to his imperial majeſty. So was Dryden to James the ſecond. It is obſervable that Petrarch was laureated as poet and hiſtorian.

[s] One of theſe, the maſterſhip of ſaint Leonard's hoſpital at Bedford, was given him by biſhop Smith, one of the founders of Braſe-noſe college, Oxford, in the year 1498. Regiſtr. SMITH, epiſc. Lincoln. ſub. ann.

[t] Some of Skelton's Latin poems ſeem to be written in the character of the *Royal* laureate, particularly one, entitled " Hæc Laureatus " Skeltonus, orator reginæ, ſuper trium- " phali, &c. It is ſubſcribed " Per Skelto- " nida Laureatum, oratorem regium." Works, p. 110. edit. ut ſupr. Hardly any of his Engliſh pieces, which are numerous, appear to belong to that character. With regard to the ORATOR REGIUS, I find one John Mallard in that office to Henry the eighth, and his epiſtolary ſecretary. He has left *a Latin elegiac paraphraſe on the lord's prayer*, MSS. Bibl. Reg. 7 D. xiii.

eighth for the most auspicious beginning of the tenth year of his reign, with an EPITHALAMIUM *on the marriage of Francis the Dauphin of France with the king's daughter* [u]. A NEW YEAR'S-GIFT for the year 1515 [v]. And verses wishing prosperity to his majesty's thirteenth year [x]. He has left some Latin hymns [y]: and many of his Latin prose pieces, which he wrote in the quality of historiographer to both monarchs, are remaining [z].

I am of opinion, that it was not customary for the royal laureate to write in English, till the reformation of religion had begun to diminish the veneration for the Latin language: or rather, till the love of novelty, and a better sense of things, had banished the narrow pedantries of monastic erudition, and taught us to cultivate our native tongue. In the mean time it is to be wished, that another change might at least be suffered to take place in the execution of this institution, which is confessedly Gothic, and unaccommodated to modern manners. I mean, that the more than annual return of a composition on a trite argument would be no longer required. I am conscious I say this at a time, when the best of kings affords the most just and copious theme for panegyric: but I speak it at a time, when the department is honourably filled by a poet of taste and genius, which are idly wasted on the most splendid subjects, when imposed by constraint, and perpetually repeated.

To what is here incidentally collected on an article more-

xiii. Dedicated to that king. *Le premier livre de la cosmographie*, in verse, ibid. 20 B. xii. And a *Psalter*, beautifully written by himself, for the use of the king. In the margin, are short notes in the handwriting, and two exquisite miniatures, of Henry the eighth. Ibid. 2 A. xvi.

[u] MS. olim penes Thom. Martin de Palgrave.

[v] MSS. Coll. Nov. Oxon. 287.

[x] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 12 A. x. The copy presented. In paper. There is a wretched false quantity in the first line,

Indue, honor, cultus, et *adole* munera flammis.

[y] And a Latin life of saint Andrew. MSS. Cotton. DOMITIAN. A. xviii. 15.

[z] A chronicle of the life and atchievements of Henry the seventh to the taking of Perkin Warbeck, MSS. Cotton. DOMITIAN. A. xviii. 15. Other historical commentaries on the reign of that king, Ibid. JUL. A. 4. JUL. A. 3.

curious

curious than important, I add an obſervation, which ſhews that the practice of other nations in this reſpect altogether correſponded with that of our own. When we read of the laureated poets of Italy and Germany, we are to remember, that they moſt commonly received this honour from the ſtate, or ſome univerſity; ſeldom, at leaſt not immediately, from the prince: and if we find any of theſe profeſſedly employed in the department of a court-poet, that they were not, in conſequence of that peculiar ſituation, ſtyled poets laureate. The diſtinction, at leaſt in general, was previouſly conferred[a].

John Scogan is commonly ſuppoſed to have been a cotemporary of Chaucer, but this is a miſtake[b]. He was educated at Oriel college in Oxford: and being an excellent mimic, and of great pleaſantry in converſation, became the favourite buffoon of the court of Edward the fourth, in which he paſſed the greateſt part of his life. Bale inaccurately calls Scogan, the JOCULATOR of Edward the fourth: by which word he ſeems ſimply to underſtand the king's JOKER, for he certainly could not mean that Scogan was his majeſty's MINSTREL[c]. Andrew Borde, a mad phyſician and

[a] The reader who requires a full and particular information concerning the firſt origin of the laureation of poets, and the ſolemnities with which this ceremony was performed in Italy and Germany, is referred to Selden's TIT. HON. Op. tom. p. 457. ſeq. VIE DE PETRARQUE, tom. iii. *Notes, &c.* p. 1. Not. quat. And to a memoir of M. l' Abbé du Reſnel, MEM. LIT. x. 507. 4to. I will only add, the form of the creation of three poets laureate by the chancellor of the univerſity of Straſbourgh, in the year 1621. "I create you, "being placed in a chair of ſtate, crowned "with laurel and ivy, and wearing a ring "of gold, and the ſame do pronounce and "conſtitute, POETS LAUREATE; in the "name of the holy Trinity, the father, "ſon, and holy ghoſt. Amen."

[b] See Hollinſh. Chron. iii. f. 710. It is uncertain whether the poem addreſſed by Chaucer to Scogan, was really written by the former, MSS. Fairfax. xvi.

[c] Script. xi. 70. By the way, the SERJEANT of the King's Minſtrels occurs under this reign: and in a manner, which ſhews the confidential character of this officer, and his facility of acceſs to the king at all hours and on all occaſions. "And "as he [k. Edw. iv.] was in the north "contray in the moneth of Septembre, as "he laye in his bedde, one namid Alex-"ander Carliſle, that was *ſariaunt of the* "*mynſtrallis*, cam to him in grete haſte, "and bade hym aryſe, for he hadde ene-"mys cummyng, &c." A REMARKABLE FRAGMENT, etc. [an. ix. Edw. iv.] ad calc. SPORTTI CHRON. edit. Hearne. Oxon. 1729. 8vo. Compare Percy's Ess. MINSTR. p. 56. Anſtis, ORD. GART. ii. 303.

a dull

a dull poet in the reign of Henry the eighth, published his JESTS, under the title of SCOGIN'S JESTS[d], which are without humour or invention; and give us no very favourable idea of the delicacy of the king and courtiers, who could be exhilarated by the merriments of such a writer. A MORAL BALADE, printed in Chaucer's works, addressed to the dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester, and sent from a tavern in the Vintry at London, is attributed to Scogan[e]. But our jocular bard evidently mistakes his talents when he attempts to give advice. This piece is the dullest sermon that ever was written in the octave stanza. Bale mentions his COMEDIES[f], which certainly mean nothing dramatic, and are perhaps only his JESTS above-mentioned. He seems to have flourished about the year 1480.

Two didactic poets on chemistry appeared in this reign, John Norton and George Ripley. Norton was a native of Bristol[g], and the most skillful alchemist of his age[h]. His poem is called the ORDINAL, or a manual of the chemical art[i]. It was presented to Nevil archbishop of York, who was a great patron of the hermetic philosophers[k]; which were lately grown so numerous in England, as to occasion

[d] It is from these pieces we learn that he was of Oriel college: for he speaks of retiring, with that society, to the hospital of saint Bartholomew, while the plague was at Oxford. These JESTS are sixty in number. *Pr.* Pref. "There is nothing be-"sides." *Pr.* "On a time in Lent." They were reprinted about the restoration. 4to.

[e] It may yet be doubted whether it belongs to Scogan; as it must have been written before the year 1447, and the writer complains of the approach of old age. col. i. v. 10. It was first printed, under Scogan's name, by Caxton, in the COLLECTION OF CHAUCER'S and LYDGATE'S POEMS. The little piece, printed as Chaucer's, [Urr. ed. p. 548.] called FLEE FROM THE PRESSE, is expressly given to Scogan, and called PROVERBIUM JOANNIS SKOGAN, MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 203.

[f] xi. 70.

[g] He speaks of the wife of William Canning, who will occur again below, five times mayor of Bristol, and the founder of saint Mary of Radcliffe church there. ORDINAL, p. 34.

[h] Printed by Ashmole, in his THEATRUM CHEMICUM Lond. 1652. 8vo. p. 6. It was finished A. D. 1477. ORDIN. p. 106. It was translated into Latin by Michael Maier, M. D. Francof. 1618. 4to. Norton wrote other chemical pieces.

[i] See ORDIN. p. 9. 10. Norton declares, that he learned his art in forty days, at twenty-eight years of age. Ibid. p. 33. 88.

[k] Ashmole, ubi supr. p. 455. *Notes.*

an

an act of parliament against the transmutation of metals. Norton's reason for treating his subject in English rhyme, was to circulate the principles of a science of the most consummate utility among the unlearned [l]. This poem is totally void of every poetical elegance. The only wonder which it relates, belonging to an art, so fertile in striking inventions, and contributing to enrich the store-house of Arabian romance with so many magnificent imageries, is that of an alchemist, who projected a bridge of gold over the river Thames near London, crowned with pinnacles of gold, which being studded with carbuncles, diffused a blaze of light in the dark [m]. I will add a few lines only, as a specimen of his versification.

Wherefore he would set up in higth
That bridge, for a wonderfull sight,
With pinnacles guilt, shininge as goulde,
A glorious thing for men to behoulde.
Then he remembered of the newe,
Howe greater fame shulde him pursewe,
If he mought make that bridge so brighte,
That it mought shine alsoe by night:
And so continewe and not breake,
Then all the londe of him would speake, &c [n].

Norton's heroes in the occult sciences are Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and Raymond Lully, to whose specious promises of supplying the coinage of England with inexhaustible mines of philosophical gold, king Edward the third became an illustrious dupe [o].

George Ripley, Norton's cotemporary, was accomplished

[l] Pag. 106.
[m] Pag. 26.
[n] Pag. 26.
[o] Ashmol. ubi supr. p. 443. 467. And Camden's Rem. p. 242. edit. 1674. By the way, Raymond Lully is said to have died at eighty years of age, in the year 1315. Whart. App. Cave, cap. p. 6.

in

in many parts of erudition; and ſtill maintains his reputation as a learned chemiſt of the lower ages. He was a canon regular of the monaſtery of Bridlington in Yorkſhire, a great traveller[p], and ſtudied both in France and Italy. At his return from abroad, pope Innocent the eighth abſolved him from the obſervance of the rules of his order, that he might proſecute his ſtudies with more convenience and freedom. But his convent not concurring with this very liberal indulgence, he turned Carmelite at ſaint Botolph's in Lincolnſhire, and died an anachorite in that fraternity in the year 1490[q]. His chemical poems are nothing more than the doctrines of alchemy cloathed in plain language, and a very rugged verſification. The capital performance is THE COMPOUND OF ALCHEMIE, written in the year 1471[r]. It is in the octave metre, and dedicated to Edward the fourth[s]. Ripley has left a few other compoſitions on his favourite ſcience, printed by Aſhmole, who was an enthuſiaſt in this abuſed ſpecies of philoſophy[t]. One of them,

[p] Aſhmole ſays, that Ripley, during his long ſtay at Rhodes, gave the knights of Malta 100,000 l. annually, towards maintaining the war againſt the Turks. Ubi ſupr. p. 458. Aſhmole could not have made this incredible aſſertion, without ſuppoſing a circumſtance equally incredible, that Ripley was in actual poſſeſſion of the Philoſopher's Stone.

[q] Aſhmol. p. 455. ſeq. Bale, viii. 49. Pitſ. p. 677.

[r] Aſhmol. THEATR. CHEM. p. 193. It was firſt printed in 1591. 4to. Reprinted by Aſhmole, THEATR. CHEM. ut ſupr. p. 107. It has been thrice tranſlated into Latin, Aſhm. ut ſupr. p. 465. See Ibid. p. 108. 110. 122. Moſt of Ripley's Latin works were printed by Lud. Combachius, Caſſel. 1619. 12mo.

[s] He mentions the abbey church at Weſtminſter as unfiniſhed. Pag. 154. ſt. 27. P. 156. and ſt. 34.

[t] Aſhmole conjectures, that an Engliſh chemical piece in the octave ſtanza, which he has printed, called HERMES's BIRD, no unpoetical fiction, was tranſlated from Raymond Lully, by Cremer, abbot of Weſtminſter, a great chemiſt: and adds, that Cremer brought Lully into England, and introduced him to the notice of Edward the third, about the year 1334. Aſhmol. ubi ſupr. p. 213. 467. The writer of HERMES's BIRD, however, appears by the verſification and language, to have lived at leaſt an hundred years after that period. He informs us, that he made the tranſlation "owte of the Frenſche." Ibid. p. 214. Aſhmole mentions a curious picture of the GRAND MYSTERIES OF THE PHILOSOPHER'S STONE, which abbot Cremer ordered to be painted in Weſtminſter abbey, upon an arch where the waxen kings and queens are placed: but that it was obliterated with a plaiſterer's bruſh by the puritans in Oliver's time. He alſo mentions a large and beautiful window, behind the pulpit in the neighbouring church of ſaint Margaret, painted with the ſame ſubject, and deſtroyed by the ſame ignorant zealots, who miſtook theſe innocent hieroglyphics for ſome ſtory in a popiſh legend. Aſhmol. ibid. 211. 466. 467. Compare Widmore's Hiſt. WESTMINSTER-ABBEY. p. 174. ſeq. edit. 1751. 4to.

the MEDULLA, written in 1476, is dedicated to archbishop Nevil [u]. These pieces have no other merit, than that of serving to develope the history of chemistry in England. They certainly contributed nothing to the state of our poetry [w].

[u] Ashm. p. 389. See also p. 374. seq.

[w] It will be sufficient to throw some of the obscurer rhymers of this period into the Notes. Osbern Bokenham wrote or translated metrical lives of the saints, about 1445. See supr. vol. i. p. 14. *Notes*. Gilbert Banester wrote in English verse the *Miracle of saint Thomas*, in the year 1467. CCCC. MSS. Q. viii. See supr. vol. i. p. 75. *Notes*. And Lel. COLLECTAN. tom. i. (p. ii.) pag. 510. edit. 1770. Wydville earl of Rivers, already mentioned, translated into English distichs, *The morale Proverbes of Crystyne of Pyse*, printed by Caxton, 1477. They consist of two sheets in folio. This is a couplet;

Little vailleth good example to see
For him that wole not the contrarie flee.

This nobleman's only original piece is a *Balet* of four stanzas, preserved by Rouse, a cotemporary historian, Ross. Hist. p. 213. edit. Hearn. apud Leland. Itin. tom. x. edit. Oxon. 1745. I refer also the NOTBROWNE MAYDE to this period. See Capel's PROLUSIONS, p. 23. seq. edit. 1760. And Percy's ANC. BALL. vol. ii. p. 26. seq. edit. 1767. Of the same date is perhaps *the* DELECTABLE HISTORIE *of king Edward the fourth and the Tanner of Tamworth, &c. &c.* See Percy, ubi supr. p. 81. Hearne affirms, that in this piece there are some "romantic *assertions*: "—otherwise 'tis a book of *value*, and "more *authority* is to be given to it than "is given to *poetical books of* LATE "YEARS." Hearne's Leland, ut supr. vol. ii. p. 103.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

BUT a want of genius will be no longer imputed to this period of our poetical hiſtory, if the poems lately diſcovered at Briſtol, and ſaid to have been written by Thomas Rowlie, a ſecular prieſt of that place, about the year one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy, are genuine.

It muſt be acknowledged, that there are ſome circumſtances which incline us to ſuſpect theſe pieces to be a modern forgery. On the other hand, as there is ſome degree of plauſibility in the hiſtory of their diſcovery, as they poſſeſs conſiderable merit, and are held to be the real productions of Rowlie by many reſpectable critics; it is my duty to give them a place in this ſeries of our poetry, if it was for no other reaſon than that the world might be furniſhed with an opportunity of examining their authenticity. By exhibiting therefore the moſt ſpecious evidences, which I have been able to collect, concerning the manner in which they were brought to light [a], and by producing ſuch ſpecimens, as in another reſpect cannot be deemed unacceptable; I will endeavour, not only to gratify the curioſity of the public on a ſubject that has long engaged the general attention, and has never yet been fairly or fully ſtated, but to ſupply the more inquiſitive reader with every argument, both external and internal, for determining the merits of this intereſting controverſy. I ſhall take the liberty to add my own opinion, on a point at leaſt doubtful: but with the greateſt deference to deciſions of much higher authority.

About the year 1470, William Cannynge, an opulent merchant and an alderman of Briſtol, afterwards an eccleſiaſtic,

[a] I acknowledge myſelf greatly indebted to the ingenious doctor Harrington of Bath, for facilitating my enquiries on this ſubject.

and dean of Weſtbury college, erected the magnificent church of Saint Mary of Redcliffe, or Radcliff, near Briſtol [b]. In a muniment-room over the northern portico of the church, the founder placed an iron cheſt, ſecured by ſix different locks [c]; which ſeems to have been principally intended to receive inſtruments relating to his new ſtructure, and perhaps to his other charities [d], inventories of veſtments and ornaments [e], accompts of church-wardens, and other parochial evidences. He is ſaid to have directed, that this venerable cheſt ſhould be annually viſited and opened by the mayor and other chief magiſtrates of Briſtol, attended by the vicar and church-wardens of the pariſh: and that a feaſt ſhould be celebrated every year, on the day of viſitation. But this order, that part at leaſt which relates to the inſpection of the cheſt, was ſoon neglected.

In the year 1768, when the preſent new bridge at Briſtol was finiſhed and opened for paſſengers, an account of the ceremonies obſerved on occaſion of opening the old bridge, appeared in one of the Briſtol Journals; taken, as it was declared, from an antient manuſcript [f]. Curioſity was naturally raiſed to know from whence it came. At length, after much enquiry concerning the perſon who ſent this ſingular memoir to the news-paper, it was diſcovered that he

[b] He is ſaid to have rebuilt Weſtbury college. Dugd. WARWICKSH. p. 634. edit. 1730. And Atkyns, GLOCESTERSH. p. 802. On his monument in Radcliffe-church, he is twice repreſented, both in an alderman's and a prieſt's habit. He was five times mayor of Briſtol. See Godwin's BISH. p. 446. [But ſee edit. fol. p. 467.]

[c] It is ſaid there were four cheſts: but this is a circumſtance of no conſequence.

[d] Theſe will be mentioned below.

[e] See an inventory of ornaments given to this church by the founder, Jul. 4, 1470, formerly kept in this cheſt, and printed by Mr. Walpole, ANECD. PAINT. i. p. 45.

[f] The old bridge was built about the year 1248. HISTORY of BRISTOL, MS. Archiv. Bodl. C. iii. By Abel Wantner.

Archdeacon Furney, in the year 1755, left by will to the Bodleian library, large collections, by various hands, relating to the hiſtory and antiquities of the city, church, and county of Glouceſter, which are now preſerved there, Archiv. C. ut ſupr. At the end of N. iii. is the manuſcript HISTORY juſt mentioned, ſuppoſed to have been compiled by Abel Wantner, of Minchin-Hampton in Glocesterſhire, who publiſhed propoſals and ſpecimens for a hiſtory of that county, in 1683.

was

was a youth about ſeventeen years old, whoſe name was Chatterton; and whoſe father had been ſexton of Radcliffe church for many years, and alſo maſter of a writing-ſchool in that pariſh, of which the church-wardens were truſtees. The father however was now dead: and the ſon was at firſt unwilling to acknowledge, from whom, or by what means, he had procured ſo valuable an original. But after many promiſes, and ſome threats, he confeſſed that he received a manuſcript on parchment containing the narrative abovementioned, together with many other manuſcripts on parchment, from his father; who had found them in an iron cheſt, the ſame that I have mentioned, placed in a room ſituated over the northern entrance of the church.

It appears that the father became poſſeſſed of theſe manuſcripts in the year 1748. For in that year, he was permitted, by the church-wardens of Radcliffe-church, to take from this cheſt ſeveral written pieces of parchment, ſuppoſed to be illegible and uſeleſs, for the purpoſe of converting them into covers for the writing-books of his ſcholars. It is impoſſible to aſcertain, what, or how many, writings were deſtroyed, in conſequence of this abſurd and unwarrantable indulgence. Our ſchool-maſter, however, whoſe accompliſhments were much above his ſtation, and who was not totally deſtitute of a taſte for poetry, found, as it is ſaid, in this immenſe heap of obſolete manuſcripts, many poems written by Thomas Rowlie abovementioned, prieſt of Saint John's church in Briſtol, and the confeſſor of alderman Cannynge, which he carefully preſerved. Theſe at his death, of courſe fell into the hands of his ſon.

Of the extraordinary talents of this young man more will be ſaid hereafter. It will be ſufficient to obſerve at preſent, that he ſaw the merit and value of theſe poems, which he diligently tranſcribed. In the year 1770, he went to London, carrying with him theſe tranſcripts, and many originals, in hopes of turning ſo ineſtimable a treaſure to his great advantage.

advantage. But from theſe flattering expectations, falling into a diſſipated courſe of life, which ill ſuited with his narrow circumſtances, and finding that a writer of the moſt diſtinguiſhed taſte and judgment, Mr. Walpole, had pronounced the poems to be ſuſpicious, in a fit of deſpair, ariſing from diſtreſs and diſappointment, he deſtroyed all his papers, and poiſoned himſelf. Some of the poems however, both tranſcripts and originals, he had previouſly ſold, either to Mr. Catcott, a merchant of Briſtol, or to Mr. Barrett, an eminent ſurgeon of the ſame place, and an ingenious antiquary, with whom they now remain [s]. But it appears, that among theſe there were but very few of parchment: moſt of the poems which they purchaſed were copies in his own hand. He was always averſe to give any diſtinct or ſatisfactory account of what he poſſeſſed: but from time to time, as his neceſſities required, he produced copies of his originals, which were bought by theſe gentlemen. The originals, one or two only excepted, he choſe to retain in his own poſſeſſion.

The chief of theſe poems are, The TRAGEDY of ELLA, The EXECUTION of ſir CHARLES BAWDWIN, ODE to ELLA, The BATTLE of HASTINGS, The TOURNAMENT, one or two DIALOGUES, and a Deſcription of CANNYNGE'S FEAST.

The TRAGEDY OF ELLA has ſix characters; one of which is a lady, named Birtha. It has a chorus conſiſting of minſtrels, whoſe ſongs are often introduced. Ella was governor of the caſtle of Briſtol, and a puiſſant champion againſt the Danes, about the year 920. The ſtory ſeems to be the poet's invention. The tragedy is opened with the following ſoliloquy.

[s] Mr. Barrett, to whom I am greatly obliged for his unreſerved and liberal information on this ſubject, is now engaged in writing the ANTIQUITIES of BRISTOL.

CELMONDE

CELMONDE *atte Bryſtowe.*

Before yonne roddie ſonne has droove hys wayne
Through half hys joornie, dyghte yn gites of gowlde,
Mee, hapleſs mee, he wylle a wretch behowlde,
Myſelfe, and alle thatts myne, bounde yn Myſchaunche's chayne!
Ah Byrtha, whie dydde nature frame thee fayre,
Whie art thou alle that poyntelle[h] canne bewreene?
Whie art thou notte as coarſe as odhers are?
Botte thenne thie ſoughle[i] woulde throwe thie vyſage ſheene,
Yatte[k] ſhemres[l] onne thie comlie ſemlykeene[m],
Or ſcarlette with waylde lynnen clothe[n],
Lyke would thie ſprite[o] [ſhine] upon thie vyſage:
This daie brave Ella dothe thyne honde and harte
Clayme as hys owne to bee, whyche nee[p] from hys moſte parte.
And cann I lynne to ſee herre with anere[q]?
Ytte cannotte, muſt notte, naie ytte ſhall notte bee!
Thys nyght I'lle putt ſtrong poyſonne yn the beere,
And hymme, herre, and myſelfe attones[r] wylle ſlea.
Aſſyſt, me helle, lette devylles rounde me tende,
To ſlea myſelfe, my love, and eke my doughhtie friende!

The following beautiful deſcriptions of SPRING, AUTUMN, and MORNING, are ſuppoſed to be ſung in the tragedy, by the chorus of minſtrels.

SPRING.

The boddyng flowrettes bloſhes at the lyhte,
The mees be ſpringede[s] with the yellowe hue,
Yn daiſeyed mantells ys the monntayne dyghte,
The neſhe[t] younge cowſlepe bendethe wythe the dewe;

[h] Pencil. [i] *Soul.* [k] *That.* [o] Soul. [p] *Never.*
[l] Glimmers. [m] *Seemlineſs.* Beauty. [q] *Another.* [r] *At once.*
[n] Perhaps we ſhould read,
Or ſcarlette vailed with a linnen clothe.
[s] The meadows are ſprinkled, &c.
[t] Tender.

The

The trees enleafede, into heaven ſtraught [u],
Whanne gentle wyndes doe blowe, to wheſtlynge dynne ys [v] brought.
The evenynge commes, and brynges the dewe alonge,
The rodie welkynne ſheeneth toe the eyne,
Arounde the aleſtake [x] mynſtrelles ſynge the ſonge,
Yonge ivie rounde the doore-poſt doth entwyne;
I laie mee on the graſſe: yette to mie wylle,
Albeytte alle ys fayre, theere lackethe ſommethynge ſtylle.

AUTUMN.

Whanne Autumne, blake, and ſonne-brente doe appere,
Wythe hys goulde honde, guylteynge the falleynge lefe,
Bryngeynge oppe Wynterre to folfylle the yere,
Beereynge uponne hys backe the riped ſhefe;
Whanne alle the hylls wythe woddie ſeede is whyte,
Whanne levynne fyres, ande lemes, do mete fromme farr the ſyghte:
Whanne the fayre apple, rudde as even ſkie,
Doe bende the tree untoe the fructyle grounde,
Whanne joicie peres, and berryes of blacke die,
Doe daunce ynne ayre, and calle the eyne arounde:
Thanne, bee the even fowle, or even fayre,
Meethynckes mie hartys joie ys ſteyned withe ſomme care.

MORNING.

Bryghte ſonne han ynne hys roddie robes byn dyghte,
Fro the redde eaſte hee flytted wythe hys trayne;
The howers drawe awaie the geete of nyghte,
Herre ſable tapiſtrie was rente ynne twayne:

[u] Stretching. Stretched.
[v] i. e. Are.
[x] A ſign-poſt before an alehouſe. In Chaucer, the HOSTE ſays,

—— Here at this *alehouſe-ſtake*,
I wol both drinke, and etin of a cake.

WORDES HOST. v. 1835. Urr. p. 131. And in the SHIP OF FOOLES, fol. 9. a. edit. 1570.

By the *ale-ſtake* knowe we the alehouſe,
And everie inne is knowen by the ſigne.

The

The dauncynge ſtreakes bedeckedd heavenne's playne,
And onne the dewe dydd ſmyle wythe ſhemrynge[y] eie,
Lyche gottes[z] of blodde whyche doe blacke armoure ſteyne,
Sheenynge uponne the borne whyche ſtondethe bye :—
The ſouldyerrs ſtoode uponne the hyllis ſyde,
Lyche yonge enlefed trees whych ynne a forreſte byde[a].

But the following ode, belonging to the ſame tragedy, has much more of the choral or lyric ſtrain.

I.

O! ſynge unto mie roundelaie,
O! drop the bryny tear with me,
Daunce ne moe atte hallie day,
Lyke a running river bee.
My love is dedde,
Gone to his death bedde,
Al under the willowe tree.

II.

Blacke his cryne[b] as the wyntere night,
Whyte his rode[c] as ſummer ſnowe,
Rodde his face as morning lyght,
Cold he lies in the grave below.
My love is dedde, &c.

[y] Glimmering.
[z] Drops.
[a] There is a deſcription of morning in another part of the tragedy.

The mornynge gynes alonge the eaſt to ſheene,
Darkling the lyghte does on the waters plaie;
The feynte rodde beam ſlowe creepethe over the leene,
To chaſe the morkyneſſe of nyghte awaie.
Swift fleis the hower that will brynge oute the daie,
The ſofte dewe falleth onne the greeynge graſſe;
The ſhepſter mayden dyghtynge her arraie,
Scante ſees her vyſage ynne the wavie glaſſe:
By the fulle daylight wee ſcalle ELLA ſee,
Or BRISTOWE's walled towne. Damoyſelle followe mee.

[b] Hair. [c] Neck.

III.

Swote his tounge as the throſtle's note,
Quycke in daunce as thought can be,
Deft his tabor, codgelle ſtote,
Oh! he lies by the willowe tree.
My love is dedde, &c.

IV.

Hark! the raven flaps his wynge,
In the brier'd delle belowe;
Hark! the dethe owl loud doth ſing
To the night mares as they go.
My love is dedde, &c.

V.

See the white moon ſheenes on hie!
Whyter is my true love's ſhrowde,
Whyter than the morning ſkie,
Whyter than the evening cloud.
My love is dedde, &c.

VI.

Here upon my true love's grave
Shall the garen[d] fleurs be layde:
Ne one hallie ſaynte to ſave
Al the celneſs of a mayde.
My love is dedde, &c.

VII.

With my hondes I'll dente[e] the brieres,
Round his hallie corſe to gre[f],
Ouphante[g] faeries, light your fyres,
Here my bodie ſtill ſhall bee.
My love is dedde, &c.

[d] Bright. [e] *Indent.* Bend into the ground. [f] Grow. [g] Ouphan. Elphin.

VIII. Come

VIII.

Come with acorne-cup, and thorne,
Drain mie harty's blodde awaie:
Lyfe and all its goodes I ſcorne,
Daunce by night, or feaſt by day.
My love is dedde, &c.

IX.

Watere wytches crownde with reytes [h],
Bere me to your lethale tyde;
I die—I come—My true love waytes!
Thos the damſelle ſpake, and dy'd.

According to the date aſſigned to this tragedy, it is the firſt drama extant in our language. In an Epiſtle prefixed to his patron Cannynge, the author thus cenſures the MYSTERIES, or religious interludes, which were the only plays then exiſting.

Plaies made from HALLIE [i] TALES I hold unmete;
Let ſome *great ſtory of a man* be ſonge;
Whanne, as a man, we Godde and Jeſus trete,
Ynne mie poore mynde we doe the godhead wronge.

The ODE TO ELLA is ſaid to have been ſent by Rowlie in the year 1468, as a ſpecimen of his poetical abilities, to his intimate friend and cotemporary Lydgate, who had challenged him to write verſes. The ſubject is a victory obtained by Ella over the Danes, at Watchett near Briſtol [k]. I will give this piece at length.

[h] Reeds.
[i] *Holy*.
[k] With this addreſs to Lydgate prefixed.

Well thenne, good John, ſythe ytt muſte needes ſo be,
That thou, and I a bowtynge matche muſte have;
Lett ytt ne breakynge of oulde friendſhippe bee,
Thys ys the onelie allaboone I crave.

SONGE TO AELLE LORDE OF THE CASTLE OF BRISTOWE *ynne daies of yore.*

Oh! thou (orr whatt remaynes of thee)
EALLE the darlynge of futuritie!
Lette thys mie ſonge bolde as thie courage bee,
As everlaſtynge to poſteritie!
Whanne Dacya's ſonnes, whoſe hayres of bloude redde hue,
Lyche kynge cuppes braſtynge wythe the mornynge due,

Arraung'd ynn dreare arraie,
Uppone the lethale daie,
Spredde farr and wyde onn Watchett's ſhore:
Thenn dyddſt thou furyouſe ſtonde,
And bie thie brondeous honde
Beeſprengedd all the mees with gore.

Drawne bie thyne anlace felle[1],
Downe to the depthe of helle,
Thouſandes of Dacyanns wente;
Bryſtowannes menne of myghte,
Ydar'd the bloudie fyghte,
And actedd deedes full quente.

Remember Stowe, the Bryghtſtowe Carmalyte,
Who, when John Clackynge, one of myckle lore,
Dydd throwe hys gauntlette penne wythe hym to wryte,
He ſhewde ſmalle wytte, and ſhewde his weakneſſe more.
Thys ys mie 'formance, whiche I now have wrytte,
The beſt performance of mie lyttel wytte.

Stowe ſhould be *Stone*, a Carmelite friar of Briſtol, educated at Cambridge, and a famous preacher. Lydgate's anſwer on receiving the ode, which certainly cannot be genuine, is beneath tranſcription. The writer, freely owning his inferiority, declares, that Rowlie rivals Chaucer and Turgotus, who both lived in *Norman tymes*. The latter, indeed, may in ſome meaſure be ſaid to have flouriſhed in that era, for he died biſhop of Saint Andrews in 1115. But he is oddly coupled with Chaucer in another reſpect, for he wrote only ſome Latin chronicles. Beſides, Lydgate muſt have been ſufficiently acquainted with Chaucer's age; for he was living, and a young man, when Chaucer died. The writer alſo mentions Stone, the Carmelite, as living with Chaucer and Turgotus: whereas he was Lydgate's cotemporary. Theſe circumſtances, added to that of the extreme and affected meanneſs of the compoſition, evidently prove this little piece a forgery.

[1] Sword.

Oh!

Oh! thou, where'er (thie bones att reſte)
Thie ſpryte to haunt delyghteth beſte,
Whytherr upponn the bloude-embrewedd pleyne,
Orr whare thou kennſt fromme farre
The dyſmalle crie of warre,
Orr ſeeſte ſomme mountayne made of corſe of ſleyne:

Orr ſeeſte the harneſsd ſteede,
Ypraunсynge o'er the meede,
And neighe to bee amonge the poynctedd ſpeeres;
Orr ynn blacke armoure ſtaulke arounde
Embattell'd Bryſtowe, once thie grounde,
And glowe ardorous onn the caſtell ſteeres:

Orr fierie rounde the mynſter[m] glare:
Lette Bryſtowe ſtylle bee made thie care,
Guarde ytte fromme foemenne and conſumynge fyre;
Lyche Avone ſtreme enſyrke ytt rounde;
Ne lett a flame enharme the grounde,
'Tyll ynne one flame all the whole worlde expyres.

The Battle of Hastings is called a tranſlation from the Saxon: and contains a minute deſcription of the perſons, arms, and characters of many of the chiefs, who fought in that important action. In this poem, Stonehenge is deſcribed as a Druidical temple.

The poem called the Tournament, is dramatically conducted, among others, by the characters of a herald, a knight, a minſtrel, and a king, who are introduced ſpeaking.

The following piece is a deſcription of an alderman's feaſt at Briſtol; or, as it is entitled, Accounte of W. Cannynge's Feast.

[m] The monaſtery. Now the cathedral.

Thorowe

Thorowe the hall the belle han ſounde,
Byalccoyle [a] doe the grave beſeeme;
The ealdermenne doe ſytte arounde,
And ſnoffelle [o] opp the cheorte ſteeme.
Lyke aſſes wylde in deſerte waſte
Swotely the morneynge doe taſte,
Syke kene thei ate: the mynſtrells plaie,
The dynne of angelles doe thei kepe:
Thei ſtylle [p]: the gueſtes ha ne to ſaie,
But nodde ther thankes, and falle aſleepe.
Thos echeone daie bee I to deene [q],
Gyff [r] Rowley, Iſchamm, or Tybb Gorges, be ne ſeen.

But a dialogue between two ladies, whoſe knights, or huſbands, ſerved in the wars between York and Lancaſter, and were now fighting at the battle of Saint Albans, will be more intereſting to many readers. This battle happened in the reign of Edward the fifth, about the year 1471.

ELINOUR and JUGA.

Anne Ruddeborne [s] bank twa pynynge maydens ſate,
Theire teares faſte dryppeynge to the waterre cleere;
Echone bementynge [t] for her abſente mate,
Who atte Seyncte Albonns ſhouke the morthynge [t] ſpeare.
The nottebrowne Ellynor to Juga fayre,
Dydde ſpeke acroole [u], with languyſhmente of eyne,
Lyke droppes of pearlie dewe, lemed [w] the quyvrynge brine.

[a] BELLACCOYLE. A perſonage in Chaucer's Rom. R. v. 2984. &c. i. e. KIND WELCOME. From the Fr. *Bel accueil.*
[o] *Snuff up.*
[p] The minſtrels ceaſe.
[q] *Dine.*
[r] If.
[s] Rudborn, in Saxon, red-water, a river near Saint Albans.
[t] Lamenting.
[t] Murdering.
[u] Faintly.
[w] Gliſtened.

ELINOUR.

ELINOUR.

O gentle Juga! hear mie dernie [x] plainte,
To fyghte for Yorke mie love is dyght [y] in ſtele;
O mai ne ſanguen ſteine the whyte roſe peyncte,
Maie good Seyncte Cuthberte watch ſyrre Robynne wele!
Moke moe thanne death in phantaſie I feelle;
See! ſee! upon the grounde he bleedynge lies!
Inhild [z] ſome joice [a] of life, or elſe my deare love dies.

JUGA.

Syſters in ſorrowe on thys daiſe ey'd banke,
Where melancholych broods, we wylle lamente:
Be wette with mornynge dewe and evene danke;
Lyche levynde [b] okes in eche the oder bente:
Or lyke forletten [c] halles of merriemente,
Whoſe gaſtlie [d] nitches holde the traine of fryghte [e],
Where lethale [f] ravens bark, and owlets wake the nyghte.
No mo the miſkynette [g] ſhalle wake the morne,
The minſtrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie;
No mo the amblynge palfrie and the horne,
Shall from the leſſel [h] rouze the foxe awaie:
Ill ſeke the foreſte alle the lyve-longe daie:
Alle nete amenge the gravde cherche [i] glebe wyll goe,
And to the paſſante ſpryghtes lecture [k] mie tale of woe.
Whan mokie [l] cloudes do hange upon the leme
Of leden [m] moon, ynn ſylver mantels dyghte:
The tryppeynge faeries weve the golden dreme

[x] Sad complaint.
[y] Arrayed, or caſed.
[z] Infuſe.
[a] Juice.
[b] Blaſted.
[c] Forſaken.
[d] Ruins.
[e] Fear.
[f] Deadly, or death-boding.
[g] A ſmall bagpipe.
[h] In a confined ſenſe, a buſh or hedge, though ſometimes uſed as a foreſt.
[i] Church-yard, full of graves.
[k] Relate.
[l] Black.
[m] Decreaſing.

Of

Of ſelyneſs [n], whyche flyethe with the nyghte;
Thenne (but the ſeynctes forbydde) gif to a ſpryghte
Syrre Rychardes forme is lyped; I'll holde dyſtraughte
Hys bledeynge clai-colde corſe, and die eche daie yn thoughte.

ELINOUR.

Ah, woe-bementynge wordes; what wordes can ſhowe!
Thou limed [o] river, on thie linche [p] mai bleede
Champyons, whoſe bloude wylle wythe thie waterres flowe,
And Rudborne ſtreeme be rudborne ſtreeme indeede!
Haſte gentle Juga, trippe ytte o'ere the meade
To know or wheder wee muſte waile agayne,
Or whythe oure fallen knyghte be menged onne the plain.
So ſaieing, lyke twa levyn-blaſted trees,
Or twain of cloudes that holdeth ſtormie raine,
Theie moved gentle o'ere the dewe mees [q];
To where Seyncte Albon's holie ſhrynes remayne.
There dyd theye finde that bothe their knyghtes were ſleyne;
Diſtraughte [r], theie wandered to ſwollen Rudborne's ſyde,
Yelled theyre leathalle knelle, ſonke in the waves and dyde.

In a DIALOGUE, or ECLOGUE, ſpoken by two ladies, are theſe lines.

Sprytes of the blaſte, the pious Nygelle ſedde,
Powre oute your pleaſaunce on mie fadres hedde.
Richard of lyonn's harte to fyghte is gonne,
Uppon the broad ſea doe the banners gleme;
The aminuſedd natyons be aſtonn
To ken ſyke [s] large a flete, ſyke fyne, ſyke breme [t]:

[n] Happineſs. Chaucer, TR. CRES. iii. 815.
[o] Glaſſy.
[p] Bank.
[q] Meads.
[r] Diſtracted.
[s] So.
[t] Fierce.

The

The barkis heofods coupe the lymed [u] ſtreme:
Oundes [w] ſynkyng oundes uppon the hard ake [x] riſe;
The waters ſlughornes wyth a ſwoty cleme
Conteke [y] the dynninge [z] ayre, and reche [a] the ſkies.
Sprytes of the blaſte, on gouldenn trones aſtedde [b],
Powre oute your pleaſaunce on mie fadres hedde!

I am of opinion, that none of theſe pieces are genuine. The EXECUTION of SIR CHARLES BAUDWIN is now allowed to be modern, even by thoſe who maintain all the other poems to be antient [c]. The ODE TO ELLA, and the EPISTLE to Lydgate, with his ANSWER, were written on one piece of parchment; and, as pretended, in Rowlie's own hand. This was ſhewn to an ingenious critic and intelligent antiquary of my acquaintance; who aſſures me, that the writing was a groſs and palpable forgery. It was not even ſkilfully counterfeited. The form of the letters, although artfully contrived to wear an antiquated appearance, differed very eſſentially from every one of our early alphabets. Nor were the characters uniform and conſiſtent: part of the ſame manuſcript exhibiting ſome letters ſhaped

[u] Poliſhed. Bright.
[w] Waters.
[x] *Oak.* Ship.
[y] Contend with.
[z] Noiſy.
[a] *Reach.*
[b] Seated.
[c] It contains 98 ſtanzas, and was printed at London, in the year 1772. 4to. I am told, that in the abovementioned cheſt, belonging to Radcliffe-church, an antient Record was diſcovered, containing the expences for Edward the fourth to ſee the execution of ſir Charles Baldwin; with a deſcription of a canopy under which the king ſate at this execution. This Record ſeems to have given riſe to the poem. A bond which ſir Charles Baldwin gave to king Henry the ſixth, I ſuppoſe about ſeizing the earl of Warwick, is ſaid to have been mentioned in one of Rowlie's manuſcripts, called the YELLOW ROLL, perhaps the ſame, found in Cannynge's cheſt, but now loſt. See Stowe's CHRON. by Howes, edit. fol. 1615. p. 406. col. 2. And Speed's, p. 669. col. 2. edit. 1611. Stowe ſays, that king Edward the fourth was at Briſtol, on a progreſs through England, in the *harveſt ſeaſon* of the year 1462. And that he was *moſt royally received.* Ibid. p. 416. col. 2. Cannynge was then mayor of Briſtol. Sir Charles Baldwin is ſaid to have been executed at Briſtol, in the preſence of Edward the fourth, in the year 1463. MS. Wantn. Bibl. Bodl. ut ſupr. The ſame king was at Briſtol, and lodged in ſaint Auguſtine's abbey, in 1472, when he received a large gratuity from the citizens for carrying on the war againſt France. Wantner, ibid.

commends SOME GREAT STORY OF HUMAN MANNERS, as most suitable for theatrical representation. But this idea is the result of that taste and discrimination, which could only belong to a more advanced period of society [e].

But, above all, the cast of thought, the complexion of the sentiments, and the structure of the composition, evidently prove these pieces not antient. The ODE TO ELLA, for instance, has exactly the air of modern poetry; such, I mean, as is written at this day, only disguised with antique spelling and phraseology. That Rowlie was an accomplished literary character, a scholar, an historian, and an antiquarian, if contended for, I will not deny [f]. Nor is it impossible that he might write English poetry. But that he is the writer of the poems which I have here cited, and

[e] It would be tedious and trifling to descend to minute particulars. But I will mention one or two. In the ODE TO ELLA, the poet supposes, that the spectre of Ella sometimes appears in the *mynster*, that is Bristol-cathedral. But when Rowlie is supposed to have lived, the present cathedral of Bristol was nothing more than an Augustine monastery, in which Henry the eighth established long afterwards a bishop, and a dean and chapter, in the year 1542. *Minster* is a word almost appropriated to Cathedrals: and I will venture to say, that the church of this monastery, before the present foundation took place, never was called *Bristol-minster*, or *The minster*. The inattention to this circumstance, has produced another unfortunate anachronism in some of Rowlie's papers. Where, in his panegyric on Cannynge he says, "The favouryte of godde, the fryende of "the chyrche, the companyonne of kynges, "and the fadre of hys natyve CITIE, the "grete and good Wyllyamme Canynge." Bristol was never styled a CITY till the erection of its bishoprick in 1542. See Willis's NOTIT. PARLIAMENT. p. 43. Lond. 1750. See also king Henry's Patent for creating the bishoprick of Bristol, in Rymer, dat. Jun. 4. A. D. 1542. An. reg. 34. Where the king orders, "Ac quod tota "*Villa* nostra Bristolliæ *exnunc* et *deinceps* "imperpetuum sit *Civitas*, ipsamque CI-"VITATEM BRISTOLLIÆ appellari et "nominari, volumus et decernimus, &c." FOED. tom. xv. p. 749. Bristol was *proclaimed* a CITY, an. 35 Henr. viii. MS. Wantner, ut supr. In which manuscript, to that period it is constantly called a *town*.

The description of Cannynge's feast, is called an ACCOUNTE of CANNYNGE'S FEAST. I do not think, that so early as the year 1470, the word *Accounte* had lost its literal and original sense of a *computus*, or *computation*, and was used in a looser acceptation for *narrative* or *detail*. Nor had it even then lost its true spelling *accompt*, in which its proper and primary signification is preserved and implied.

[f] He is also said to have been an eminent mechanic and mathematician. I am informed, that one of Rowlie's manuscripts discovered in Cannynge's iron chest, was a plan for supporting the tower of the Temple-church in Bristol, which had greatly declined from its perpendicular. In a late reparation of that church, some subterraneous works were found, minutely corresponding with this manuscript.

which

which have been ſo confidently aſcribed to him, I am not yet convinced.

On the whole, I am inclined to believe, that theſe poems were compoſed by the ſon of the ſchool-maſter before mentioned; who inherited the ineſtimable treaſures of Cannynge's cheſt in Radcliffe-church, as I have already related at large. This youth, who died at eighteen, was a prodigy of genius: and would have proved the firſt of Engliſh poets, had he reached a maturer age. From his childhood, he was fond of reading and writing verſes: and ſome of his early compoſitions, which he wrote without any deſign to deceive, have been judged to be moſt aſtoniſhing productions by the firſt critic of the preſent age. From his ſituation and connections, he became a ſkilful practitioner in various kinds of hand-writing. Availing himſelf therefore of his poetical talent, and his facility in the graphic art, to a miſcellany of obſcure and neglected parchments, which were commodiouſly placed in his own poſſeſſion, he was tempted to add others of a more intereſting nature, and ſuch as he was enabled to forge, under theſe circumſtances, without the fear of detection. As to his knowledge of the old Engliſh literature, which is rarely the ſtudy of a young poet, a ſufficient quantity of obſolete words and phraſes were readily attainable from the gloſſary to Chaucer, and to Percy's Ballads. It is confeſſed, that this youth wrote the EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAWDWIN: and he who could forge that poem, might eaſily forge all the reſt.

In the mean time, we will allow, that ſome pieces of poetry written by Rowlie might have been preſerved in Cannynge's cheſt: and that theſe were enlarged and improved by young Chatterton. But if this was the caſe, they were ſo much altered as to become entirely new compoſitions. The poem which bids the faireſt to be one of theſe originals is CANNYNGE'S FEAST. But the parchment-manuſcript of this little poem has already been proved to be a forgery. A circumſtance

cumſtance which is perhaps alone ſufficient to make us ſuſpect that no originals ever exiſted.

It will be aſked, for what end or purpoſe did he contrive ſuch an impoſture? I anſwer, from lucrative views; or perhaps from the pleaſure of deceiving the world, a motive which, in many minds, operates more powerfully than the hopes of gain. He probably promiſed himſelf greater emoluments from this indirect mode of exerciſing his abilities: or, he might have ſacrificed even the vanity of appearing in the character of an applauded original author, to the private enjoyment of the ſucceſs of his invention and dexterity.

I have obſerved above, that Cannynge ordered his iron cheſt in Radcliffe-church to be ſolemnly viſited once in every year, and that an annual entertainment ſhould be provided for the viſitors. In the notices relating to this matter, which ſome of the chief patrons of Rowlie's poetry have lately ſent me from Briſtol, it is affirmed, that this order is contained in Cannynge's will: and that he ſpecifies therein, that not only his manuſcript evidences abovementioned, but that the POEMS of HIS CONFESSOR ROWLIE, which likewiſe he had depoſited in the aforeſaid iron cheſt, were alſo to be ſubmitted to this annual inſpection. This circumſtance at firſt ſtrongly inclined me to think favourably of the authenticity of theſe pieces. At leaſt it proved, that Rowlie had left ſome performances in verſe. But on examining Cannynge's will, no ſuch order appears. All his bequeſts relating to Radcliffe-church, of every kind, are the following. He leaves legacies to the vicar, and the three clerks, of the ſaid church: to the two chantry-prieſts, or chaplains, of his foundation: to the keeper of the PYXIS OBLATIONUM, in the north-door: and to the fraternity *Commemoracionis martirum*. Alſo veſtments to the altars of ſaint Catharine, and ſaint George. He mentions his tomb built near the altar of ſaint Catharine, where his late wife is interred. He gives augmentations to the endowment of his

two

two chantries [g], at the altars of ſaint Catharine and ſaint George, abovementioned. To the choir, he leaves two ſervice-books, called *Liggers*, to be uſed there, on either ſide, by his two chantry-prieſts. He directs, that his funeral ſhall be celebrated in the ſaid church with a *month's mind*, and the uſual ſolemnities [h].

Very few anecdotes of Rowlie's life have deſcended to poſterity. The following MEMOIRS of his life are ſaid to have been written by himſelf in the year 1460, and to have been diſcovered with his poetry: which perhaps to many readers will appear equally ſpurious.

" I was fadre confeſſour to maſteres Roberte and maſtre William Cannings. Maſtre Roberte was a man after his fadre's own harte, greedie of gaynes and ſparying of almsdeedes; but maſter William was mickle courteous, and gave me many marks in my needs. At the age of twenty-two years deceasd maſter Roberte, and by maſter William's de-

[g] Compare Willis, MITR. ABB. ii. 88.

[h] This will is in Latin, dated Nov. 12. 1474. Proved Nov. 29. It was made in Weſtbury college. Cur. Prærog. Cant. Regiſtr. WATTIS, quatern. xvii. fol. 125. Beſide the bequeſts mentioned in the text, he leaves legacies to all the canons, the chaplains and deacons, and the twelve choriſters, of Weſtbury college. To the ſix prieſts, ſix almſmen and ſix almſwomen, founded in the new chapel at Weſtbury by Carpenter, biſhop of Worceſter. To many of the ſervants of the ſaid college. To the fabric of the church of that college, xl*s*. To rebuilding the tower of the church of Compton Graynefield, xl*s*. He alſo makes bequeſts to his almſhouſes at Briſtol, and to the corporation of that town. He remembers ſome of the religious foundations, chiefly the mendicants, at Briſtol. He ſtyles himſelf, *nuper mercator villæ Briſtoll, et nunc decanus collegii S. Trin. de Weſtbury*. The ſubdean of Weſtbury college is one of the executors. In this will the name of ROWLIE is not mentioned. Compare Tanner, NOTIT. MONAST. p 484. And Atkyns's GLOUCESTERSH. p. 802.

Biſhop Carpenter, about the year 1460, was a conſiderable benefactor to Weſtbury college. He pulled down the old college, " and in the new building, enlarged it " very much, compaſſing it about with a " ſtrong wall embattled, adding a faire " gate with divers towers, more like unto " a caſtle than a colledge: and laſtly, " beſtowed much good land for augment- " ing the revenew of the ſame." Godwin, SUCCESS. BISHOPS, pag. 446. edit. 1. ut ſupr. And Leland ſpeaks much to the ſame purpoſe. " Hic [Carpenter] ex ve- " teri collegio, quod erat Weſtberiæ, no- " vum fecit, et prædiis auxit, addito pin- " nato muro, porta, et turribus, inſtar caſ- " telli." ITIN. vol. viii. fol. 112. a. And hence it appears to be a miſtake, that Cannynge, who was indeed dean while theſe benefactions took place, rebuilt the college. As Dugd. WARWICKSH. p. 634. edit. 1730. Atkyns, GLOUCESTERSH. p. 802. ſupr. citat. p. 140.

ſyre

ſyre, bequeathd me one hundred marks; I went to thank maſter William for his mickle courteſie, and to make tender of my ſelfe to him.—Fadre, quod he, I have a crotchett in my brayne that will need your aide. Maſter William, ſaid I, if you command me I will go to Roome for you; not ſo farr diſtant, ſaid he: I ken you for a mickle learnd prieſt, if you will leave the paryſh of our ladie, and travel for mee, it ſhall be mickle to your profits.

"I gave my hands, and he told mee I muſt goe to all the abbies and pryorys, and gather together auncient drawyings [i], if of anie account at any price. Conſented I to the ſame, and purſuant ſett out the Mundaie following for the minſter of our ladie [k] and Saint Goodwyne, where a drawing of a ſteeple, contryvd for the belles when runge to ſwaie out of the ſyde into the ayre, had I thence, it was done by ſyr Symon de Mambrie [l], who in the troubleſomme rayne of kyng Stephen devoted himſelfe, and was ſhorne.

"Hawkes ſhowd me a manuſcript [m] in Saxonne, but I was onley to bargayne for drawyngs.—The next drawyings I metten with was a church to be reard, ſo as in form of a croſs, the end ſtanding in the ground, a long manuſcript was annexd. Maſter Canning thought no workman culd be found handie enough to do it.—The tale of the drawers deſerveth relation.—Thomas de Blunderville, a preeſte, al-

[i] I much doubt, if this word now exiſted, in the modern, or any, ſenſe. Indeed, the phraſe *to draw a picture* might have been now known: but to *draw*, in its preſent uncombined uſe, had not yet acquired this meaning. So late as the reign of James the firſt, a Painter was often called a *picture-drawer*. In antient inventories of furniture, a *drawing* never occurs as any ſpecies of production of the art of deſigning: it became a technical and diſtinguiſhing term when that art began to attain ſome degree of maturity. *Pictures*, although this word is now confined to a preciſe ſignification, would not have been improper here. Yet the word *Picture* was not antiently uſed in its preſent ſenſe and manner: but, a *picture with a cloth*, *a table with a picture*, &c.

[k] I ſuppoſe, Worceſter cathedral.

[l] Or Malmeſbury.

[m] This was not an Engliſh word at this early period: it was not uſed, and for obvious reaſons, till after the invention of printing. So again we have below, "the "Saxon *manuſcripts*." Theſe, at this time, would have been called *books*.

though

though the preeſte had no allows, lovd a fair mayden, and on her begett a ſonn. Thomas educated his ſoon; at ſixteen years he went into the warrs, and neer did return for five years.—His mother was married to a knight, and bare a daughter, then ſixteen, who was ſeen and lovd by Thomas, ſon of Thomas, and married to him unknown to her mother, by Ralph de Meſching, of the Minſter, who invited, as cuſtom was, two of his brothers, Thomas de Blunderville and John Heſchamme. Thomas nevertheleſs had not ſeen his ſonn for five years, kenning him inſtauntly; and learning the name of the bryde, toke him aſyde and diſcloſd to him that he was his ſonn, and was weded to his own ſiſtre.—Yoyng Thomas toke on ſo that he was ſhorne.

" He drew manie fine drawyings on glaſs.

" The abott of the minſter of Peterburrow ſold it me, he might have bargaynd twenty marks better, but maſter William would not depart with it. The prior of Coventree did ſell me a picture of great account, made by Badilian Y'allyanne, who did lyve in the rayne of kyng Henrie the firſt, a mann of fickle temper, havyng been tendred ſyx pounds of ſilver for it, to which he ſaid naie, and afterwards did give it to the then abott [n] of Coventriee. In brief, I gathered together manie marks value of fine drawyings, all the works of mickle cunning.—Maſter William culld the moſt choiſe parts, but hearing of a drawying in Durham church hee did ſend me.

" Fadree you have done mickle well, all the chatills are more worth than you gave; take this for your paynes: ſo ſaying, he did put into my hands a purſe of two hundreds good pounds, and did ſay that I ſhould note be in need, I did thank him moſt heartily.—The choiſe drawyng, when

[n] This ſhould have been *Prior*. An *abbot* was never the title of the ſuperiour in cathedral-convents. The PRIOR OF COVENTRY muſt have been a dignitary well-known by that name, as he ſate in parliament.

his fadre did dye, was begunn to be put up, and somme houses neer the old church erased; it was drawn by Aslema, preest of Saint Cutchburts, and offerd as a drawyng for Westminster, but cast asyde, being the tender did not speak French.

" I had now mickle of ryches, and lyvd in a house on the hyll, often repayrings to mastere William, who was now lord of the house. I sent him my verses touching his church, for which he did send me mickle good things.

" In the year kyng Edward came to Bristow, Master Cannings send for me to avoid a marriage which the kyng was bent upon between him and a ladie he neer had seen, of the familee of the Winddivilles, the danger where nigh, unless avoided by one remidee, an holie one, which was, to be ordained a.fonn of holy church, beyng franke from the power of kynges in that cause, and can be wedded.—Mr. Cannings instauntly sent me to Carpenter, his good friend, bishop of Worcester, and the Fryday following was prepaird and ordaynd the next day, the daie of Saint Mathew, and on Sunday sung his first mass in the church of our ladie [o], to the astonishing of kyng Edward, who was so furiously madd and ravyngs withall, that master Cannings was wyling to give him three thousand markes, which made him peace again, and he was admyted to the presence of the kyng, staid in Bristow, partook of all his pleasures and pastimes till he departed the next year [p].

" I gave master Cannings my Bristow tragedy [q], for which he gave me in hands twentie pound, and did praise it more then I did think my self did deserve, for I can say in troth I was never proud of my verses since I did read master Chaucer; and now haveing nought to do, and not wyling to be

[o] Most probably Worcester cathedral.

[p] See above, p. 153.

[q] That is, the poem called the EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAWDWIN, mentioned above, p. 153. What is there said concerning this poem, greatly invalidates the authenticity of these MEMOIRS. Rowlie might indeed write a poem on this subject; but not the poem circulated as his.

ydle,

ydle, I went to the minster of our Ladie and Saint Goodwin, and then did purchase the Saxon manuscripts, and sett my self diligently to translate and worde it in English metre, which in one year I performd and settled in the Battle of Hastyngs; master William did bargyin for one to be manuscript, and John Pelham, an esquire, of Ashley, for another.—Master William did praise it muckle greatly, but advisd me to tender it to no man, beying the mann whose name where therein mentioned would be offended. He gave me twenty markes, and I did goe to Ashley, to master Pelham, to be payd of him for the other one I left with him.

" But his ladie being of the family of the Fiscamps [r], of whom some things are said, he told me he had burnt it, and would have me burnt too if I did not avaunt. Dureing this dinn his wife did come out, and made a dinn to speake by a figure would have over founded the bells of our Ladie of the Cliffe; I was fain content to gett away in a safe skin.

" I wrote my Justice of Peace [s], which master Cannings advisd me secrett to keep, which I did; and now being grown auncient I was seizd with great pains, which did cost me mickle of marks to be cured off.—Master William offered me a cannon's place in Westbury collige, which gladly had I accepted, but my pains made me to staie at home. After this mischance I livd in a house by the Tower, which has not been repaird since Robert Consull of Gloucester repayrd the castle and wall; here I livd warm, but in my house on the hyll the ayre was mickle keen, some marks it cost me to put it in repair my new house, and brynging my chattles from the ould; it was a fine house, and I much marville it was untenanted. A person greedy of gains was the then possessour, and of him I did buy it at a very small rate, having lookd on the ground works and mayne sup-

[r] A Norman family. [s] I know nothing of this piece.

ports, and fynding them ſtaunch, and repayrs no need wanting, I did buy of the owner, Geoffry Coombe, on a *repayring leaſe* for ninety-nine years [t], he thinkying it would fall down everie day; but with a few marks expence did put it up in a manner neat, and therein I lyvd."

It is with regret that I find myſelf obliged to pronounce Rowlie's poems to be ſpurious. Antient remains of Engliſh poetry, unexpectedly diſcovered, and fortunately reſcued from a long oblivion, are contemplated with a degree of fond enthuſiaſm: excluſive of any real or intrinſic excellence, they afford thoſe pleaſures, ariſing from the idea of antiquity, which deeply intereſt the imagination. With theſe pleaſures we are unwilling to part. But there is a more ſolid ſatisfaction, reſulting from the detection of artifice and impoſture.

[t] I very much queſtion, whether this technical law-term, or even this mode of contract, exiſted in the year 1460.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

THE subsequent reigns of Richard the third, Edward the fifth, and Henry the seventh, abounded in obscure versifiers.

A mutilated poem which occurs among the Cotton manuscripts in the British museum, and principally contains a satire on the nuns, who not less from the nature of their establishment, than from the usual degeneracy which attends all institutions, had at length lost their original purity, seems to belong to this period[a]. It is without wit, and almost without numbers. It was written by one Bertram Walton, whose name now first appears in the catalogue of English poets; and whose life I calmly resign to the researches of some more laborious and patient antiquary.

About the year 1480, or rather before, Benedict Burgh, a master of arts of Oxford, among other promotions in the church, archdeacon of Colchester, prebendary of saint Paul's, and canon of saint Stephen's chapel at Westminster[b], translated Cato's MORALS into the royal stanza, for the use of his pupil lord Bourchier son of the earl of Essex[c]. Encou-

[a] Disadvantageous suspicions against the chastity of the female religious were *pretended* in earlier times. About the year 1250, a bishop of Lincoln visited the nunneries of his diocese: on which occasion, says the continuator of Matthew Paris, "ad domos religiosarum veniens, fecit EX-"PRIMI MAMILLAS earundem, ut sic "*physice*, si esset inter eas corruptela, ex-"periretur." Matt. Paris. Hist. p. 789. HENRICUS iii. edit. Tig. 1589. fol. An anecdote, which the historian relates with indignation; not on account of the nuns, but of the bishop.

[b] See Newcourt, Repertor. i. 90. ii. 517. The university sealed his letters testimonial, jul. 3. A. D. 1433. Registr. Univ. Oxon. supr. citat. T. f. 27. b. He died A. D. 1483.

[c] Gascoigne says that "rithme royal is "a verse of ten syllables, and ten such "verses make a staffe, &c." *Instructions for verse*, &c. Sign. D. i. ad calc. WORKES, 1587. [See supr. vol. i. p. 464. Notes, [a].] Burgh's stanza is here called *balade royall*: by which, I believe, is commonly signified the *octave stanza*. All those pieces in Chaucer, called *Certaine Ballads*, are in this measure. In Chaucer's LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN, written in long verse, a song of three

raged by the example and authority of so venerable an ecclesiastic, and tempted probably by the convenient opportunity of pilfering phraseology from a predecessor in the same arduous task, Caxton translated the same Latin work; but from the French version of a Latin paraphrase, and into English prose, which he printed in the year 1483. He calls, in his preface, the measure, used by Burgh, the BALAD ROYAL. Caxton's translation, which superseded Burgh's work, and with which it is confounded, is divided into four books, which comprehend seventy-two heads.

I do not mean to affront my readers, when I inform them, without any apology, that the Latin original of this piece was not written by Cato the censor, nor by Cato Uticensis [d]: although it is perfectly in the character of the former, and Aulus Gellius has quoted Cato's poem DE MORIBUS [e]. Nor have I the gravity of the learned Boxhornius, who in a prolix and elaborate dissertation has endeavoured to demonstrate, that these distichs are undoubtedly supposititious, and that they could not possibly be written by the very venerable Roman whose name they bear. The title is DISTICHA DE MORIBUS AD FILIUM, which are distributed into four books, under the name of Dionysius Cato. But he is frequently called MAGNUS CATO.

This work has been absurdly attributed by some critics to

three octave stanzas is introduced; beginning, *Hide Absolon thy gilte tresses clere.* v. 249. p. 340. Urr. Afterwards, Cupid says, v. 537. p. 342.

—— a ful grete negligence
Was it to thee, that ilke time thou made,
Hide Absolon thy tresses, IN BALADE.

In the British Museum there is *a Kalendre in* Englyshe, *made in* BALADE *by Dann John Lydgate monke of Bury.* That is, in this stanza. MSS. Harl. 1706. 2. fol. 10. b. The reader will observe, that whether there are eight or seven lines, I have called it the *octave* stanza. Lydgate has, most commonly, only seven lines. As in his poem on Guy earl of Warwick, MSS. Laud. D. 31. fol. 64. *Here gynneth the lyff of Guy of Warwyk.* [Pr. From Criste's birth compleat nine 100 yere.] He is speaking of Guy's combat with the Danish giant Colbrand, at Winchester.

Without the gate remembered as I rede,
The place callyd of antiquytye
In Inglysh tonge named *hyde mede*,
Or ellis *danmarch* nat far from the cyte:
Meeting to gedre, there men myght see
Terryble strokys, lyk the dent of thonder;
Sparklys owt of thar harnyss, &c.

[d] See Vignol. Marville. Miscell. tom. i. p. 56.

[e] Noct. Att. xi. 2.

Seneca,

Seneca, and by others to Ausonius [f]. It is, however, more antient than the time of the emperour Valentinian the third, who died in 455 [g]. On the other hand, it was written after the appearance of Lucan's PHARSALIA, as the author, at the beginning of the second book, commends Virgil, Macer [h], Ovid, and Lucan. The name of Cato probably became prefixed to these distichs, in a lower age, by the officious ignorance of transcribers, and from the acquiescence of readers equally ignorant, as Marcus Cato had written a set of moral distichs. Whoever was the author, this metrical system of ethics had attained the highest degree of estimation in the barbarous ages. Among Langbain's manuscripts bequeathed to the university of Oxford by Antony Wood, it is accompanied with a Saxon paraphrase [i]. John of Salisbury, in his POLYCRATICON, mentions it as the favourite and established manual in the education of boys [l]. To enumerate no others,

[f] It was printed under the name of Ausonius, Rostoch. 1572. 8vo.

[g] Ex Epistol. Vindiciani Medici, ad Valent. They are mentioned by Notkerus, who flourished in the tenth century, among the *Metrorum, Hymnorum, Epigrammatumque conditores*. Cap. vi. DE ILLUSTRIB. VIR. etc. printed by Fabric. M. Lat. v. p. 904.

[h] The poem DE VIRTUTIBUS HERBARUM, under the name of Macer, now extant, was written by Odo, or Odobonus, a physician of the dark ages. It was translated into English, by John Lelarmoner, or Lelamar, master of Hereford school, about the year 1373. MSS. Sloane. 29. *Princ.* "Apium, Ache is hote and drie." There is *Macer's Herbal*, ibid. 43. This seems to have been printed, see Ames, p. 158.

[i] Cod. 12. [8615.]

[l] Polycrat. vii. 9. p. 373. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595. It is cited, ibid. p. 116. 321. 512. In the ART OF VERSIFICATION, a Latin poem, written by Eberhardus Bethuniensis, about the year 1212, there is a curious passage, in which all the classics of that age are recited; or the best authors, then in vogue, and whom he recommends to be taught to youth. [Leyser. Poet. Med. æv. p. 825.] They are, CATO the moralist. THEODULUS, the author of a leonine Eclogue, a dialogue between Truth and Falshood, written in the tenth century, printed among the OCTO MORALES, and by Goldastus, Man. Bibl. 1620. 8vo. MSS. Harl. 3093. 4. Wynkyn de Worde printed this piece under the title of *Theodoli* liber, cum *commento* satis *prolixo autoris cujusdam Anglici qui multa Anglicana ubique miscuit*. 1515. 4to. It was from one of Theodulus's ECLOGUES, beginning *Æthiopum terras*, that Field, master of Fotheringay college, about the year 1480, *sette the versis of the book caullid* Æthiopum terras, *in the glasse windowe, with figures very neatly*. Leland. ITIN. i. fol. 5. [p. 7. edit. 1745.] This seems to have been in a window of the new and beautiful cloister, built about that time. FLAVIUS AVIANUS, a writer of Latin fables, or apologues, Lugd. Bat. 1731. 8vo. ÆSOP, or the Latin fabulist, printed among the OCTO MORALES, Lugd. Bat. 1505. 4to. MAXIMIANUS, whose six elegies, written about the seventh century, pass under the name of Gallus. Chaucer cites this writer; and

it is much applauded by Isidore the old etymologist [m], Alcuine [n], and Abelard [o]: and we must acknowledge, that the writer,

and in a manner, which shews his elegies had not then acquired the name of Gallus. COURT OF L. v. 798. "MAXIMINIAN "truely thus doeth he write." PAMPHILUS MAURILIANUS, author of the hexametrical poem *de Vetula*, and the elegies *de Arte amandi*, entitled PAMPHILUS, published by Goldastus, Catalect. Ovid. Francof. 1610. 8vo. [See supr. p. 130.] GETA, or *Hosidius Geta*, who has left a tragedy on Medea, printed in part by Pet. Scriverius, Fragm. Vett. Tragic. Lat. p. 187. [But see supr. vol. i. p. 234.] DARES PHRYGIUS, on the destruction of Troy. MACER. [See supr. p. 159.] MARBODEUS, a Latin poet on *Gems*. [See supr. vol. i. p. 378.] PETRUS DE RIGA, canon of Rheims, whose AURORA, or the *History of the Bible allegorised*, in Latin verses, some of which are in rhyme, was never printed entire. He has left also *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, with other pieces, in Latin poetry. He flourished about the year 1130. SEDULIUS. PROSPER. ARATOR. PRUDENTIUS. BOETHIUS. ALANUS, author of the *Anticlaudian*, a poem in nine books, occasioned by the scepticism of Claudian. [See supr. vol. i. p. 391.] VIRGIL, HORACE, OVID, LUCAN, STATIUS, JUVENAL, and PERSIUS. JOHN HANVILLE, an Englishman, who wrote the ARCHITRENIUS, in the twelfth century, a Latin hexameter poem in nine books. PHILIP GUALTIER, of Chatillon, who wrote, about the same period, the ALEXANDREID, an heroic poem on Alexander the great. SOLYMARIUS, or GUNTHER, a German Latin poet, author of the SOLYMARIUM, or *Crusade*. GALFRIDUS, our countryman, whose NOVA POETRIA was in higher celebrity than Horace's *Art of Poetry*. [See vol. i. Dissertat. ii.] MATTHÆUS, of Vendosme, who in the year 1170, paraphrased the *Book of Tobit* into Latin elegiacs, from the Latin bible of saint Jerom, under the title of the TOBIAD, sometimes called the THEBAID, and first printed among the OCTO MORALES. ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, whose DOCTRINALE, or Grammar in Leonine verse, superseded Priscian about the year 1200. It was first printed at Venice, fol. 1473. And by Wynkyn de Worde, 1503. He was a French frier minor, and also wrote the ARGUMENTS *of the chapters of all the books of either Testament*, in two hundred and twelve hexameters. With some other forgotten pieces. MARCIANUS CAPELLA, whose poem on the MARRIAGE OF MERCURY WITH PHILOLOGY rivalled Boethius. [See supr. p. 75.] JOANNES DE GARLANDIA, an Englishman, a poet and grammarian, who studied at Paris about the year 1200. The most eminent of his numerous Latin poems, which croud our libraries, seem to be his EPITHALAMIUM *on the Virgin Mary* in ten books of elegiacs. MSS. Cotton. CLAUD. A. x. And DE TRIUMPHIS ECCLESIÆ, in eight books, which contains much English history. MS. ibid. Some of his pieces, both in prose and verse, have been printed. BERNARDUS CARNOTENSIS, or *Sylvester*, much applauded by John of Salisbury, who styles him the most *perfect* Platonic of that age. Metallog. iv. c. 35. His MEGACOSM and MICROCOSM, a work consisting both of verse and prose, is frequently cited by the barbarous writers. He is imitated by Chaucer, *Man of L. Tale*, v. 4617. "In "sterres many a winter, &c." PHYSIOLOGUS, or THEOBALDUS EPISCOPUS, who wrote in Latin verse *De Naturis xii. animalium*, MSS. Harl. 3093. 5. He is there called *Italicus*. There is also a *Magister* FLORINUS, styled also PHYSIOLOGUS, on the same subject. Chaucer quotes PHYSIOLOGUS, whom I by mistake have supposed to be Pliny, "For PHISIOLO-"GUS says sikerly." NONNES PR. TALE. v. 15277. [See supr. vol. i. p. 420.] SIDONIUS, who wrote a metrical dialogue between a Jew and a Christian on both the Testaments. And a SIDONIUS, perhaps the same, *regis qui fingit prælia*. To these our author adds his own GRECISMUS, or a poem in hexameters on rhetoric and grammar; which, as Du Cange [Præf. Lat. Gloss. § XLV.] observes, was antiently a common manual in the seminaries of France, and, I suppose, of England.

[m] Etymol. V. OFFICIPERDA.

[n] Contra Elipand. lib. ii. p. 949.

[o] Lib. i. Theol. Christ. p. 1183.

exclusive of the utility of his precepts, possesses the merit of a nervous and elegant brevity. It is perpetually quoted by Chaucer. In the MILLER'S TALE, he reproaches the simple carpenter for having never read in Cato, that a man should marry his own likeness[p]: and in the MARCHAUNT'S TALE, having quoted Seneca to prove that no blessing is equal to an humble wife, he adds Cato's precept of prudently bearing a scolding wife with patience[q]. It was translated into Greek at Constantinople by Maximus Planudes, who has the merit of having familiarised to his countrymen many Latin classics of the lower empire, by metaphrastic versions[r]: and at the restoration of learning in Europe, illustrated with a commentary by Erasmus, which is much extolled by Luther[s]. There are two or three French translations[t]. That of Mathurine Corderoy is dedicated to Robert Stephens. In the British museum, there is a French translation by Helis de Guincestre, or Winchester; made, perhaps, at the time when our countrymen affected to write more in French than English[u]. Chaucer constantly calls this writer CATON or CATHON, which shews that he was more familiar in French than in Latin. Caxton in the preface to his aforesaid translation affirms, that Poggius Florentinus, whose library was furnished with the most valuable authors, esteemed CATHON GLOSED, that is, Cato with notes, to be the best book in his collection[w]. The glossarist I take to be Philip de Pergamo,

[p] V. 3227.

[q] V. 9261.

[r] It occurs often among the Baroccian manuscripts, Bibl. Bodl. viz. 64. 71, bis. 95. 111. 194. The first edition of Cato, soon followed by many others, I believe, is August. A. D. 1485. The most complete edition is that of Christ. Daumius, Cygn. 1672. 8vo. Containing the Greek metaphrases of Maximus Planudes, Joseph Scaliger, Matthew Zuber, and John Mylius, a German version by Martinus Apicius, with annotations and other accessions. It was before translated into German rhymes by Abraham Morterius, of Weissenburgh, Francof. 1590. 8vo.

[s] Colloqu. Mensal. c. 37.

[t] One by Peter Grosnet, *Les mots dorees du sage Caton*. Paris. 1543.

[u] MSS. Harl. 4388. This manuscript is older than 1400. Du Cange quotes a CATO in French rhymes. Gl. Lat. V. LECATOR. See MSS. Ashmol. 789. 2. [6995.]

[w] Many of the *glossed* manuscripts, so common in the libraries, were the copies with

a prior at Padua; who wrote a moſt elaborate MORALISATION on Cato, under the title of SPECULUM REGIMINIS, ſo early as the year 1380[x]. In the ſame preface, Caxton obſerves, that it is *the beſte boke for to be taught to yonge children in ſcole*. But he ſuppoſes the author to be Marcus Cato, whom he duly celebrates with the two Scipios and other *noble Romaynes*. A kind of ſupplement to this work, and often its companion, under the title of CATO PARVUS, or *Facetus*, or *Urbanus*, was written by Daniel Churche, or Eccleſienſis, a domeſtic in the court of Henry the ſecond, a learned prince and a patron of ſcholars, about the year 1180[y]. This was alſo tranſlated by Burghe; and in the Britiſh muſeum, both the CATOS of his verſion occur, as forming one and the ſame work, viz. *Liber* MINORIS Catonis, *et* MAJORIS, *tranſlatus a Latino in Anglicum per Mag. Benet Borugh*[z]. Burghe's performance is too jejune for

with which pupils in the univerſity attended their readers, or lecturers; from whoſe mouths paraphraſtic notes were *interlined* or written in the margin, by the more diligent hearers. In a Latin tranſlation of ſome of Ariſtotle's philoſophical works, once belonging to Rocheſter priory, and tranſcribed about the year 1350, one Henry de Rewham is ſaid to be the writer; and to have *gloſſed* the book, during the time he heard it explained by a public reader in the ſchools of Oxford. "Et *audivit* in "ſcholis Oxonie, et emendavit et GLO-"SAVIT *audiendo*." MSS. Reg. 12 G. ii. 4to. In the mean time, I am of opinion, that the word *reader* originally took its riſe from a paucity of books: when there was only ONE book to be had, which a profeſſor or lecturer recited to a large audience.

[x] Printed, Auguſt. 1475. In Exeter college library, there is CATO MORALISATUS, MSS. 37. [837.] And again at All Souls, MSS. 9. [1410.] Compare MSS. More, 35. [9221.] And Bibl. Coll. Trin. Dublin. 651. 14. And MSS. Harl. 6294.

[y] MSS. Coll. Trin. Dublin. 275. And Bibl. Eccleſ. Vigorn ſub. Tit. URBANUS, MSS. 147. One Tedbaldus, of the ſame age, is called the author, from a manuſcript cited, Giornal. Lett. d'Ital. iv. p. 181. In Lewis's CAXTON, in a collection of Chaucer's and Lydgate's poems by Caxton, without date, are recited 3. PARVUS CATHO. 4. MAGNUS CATO. p. 104. What theſe tranſlations are I know not. Beſide Caxton's CATO, mentioned above, there is a ſeparate work by Caxton, "Hic "incipit PARVUS CATON," in Engliſh and Latin. No date. Containing thirty-ſeven leaves in quarto. I find PARVUS CATO in Engliſh rhyme, MSS. Vernon. Bibl. Bodl. fol. cccx. [See ſupr. vol. i. p. 14.] The Latin of the leſſer CATO is printed among AUCTORES OCTO MORALES, Lugd. 1538. Compare MSS. Harl. 2251. iii. fol. 174. 112. fol. 175. A tranſlation into Engliſh verſes of both CATOS, perhaps by Lydgate. See alſo MSS. Coll. Trin. Dublin. V. 651. The PROVERBIA CATONIS are a different work from either of theſe, written in hexameters by Marbodeus, Opp. Hildebert. p. 1634. Paris 1708. fol.

[z] MSS. Harl. 116. 2. See alſo, 271. 2.

tranſcription;

transcription; and, I suspect, would not have afforded a single splendid extract, had even the Latin possessed any sparks of poetry. It is indeed true, that the only critical excellence of the original, which consists of a terse conciseness of sentences, although not always expressed in the purest latinity, will not easily bear to be transfused. Burghe, but without sufficient foundation, is said to have finished Lydgate's GOVERNAUNCE OF PRINCIS [a].

About the year 1481, Julian Barnes, more properly Berners, sister of Richard lord Berners, and prioress of the nunnery of Sopewell, wrote three English tracts on *Hawking*, *Hunting*, and *Armory*, or *Heraldry*, which were soon afterwards printed in the neighbouring [b] monastery of saint Alban's [c].

[a] See supr. LYDGATE. There is a translation of the *Wyz Cato*, and *Æsop's Fables*, into English dogrell, by one William Bulloker, for Edm. Bollisant. 1585. This W. Bulloker wrote *a Pamphlet for grammar*, for the same, 1586. 12mo.

[b] There was a strong connection between the two monasteries. In that of saint Alban's a monk was annually appointed, with the title of *Custos monialium de Sopewelle*. Registr. Abbat. Wallingford, [Sub an. 1480.] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Tanner.

[c] In the year 1486. fol. Again, at Westminster, by W. de Worde. 1496. 4to. The barbarism of the times strongly appears in the indelicate expressions which she often uses; and which are equally incompatible with her sex and profession. The poem begins thus. [I transcribe from a good manuscript, MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl. papyr. fol.]

Mi dere sones, where ye fare, by frith, or by fell*,
Take good hede in his tyme how Tristrem ‡ wol tell;
How many maner bestes of venery there were,
Listenes now to our Dame, and ye shullen here.
Ffowre maner bestes of venery there are,
The first of hem is a hart, the second is an hare;
The boor is one of tho,
The wolff, and no mo.
And wheresо ye comen in play † or in place,
Now shal I tel you which ben bestes of chace:
One of the a buck, another a doo,
The ffox, and the marteryn, and the wilde roo:
And ye shall, my dere sones, other bestes all,
Where so ye hem finde, rascall hem call,
In frith or in fell,
Or in ffoorrest, y yow tell.
And to speke of the hert, if ye wil hit lere,
Ye shall call him a calfe at the first yere;
The second yere a broket, so shall he be,
The third yere a spayard, lerneth this at me;
The iiii yere calles hem a stagge be any way
The first yere a grete stagge, my dame bade you say.

Among Crynes's books [911. 4to. Bibl. Bodl.] there is a bl. lett. copy of this piece, "Imprynted at London in Paul's church-yarde by me Hary Tab." Again by William Copland without date, "The boke of hawkyng, hunting, and fishing, with all the properties and medecynes that are necessary to be kept." With wooden cuts. Here the tract on *armory* is omitted, which seems to have been first inserted,

* Wood or field. ‡ Sir Tristram. See OBSERVAT. SPENS. i. p. 21. † *Plain.*

From an abbeſs diſpoſed to turn author, we might more reaſonably have expected a manual of meditations for the cloſet, or ſelect rules for making ſalves, or diſtilling ſtrong waters. But the diverſions of the field were not thought inconſiſtent with the character of a religious lady of this eminent rank, who reſembled an abbot in reſpect of exerciſing an extenſive manerial juriſdiction; and who hawked and hunted in common with other ladies of diſtinction [d]. This work, however, is here mentioned, becauſe the ſecond of theſe treatiſes is written in rhyme. It is ſpoken in her own perſon; in which, being otherwiſe a woman of authority, ſhe aſſumes the title of dame. I ſuſpect the whole to be a tranſlation from the French and Latin [e].

To this period I refer William of Naſſyngton, a proctor or advocate in the eccleſiaſtical court at York. He tranſlated into Engliſh rhymes, as I conjecture, about the year 1480, a theological tract, entitled *A treatiſe on the Trinity and Unity with a declaration of God's Works and of the Paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt*, written by John of Waldenby, an Auguſtine

inſerted that the work might contain a complete courſe of education for a gentleman. The ſame title is in W. Powel's edit. 1550. The laſt edition is "The GENTLEMAN'S "ACADEMY, or the book of ſaint Albans, "concerning hawking, hunting, and ar-"mory." Lond. 1595. 4to.

[d] At the magnificent marriage of the princeſs Margaret with James the fourth, king of Scotland, in 1503, his majeſty ſends the new queen, "a grett tame hart, "for to have a corſe." Leland. Coll. APPEND. iii. 280. edit. 1770.

[e] This is the latter part of the colophon at the end of the ſaint Alban's edition. "And here now endith the boke of blaſyng "of armys, tranſlatyt and compylyt to-"gedyr at ſaynt Albons the yere from "thyncarnacyon of oure lorde Jheſu Criſt "MCCCCLXXXVI." [This very ſcarce book, printed in various inks, was in the late Mr. Weſt's library.] This part is tranſlated or abſtracted from Upton's book *De re militari, et factis illuſtribus*, written about the year 1441. See the fourth book *De inſignibus Anglorum nobilium*. Edit. Biſſ. Lond. 1654. 4to. It begins with the following curious piece of ſacred heraldry. "Of the offſpring of the *gentilman* Jafeth, "come Habraham, Moyſes, Aron, and the "profettys, and alſo the kyng of the right "lyne of Mary, of whom that *gentilman* "Jheſus was borne, very god and man: "after his manhode kynge of the land of "Jude and of Jues, *gentilman* by is "moder Mary, *prynce of Cote armure*, &c."

Nicholas Upton, above mentioned, was a fellow of New college Oxford, about the year 1430. He had many dignities in the church. He was patroniſed by Humphrey duke of Glocester, to whom he dedicates his book. This I ought to have remarked before.

frier

frier of Yorkſhire, a ſtudent in the Auguſtine convent at Oxford, the provincial of his order in England, and a ſtrenuous champion againſt the doctrines of Wiccliffe [f]. I once ſaw a manuſcript of Naſſyngton's tranſlation in the library of Lincoln cathedral [g]; and was tempted to tranſcribe the few following lines from the prologue, as they convey an idea of our poet's character, record the titles of ſome old popular romances, and diſcover antient modes of public amuſement.

I warne you firſte at the begynnynge,
That I will make no vayne carpynge,
Of dedes of armes, ne of amours,
As does MYNSTRELLIS and GESTOURS,
That maketh carpynge in many a place
Of OCTOVIANE and ISENBRACE,
And of many other GESTES,
And namely when they come to feſtes;
Ne of the lyf of BEVYS OF HAMPTOUNE,
That was a knyght of grete renoune:
Ne of ſyr GYE OF WARWYKE, &c.

Our tranſlator in theſe verſes formally declares his intention of giving his reader no entertainment; and diſavows all concern with ſecular vanities, eſpecially thoſe unedifying tales of love and arms, which were the cuſtomary themes of other poets, and the delight of an idle age. The romances of OCTAVIAN, ſir BEVIS, and ſir GUY, have already been diſcuſſed at large. That of ſir ISEMBRAS was familiar in the time of Chaucer, and occurs in the RIME of SIR THOPAS [h]. In Mr. Garrick's curious library of chivalry, which his friends ſhare in common with himſelf, there is an edition

[f] Wood, Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. 117.
[g] See alſo MSS. Reg. 17 C. viii. p. 2.
[h] V. 6. See ſupr. vol. i. p. 123. Notes.

by

by Copland, extremely different from the manuſcript copies preſerved at Cambridge[i], and in the Cotton collection[k]. I believe it to be originally a French romance, yet not of very high antiquity. It is written in the ſtanza of Chaucer's ſir THOPAS[l]. The incidents are for the moſt part thoſe trite expedients, which almoſt conſtantly form the plan of theſe metrical narratives.

I take this opportunity of remarking, that the MINSTRELS, who in this prologue of Naſſyngton are named ſeparately from the GESTOURS, or tale-tellers, were ſometimes diſtinguiſhed from the harpers. In the year 1374, ſix Minſtrels, accompanied with four Harpers, on the anniverſary of Alwyne the biſhop, *performed* their *minſtrelſies*, at dinner, in the hall of the convent of ſaint Swithin at Wincheſter; and during ſupper, ſung the ſame GEST, or tale, in the great *arched* chamber of the prior: on which ſolemn occaſion, the ſaid chamber was hung with the arras, or tapeſtry, of THE THREE KINGS OF COLOGNE[m]. Theſe minſtrels and harpers belonged, partly to the royal houſhold in Wincheſter caſtle, and partly to the biſhop of Wincheſter.

[i] MSS. Caius Coll. Claſs. A. 9. (2.)

[k] CALIG. A. 12. f. 128.

[l] See Percy's BALL. i. 306.

[m] Regiſtr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. ut ſupr. [vol. i. p. 89.] "In feſto Alwyni "epiſcopi . . . . . Et durante pietancia in "aulâ conventûs, ſex MINISTRALLI, cum "quatuor CITHARISATORIBUS, faciebant "miniſtralcias ſuas. Et poſt cenam, in "magna camera arcuatâ dom. Prioris, *can-"tabant* idem GESTUM, in quâ camerâ ſu-"ſpendebatur, ut moris eſt, magnum dor-"ſale Prioris, habens picturas trium regum "Colein. Veniebant autem dicti jocula-"tores a caſtello domini regis, et ex fami-"liâ epiſcopi . . . ." The reſt is much obliterated, and the date is hardly diſcernible. Among the Harleian manuſcripts, there is an antient ſong on the three kings of Cologne, in which the whole ſtory of that favorite romance is reſolved into alchemy. MSS. 2407. 13. fol. Wynkyn de Worde printed this romance in quarto, 1526. It is in MSS. Harl. 1704. 11. fol. 49. b. Imperf. Coll. Trin. Dublin. V. 651. 14. [C. 16.] MSS. More, 37. And frequently in other places. Barclay, in his EGLOGES, mentions this ſubject, a part of the nativity, painted on the walls of a *churche cathedrall*. EGL. v. Signat. D. ii. ad calc. *Ship of fooles*, edit. 1570.

And the *thre kinges*, with all their company,
Their crownes gliſtening bright and orientlyy,
With their preſentes and giftes miſticall,
All this behelde I in picture on the wall.

In an Inventory of ornaments belonging to the church of Holbech in Lincolnſhire, and ſold in the year 1548, we find this article. "*Item*, for the COATS of the iii. "kyngs of Coloyne, v*s*. iiii *d*." I ſuppoſe theſe coats were for dreſſing perſons who repreſented

There was an annual mass at the shrine or tomb of bishop Alwyne in the church, which was regularly followed by a feast in the convent. It is probable, that the GEST here specified was some poetical legend of the prelate, to whose memory this yearly festival was instituted, and who was a Saxon bishop of Winchester about the year 1040[n]. Although songs of chivalry were equally common, and I believe more welcome to the monks, at these solemnities. In an accompt-roll of the priory of Bicester, in Oxfordshire[o], I find a parallel instance, under the year 1432. It is in this entry. "*Dat.* sex Ministrallis de Bokyngham cantantibus "in refectorio MARTYRIUM SEPTEM DORMIENTIUM *in ffesto* "*epiphanie*, iv *s.*" That is, the treasurer of the monastery gave four shillings to six *minstrels* from Buckingham, for singing in the refectory a legend called the MARTYRDOM OF THE SEVEN SLEEPERS[p], on the feast of the Epiphany. In the Cotton library, there is a Norman poem in Saxon characters on this subject[q]; which was probably translated afterwards into English rhyme. The original is a Greek legend[r], never

represented the three kings in some procession on the NATIVITY. Or perhaps for a MYSTERY on the subject, plaid by the parish. But in the same Inventory we have, *Item, for the apostylls* [the apostles] *coats*, and *for* HAROD'S [Herod's] *coate*, &c. Stukeley's ITIN. CURIOS. pag. 19. In old accompts of church-wardens for saint Helen's at Abingdon, Berks, for the year 1566, there is an entry *For setting up* ROBIN HOODES BOWER. I suppose for a parish interlude. ARCHÆOL. vol. i. p. 16.

[n] He is buried in the north wall of the presbytery, with an inscription.

[o] In Thesauriaro Coll. Trin. Oxon. [See supr. vol. i. p. 90.]

[p] In the fourth century, being inclosed in a cave at Ephesus by the emperour Decius 372 years, they were afterwards found sleeping, and alive.

[q] MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. ix. iii. fol. 213. b. [See supr. vol. i. p. 18.] "*Jci* "*commence la vie* de Seint dormanz."

La uertu deu iur tut iur ⁊ bure
E tut iurz eyt certeine epure.

[r] MSS. Lambecc. viii. p. 375. Photius, without naming the author, gives the substance of this Greek legend, Bibl. COD. CCLIII. pag. 1399. edit. 1591. fol. This story was common among the Arabians. The mussulmans borrowed many wonderful narratives from the christians, which they embellished with new fictions. They pretend that a dog, which was accidentally shut up in the cavern with the *seven sleepers*, become rational. See Herbelot, DICT. ORIENT. p. 139. a. V. ASHAB. p. 17. In the British Museum there is a poem, partly in Saxon characters, *De pueritia domini nostri Jhesu Cristi*. Or, *the childhood of Christ*. MSS. Harl. 2399. 10. fol. 47. It begins thus.

Alle myzhty god yn Trynyte,
That bowth [bought] man on rode dere;
He gefe ows washe to the
A lytyl wyle that ye wylle me here.

Who

printed; but which, in the dark ages, went about in a barbarous Latin translation, by one Syrus[s]; or in a narrative framed from thence by Gregory of Tours[t].

Henry Bradshaw has rather larger pretensions to poetical fame than William of Nassington, although scarcely deserving the name of an original writer in any respect. He was a native of Chester, educated at Gloucester college in Oxford, and at length a Benedictine monk of saint Werburgh's abbey in his native place[u]. Before the year 1500, he wrote the LIFE OF SAINT WERBURGH, a daughter of a king of the Mercians, in English verse[w]. This poem, beside the devout deeds and passion of the poet's patroness saint,

Who would suspect that this absurd legend had also a Greek original? It was taken, I do not suppose immediately, from an apocryphal narrative ascribed to saint Thomas the apostle, but really compiled by Thomas Israelites, and entitled, Λόγος εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ καὶ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Liber de pueritia et miraculis domini*, &c. It is printed in part by Cotelerius, Not. ad Patr. Apostol. p. 274. Who there mentions a book of Saint Matthew the Evangelist, *De Infantia Salvatoris*, in which our Lord is introduced learning to read, &c. See Iren. lib. i. c. xvii. p. 104. Among other figments of this kind, in the Pseudo-Gelasian Decree are recited, *The history and nativity of our Saviour, and of Mary and the midwife*. And, *The history of the infancy of our Saviour*. Jur. Can. DISTINCT. can. 3. The latter piece is mentioned by Anastasius, where he censures as supposititious, the *puerile miracles* of Christ. Ὁδηγ. c. xiii. p. 26.

On the same subject there is an Arabic book, probably compiled soon after the rise of Mahometanism, translated into Latin by Sikius, called EVANGELIUM INFANTIÆ, Arab. et Latin. Traject. ad Rhen. 1697. 8vo. In this piece, Christ is examined by the Jewish doctors, in astronomy, medicine, physics, and metaphysics. Sikius says, that the PUERILE MIRACLES of Christ were common among the Persians. Ibid. in Not. p. 55. Fabricius cites a German poem, more than four hundred years old, founded on these legends. Cod. Apocryph. Nov. TEST. tom. i. pag. 212. Hamburg. 1703.

At the end of the English poem on this subject above cited, is the following rubric. "Qöd dnus Johannes Arcitenens canoni-"cus Bodminie et natus in illa." Whether this canon of Bodmin in Cornwall, whose name was perhaps Archer, or Bowyer, is the poet, or only the transcriber, I cannot say. See fol. 48. In the same manuscript volume, [8.] there is an old English poem to our Saviour, with this note. "Explicit *Contemplaticuem bonam*. Quöd "dnus Johannes Arcuarius Canonicus Bod-"minie." See what is said, below, of the PSEUDO-EVANGELIUM attributed to Nichodemus.

[s] Apud Surium, ad 27 Jul.

[t] *Historia Septem Dormientium*. Paris. 1511. 4to. Ibid. 1640. And apud Ruinart. p. 1270. See Præf. Ruinart. §. 79. And Gregory himself *De gloria martyrum*, cap. 95. pag. 826. This piece is noticed and much commended by the old chronicler Albericus, ad ann. 319.

[u] Athen. Oxon. i. p. 9. Pits. 690.

[w] He declares, that he does not mean to rival Chaucer, Lydgate *sententious*, *pregnaunt* Barklay, and *inventive* Skelton. The two last were his cotemporaries. L. ii. c. 24.

comprehends

comprehends a variety of other ſubjects; as a deſcription of the kingdom of the Mercians [x], the lives of ſaint Etheldred and ſaint Sexburgh [y], the foundation of the city of Cheſter [z], and a chronicle of our kings [a]. It is collected from Bede, Alfred of Beverly, Malmeſbury, Girardus Cambrenſis, Higden's Polychronicon, and the paſſionaries of the female ſaints, Werburgh, Etheldred, and Sexburgh, which were kept for

[x] Lib. i. c. ii.
[y] Lib. i. cap. xviii. xix.
[z] Lib. i. cap. iii.
[a] Lib. ii. cap. xv. The faſhion of writing metrical *Chronicles of the kings of England* grew very faſhionable in this century. See ſupr. vol. i. p. 92. Many of theſe are evidently compoſed for the harp: but they are moſtly mere genealogical deductions. Hearne has printed, from the Heralds office, a PETEGREE of our kings, from William the conqueror to Henry the ſixth, written in 1448. [APPENDIX to Rob. Glouceſtr. vol. ii. p. 585. ſee p. 588.] This is a ſpecimen.

Then regnyd Harry nought full wyſe,
The ſon of Mold [Maud] the emperyſe.
In hys tyme then ſeynt Thomas
At Caunterbury marteryd was.
He held Roſomund the ſheen,
Gret ſorwe hit was for the queen:
At Wodeſtoke for hure he made a toure,
That is called ROSEMOUNDES BOURE.—
And ſithen regnyd his ſone Richerd,
A man that was never aferd:
He werred ofte tyme and wyſe
Worthily upon goddis enemyſe.
And ſithen he was ſhoten, alas!
Atte caſtle Gailard there he was.
Atte Fonte Everarde he lithe there:
He regnyd almoſt two yere.—
In Johne is tyme, as y underſtonde,
Was entredyted alle Engelonde:
He was fulle wrothe and grym,
For preſtus would nought ſynge before hym, &c.

Lydgate has left the beſt chronicle of the kind, and moſt approaching to poetry. *The regnynge of kyngys after the conqueſt by the monk of Bury*. MSS. Fairf. Bibl. Bodl. 16. [And MSS. Aſhmol. 59. ii. MSS. Harl. 2251. 3. And a beautiful copy, with pictures of the kings, MSS. Cotton. JULIUS. E. 5.] Never printed. [Unleſs printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1530. 4to. "This "myghty Wyllyam duke of Normandy."] This is one of the ſtanzas. [See MSS. Bodl. B. 3. 1999. 6.]

RICARDUS PRIMUS.

Rychard the next by ſucceſſyon,
Firſt of that name, ſtrong, hardy, and notable,
Was crouned kynge, called Cur de lyon,
With Saryzonys hedys ſerved atte table:
Sleyn at Galard by death full lamentable:
The ſpace regned fully ix yere;
His hert buryed in Roon, atte highe autere.

Compare MSS. Harl. 372. 5. There was partly a political view in theſe deductions: to aſcertain the right of our kings to the crowns of France, Caſtile, Leon, and the dutchy of Normandy. See MSS. Harl. 326. 2.—116. 11. fol. 142. I know not whether it be worth obſerving, that about this time a practice prevailed of conſtructing long parchment-rolls in Latin, of the Pedigree of our kings. Of this kind is the *Pedigree of Britiſh kings from Adam to Henry the ſixth*, written about the year 1450, by Roger Alban, a Carmelite friar of London. It begins, "Conſiderans chronico-"rum prolixitatem." The original copy, preſented to Henry the ſixth by the compiler, is now in Queen's college library at Oxford. MSS. [22.] B. 5. 3. There are two copies in Wincheſter college library, and another in the Bodleian. Among biſhop More's manuſcripts, there is a parchment-roll of the Pedigree of our kings from Ethelred to Henry the fourth, in French, with pictures of the ſeveral monarchs

public edification in the choir of the church of our poet's monaſtery [b]. Bradſhaw is not ſo fond of relating viſions and miracles as his argument ſeems to promiſe. Although concerned with three ſaints, he deals more in plain facts than in the fictions of religious romance; and, on the whole, his performance is rather hiſtorical than legendary. This is remarkable, in an age, when it was the faſhion to turn hiſtory into legend [c]. His fabulous origin of Cheſter is not

narchs. MSS. 495. And, in the ſame collection, a Pedigree from Harold to Henry the fourth, with elegant illuminations. MSS. 479. In the ſame rage of genealogiſing, Alban abovementioned framed the Deſcent of Jeſus Chriſt, from Adam through the Levitical and regal tribes, the Jewiſh patriarchs, judges, kings, prophets, and prieſts. The original roll, as it ſeems, on vellum, beautifully illuminated, is in MSS. More, ut ſupr. 495. But this was partly copied from Peter of Poictou, a diſciple of Lombard about the year 1170, who, for the benefit of the poorer clergy, was the firſt that found out the method of forming, and reducing into parchment-rolls, HISTORICAL TREES of the old teſtament. Alberic. in Chron. p. 441. See MSS. Denb. 1627. 1. Rot. membr.

As to Bradſhaw's hiſtory of the foundation of Cheſter, it may be claſſed with the FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY OF GLOUCESTER, a poem of twenty-two ſtanzas, written in the year 1534, by the laſt abbot William Malverne, printed by Hearne, Ubi ſupr. p. 378. This piece is mentioned by Harpsfield, HIST. ECCLES. ANGL. p. 264. Princip. "In ſundrie "fayer volumes of antiquitie." MSS. Harl. 539. 14. fol. 111.

[b] For as declareth the true PASSIONARY,
A boke where her holie lyfe wrytten is,
Which boke remayneth in Cheſter monaſtery.

Lib. i. c. vii. Signat. C ii. And again, ibid.

I folow the legend and true hyſtory
After an humble ſtile and from it lytell vary.

And in the Prologue, lib. i. Signat. A iiii.

Untoo this rude worke myne auctors theſe,
Fyrſt the true Legends, and the venerable Bede,
Mayſter Alfrydus, and Wyllyam Malmuſbury,
Gyrard, Polychronicon, and other mo indeed.

[c] Even ſcripture-hiſtory was turned into romance. The ſtory of Eſther and Ahaſuerus, or of AMON or *Hamon*, and MARDOCHEUS or *Mordecai*, was formed into a fabulous poem. MS. Vernon, ut ſupr. fol. 213.

Of AMON and MARDOCHEUS.

Mony wynter witerly
Or Criſt weore boren of vre ladi,
A rich kynge, hizte AHASWERE,
That ſtif was on ſtede and ſtere;
Mighti kynge he was, i wis,
He livede muchel in weolye ant blis,
His bliſſe may i nat telle zou,
How lange hit weore to ſchewe hit nou;
But thing that tovcheth to vre matere
I wol zou telle, gif ze wol here.
The kyng lovede a knight ſo wele,
That he commaunded men ſhould knele
Bifore him, in vche a ſtreete,
Over all ther men mihte him meete;
AMON was the knihtes nome,
On him fell muchel worldus ſchome,
Ffor in this ilke kynges lande
Was moche folke of Jewes wonande,
Of heore kynd the kyng hym tok
A qwene to wyve, as telleth the bok, &c.

In the Britiſh Muſeum, there is a long commentitious narrative of the *Creation of Adam*

ſo much to be imputed to his own want of veracity, as to the authority of his voucher Ranulph Higden, a celebrated chronicler, his countryman, and a monk of his own abbey [d]. He ſuppoſes that Cheſter, called by the antient Britons CAIR

Adam and Eve, their Sufferings and Repentance, Death and Burial. MSS. Harl. 1704. 5. fol. 18. This is from a Latin piece on the ſame ſubject, ibid. 495. 12. fol. 43. imperf. In the Engliſh, Peter Comeſtor, the *maiſter of ſtories*, author of the *hiſtoria ſcholaſtica*, who flouriſhed about the year 1170, is quoted. fol. 26. But he is not mentioned in the Latin, at fol. 49.

In Chaucer's MILLER'S TALE, we have this paſſage, v. 3538.

Haſt thou not herd, quod Nicholas alſo,
The ſorwe of Noe with his felawſhip,
Or that he might get his wif to ſhip?

I know not whether this anecdote about Noah is in any ſimilar ſuppoſititious book of Geneſis. It occurs, however, in the *Cheſter Whitſun Playes*, where the authors, according to the eſtabliſhed indulgence allowed to dramatic poets, perhaps thought themſelves at liberty to enlarge on the ſacred ſtory. MSS. Harl. 2013. This altercation between Noah and his wife, takes up almoſt the whole third *pageaunt* of theſe interludes. Noah, having reproached his wife for her uſual frowardneſs of temper, at laſt conjures her to come on board the ark, for fear of drowning. His wife inſiſts on his ſailing without her; and ſwears by *Chriſt* and *ſaint John*, that ſhe will not embark, till ſome of her old female companions are ready to go with her. She adds, that if he is in ſuch a hurry, he may ſail alone, and fetch himſelf a new wife. At length Shem, with the help of his brothers, forces her into the veſſel; and while Noah very cordially welcomes her on board, ſhe gives him a box on the ear.

There is an apocryphal book, of the expulſion of Adam from Paradiſe, and of Seth's pilgrimage to Paradiſe, &c. &c. MSS. Eccleſ. Cathedr. Winton. 4.

[d] There is the greateſt probability, that RALPH HIGDEN, hitherto known as a grave hiſtorian and theologiſt, was the compiler of the *Cheſter-plays*, mentioned above, vol. i. p. 243. In one of the Harleian copies [2013. 1.] under the *Proclamation* for performing theſe plays in the year 1522, this note occurs, in the hand of the third Randal Holme, one of the Cheſter antiquaries. "Sir John Arnway "was mayor, A. D. 1327, and 1328. "At which tyme theſe playes were writ-"ten by RANDALL HIGGENET, a monke "of Cheſter abbey, &c." In a Prologue to theſe plays, when they were preſented in the year 1600, are theſe lines, ibid. 2.

That ſome tymes ther was mayor of this citie
Sir John Arnway knight: who moſt worthilie
Contented hymſelfe to fett out in *playe*,
The *Deviſe* of *one Done* RONDALL, Moonke of Cheſter abbaye.

Done Rondall is *Dan* [dominus] *Randal*. In another of the Harleian copies of theſe plays, written in the year 1607, this note appears, ſeemingly written in the year 1628. [MSS. Harl. 2124.] "The Whitſun playes firſt "made by one *Don Rondle Heggenet*, a "monke of Cheſter abbey: who was thriſe "at Rome before he could obtaine leave "of the pope to have them in the Engliſh "tongue." Our chronicler's name in the text, ſometimes written *Hikeden*, and *Higgeden*, was eaſily corrupted into *Higgenet*, or *Heggenet*: and *Randal* is Ranulph or Randolph, *Ralph*. He died, having been a monk of Cheſter abbey ſixty-four years, in the year 1363. In PIERS PLOWMAN, a frier ſays, that he is well acquainted with the "*rimes* of RANDALL OF CHESTER." fol. 26. edit. 1550. I take this paſſage to allude to this very perſon, and to his compoſitions of this kind, for which he was probably ſoon famous. In an anonymous CHRONICON, he is ſtyled *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis*, which is nothing more than RANDALL OF CHESTER. MS. Ric. James, xi. 8.

LLEON, or *the city of Legions*, was founded by Leon Gaur, a giant, corrupted from LEON VAUR, or the *great legion*.

> The founder of this citie, as ſayth Polychronicon,
> Was Leon Gaur, a myghte ſtronge gyaunt,
> Which buildid caves and dongeons manie a one,
> No goodlie buildyng, ne proper, ne pleaſant.

He adds, with an equal attention to etymology:

> But kinge Leir a Britan fine and valiaunt,
> Was founder of Cheſter by pleaſaunt buildyng,
> And was named Guar Leir by the kyng [e].

But a greater degree of credulity would perhaps have afforded him a better claim to the character of a poet: and, at leaſt, we ſhould have conceived a more advantageous opinion of his imagination, had he been leſs frugal of thoſe traditionary fables, in which ignorance and ſuperſtition had cloathed every part of his argument. This piece was firſt printed by Pinſon in the year 1521. "Here begynneth the "holy lyfe of SAYNT WERBURGE, very frutefull for all "criſten people to rede [f]." He traces the genealogy of ſaint Werburg with much hiſtorical accuracy [g].

xi. 8. Bibl. Bodl. And again we have, RANULPHI CESTRENSIS "*ars compo-* "*nendi ſermones.*" MSS. Bodl. ſup. N. 2. Art. 10. And in many other places.

By the way, if it be true that theſe MYSTERIES were compoſed in the year 1328, and there was ſo much difficulty in obtaining the pope's permiſſion that they might be preſented in Engliſh, a preſumptive proof ariſes, that all our MYSTERIES before that period were in Latin. Theſe plays will therefore have the merit of being the firſt Engliſh interludes.

[e] Lib. ii. c. iii.

[f] In octavo. With a wooden cut of the Saint. Princip. "When Phebus had ronne "his cours in Sagittari." At the beginning is an Engliſh copy of verſes, by J. T. And at the end two others.

[g] *A deſcrypcyon of the geanalogy of* SAYNT WERBURGE, *&c.*

This noble prynces, the doughter of Syon,
The floure of vertu, and vyrgyn gloryous,
Bleſſed ſaynt Werburge, full of devocyon,
Deſcended by auncetry, and tytle famous,
Of foure myghty kynges, noble and vycteryous,

Reynynge

The moſt ſplendid paſſage of this poem, is the following deſcription of the feaſt made by king Ulpher in the hall of the abbey of Ely, when his daughter Werburgh was admitted to the veil in that monaſtery. Among other curious anecdotes of antient manners, the ſubjects of the tapeſtry, with which the hall was hung, and of the ſongs ſung by the minſtrels, on this ſolemn occaſion, are given at large[h].

Kynge Wulfer her father at this ghoſtly ſpouſage
Prepared great tryumphes, and ſolempnyte;
Made a royall feeſt, as cuſtome is of maryage,
Sende for his frendes, after good humanyte
Kepte a noble houſholde, ſhewed great lyberalyte
Both to ryche and poore, that to this feeſt wolde come,
No man was denyed, every man was wellcome.

Her uncles and auntes, were preſent there all
Ethelred and Merwalde, and Mercelly alſo
Thre bleſſed kynges, whome ſayntes we do call
Saint Keneſwyd, ſaint Keneburg, their ſiſters both two
And of her noble lynage, many other mo
Were redy that ſeaſon, with reverence and honour
At this noble tryumphe, to do all theyr devour.

Reynynge in his lande, by true ſucceſſyon,
As her lyfe hiſtoryall*, maketh declaracyon.
The year of our lorde, from the natyuyte
Fyue hundreth xiiii. and iiii. ſcore,
Whan Auſtyn was ſende, from ſaynt Gregoryc,
To conuert this regyon, unto our ſauyoure
The noble kyng Cryda than reygned with honoure
Upon the Mercyens, whiche kynge was father
Unto kynge Wybba, and Quadriburge his ſyſter.
This Wybba gate Penda, kynge of Mercyens,
Which Penda ſubdued, fyue kynges of this regyon.
Reygnynge thyrty yere, in worſhyp and reuerens
Was grauntfather to Werburge, by lynyall ſucceſſyon
By his quene Kyneſwith, had a noble generacyon
Fyue valeant prynces, Penda and kynge Wulfer,
Kynge Ethelred, ſaynt Marceyl, ſaynt Marwalde in fere †.

* That is, her Legend.

h "Of the great ſolempnyte kynge Wulfer made at the ghoſtly maryage of Saynt Werburge his doughter, to all his lovers, coſyns, and frendes." Ca. xvi. L. i.

† Edit. Pinſ. 1521.

Thó

Tho kynges mette them, with their company,
Egbryct kynge of Kent, brother to the quene;
The ſecond was Aldulphe kynge of the eaſt party,
Brother to ſaynt Audry, wyfe and mayde ſerene;
With divers of theyr progeny, and nobles as I wene,
Dukes, erles, barons, and lordes ferre and nere,
In theyr beſt array, were preſent all in fere [i].

It were full tedyous, to make deſcrypcyon
Of the great tryumphes, and ſolempne royalte,
Belongynge to the feeſt, the honour and provyſyon,
By playne declaracyon, upon every partye;
But the ſothe to ſay, withouten ambyguyte,
All herbes and flowres, fragraunt, fayre and ſwete,
Were ſtrawed in halles, and layd under theyr fete.

Clothes of golde and arras, were hanged in the hall
Depaynted with pyctures, and hyſtoryes manyfolde,
Well wroughte and craftely, with precious ſtones all
Glyterynge as Phebus, and the beten golde,
Lyke an erthly paradyſe, pleaſaunt to beholde:
As for the ſayd moynes [k], was not them amonge,
But prayenge in her cell, as done all novice yonge.

The ſtory of Adam, there was goodly wrought
And of his wyfe Eve, bytwene them the ſerpent,
How they were deceyved, and to theyr peynes brought;
There was Cayn and Abell, offerynge theyr preſent,
The ſacryfyce of Abell, accepte full evydent:
Tuball and Tubalcain, were purtrayed in that place
The inventours of muſyke, and crafte by great grace.

[i] Together. [k] Nun. i. e. The Lady Werburg.

Noe

Noe and his ſhyppe, was made there curyouſly
Sendynge forthe a raven, whiche never came again;
And how the dove returned, with a braunche haſtely,
A token of comforte and peace, to man certayne:
Abraham there was, ſtanding upon the mount playne
To offer in ſacrifice, Iſaac his dere ſone,
And how the ſhepe for hym was offered in oblacyon.

The twelve ſones of Jacob, there were in purtrayture
And how into Egypt, yonge Joſeph was ſolde,
There was impriſoned, by a falſe conjectour,
After in all Egypte, was ruler (as is tolde).
There was in pycture, Moyſes wyſe and bolde,
Our Lorde apperynge, in buſhe flammynge as fyre
And nothing thereof brent, lefe, tree, nor ſpyre[l].

The ten plages of Egypt, were well emboſt
The chyldren of Iſrael, paſſyng the reed ſee,
Kynge Pharoo drowned, with all his proude hooſt,
And how the two table, at the mounte Synaye
Were gyven to Moyſes, and how ſoon to idolatry
The people were prone, and punyſhed were therefore,
How Datan and Abyron, for pryde were full youre[m].

Duke Joſue was joyned, after them in pycture,
Ledynge the Iſrehelytes to the land of promyſſyon,
And how the ſaid land was divided by meſure
To the people of God, by equall ſundry porcyon:
The judges and byſſhops were there everychone,
Theyr noble actes, and tryumphes marcyall,
Freſhly were browdred in theſe clothes royall.

[l] Twig. Branch. [m] Burnt.

Nexte

Nexte to the greate lorde, appered fayre and bryght
Kynge Saull and David, and prudent Solomon,
Roboas ſuccedynge, whiche ſoone loſt his myght,
The good kynge Eſechyas, and his generacyon,
And ſo to the Machabees, and dyvers other nacyon,
All theſe ſayd ſtoryes, ſo rychely done and wrought.
Belongyng to kyng Wulfer, agayn that tyme were brought [n].

But over the hye deſſe [o], in the pryncypall place
Where the ſayd thre kynges ſate crowned all,
The beſt hallynge [p] hanged, as reaſon was,
Whereon were wrought the ix. orders angelicall
Dyvyded in thre ierarchyſes, not ceſſynge to call
Sanctus, ſanctus, ſanctus, bleſſed be the Trynite,
Dominus Deus Sabaoth, thre perſons in one deyte.

Next in order ſuynge [q], ſette in goodly purtrayture
Was our bleſſed lady, flowre of femynyte,
With the twelve Apoſtles, echeone in his figure,
And the foure Evangelyſtes, wrought moſt curyouſly:
Alſo the Dyſcyples of Chriſt in theyr degre
Prechynge and techynge, unto every nacyon,
The faythtes [r] of holy chyrche, for their ſalvacyon.

Martyrs than folowed, right manifolde:
The holy Innocentes, whom Herode had ſlayne,
Bleſſed Saynt Stephen, the prothomartyr truly,
Saynt Laurence, Saynt Vyncent, ſufferynge great payne;
With many other mo, than here ben now certayne,
Of which ſayd martyrs exſample we may take,
Pacyence to obſerve, in herte, for Chryſtes ſake.

[n] All this tapeſtry, belonging to king Wulfer, was brought to Ely monaſtery on this occaſion.
[o] Seat.
[p] Tapeſtry.
[q] Following.
[r] Feats. Facts.

Confeſſours

Confeſſours approched, right convenient,
Freſſely enbrodred in ryche tysſhewe and fyne;
Saynt Nycholas, Saynt Benedycte, and his covent,
Saynt Jerom, Baſylyus, and Saynt Auguſtine,
Gregory the great doctour, Ambroſe and Saynt Martyne:
All theſe were ſette in goodly purtrayture,
Them to beholde was a heavenly pleaſure.

Vyrgyns them folowed, crowned with the lyly,
Among whome our lady chefe preſident was;
Some crowned with rooſes for their great vyctory:
Saynt Katheryne, Saynt Margerette, Saynt Agathas,
Saynt Cycyly, Saynt Agnes, and Saynt Charytas,
Saynt Lucye, Saynt Wenefryde, and Saynt Apolyn;
All theſe were brothered [a], the clothes of golde within.

Upon the other ſyde of the hall ſette were
Noble auncyent ſtoryes, and how the ſtronge Sampſon
Subdued his enemyes by his myghty power;
Of Hector of Troye, ſlayne by fals treaſon;
Of noble Arthur, kynge of this regyon:
With many other mo, which it is to longe
Playnly to expreſſe this tyme you amonge.

The tables were covered with clothes of dyaper,
Rychely enlarged with ſilver and with golde,
The cupborde with plate ſhynyng fayre and clere,
Marſhalles theyr offyces fulfylled manyfolde:
Of myghty wyne plenty, both newe and olde,
All maner kynde of meetes delycate
(Whan grace was ſayd) to them was preparate.

[a] Embroidered.

To this noble feeſt there was ſuche ordinaunce,
That nothynge wanted that goten myght be
On ſee and on lande, but there was habundance
Of all maner pleaſures to be had for monye;
The bordes all charged full of meet plente,
And dyvers ſubtyltes [t] prepared ſothly were,
With cordyall and ſpyces, theyr gueſtes for to chere.

The joyfull wordes and ſweet communycacyon
Spoken at the table, it were harde to tell;
Eche man at lyberte, without interrupcyon,
Bothe ſadnes and myrthes, alſo pryve counſell,
Some adulacyon, ſome the truth dyd tell,
But the great aſtates [u] ſpake of theyr regyons,
Knyghtes of theyr chyvalry, of craftes the comons.

Certayne at eche cours of ſervice in the hall,
Trumpettes blewe up, ſhalmes and claryons,
Shewynge theyr melody, with toynes [w] muſycall,
Dyvers other mynſtrelles, in crafty proporcyons,
Mad ſwete concordaunce and luſty dyvyſyons:
An hevenly pleaſure, ſuche armony to here,
Rejoyſynge the hertes of the audyence full clere.

A ſinguler Mynſtrell, all other ferre paſſynge,
Toyned [x] his inſtrument in pleaſaunte armony,
And ſang mooſt ſwetely, the company gladynge,
Of myghty conquerours, the famous vyctory;
Wherwith was ravyſhed theyr ſprytes and memory:
Specyally he ſange of the great Alexandere,
Of his tryumphes and honours endurynge xii yere.

[t] Diſhes of curious cookery, ſo called.
[u] Kings.
[w] Tunes.
[x] Tuned.

Solemply

Solemply he ſonge the ſcate of the Romans,
Ruled under kynges by policy and wyſedome,
Of theyr hye juſtice and ryghtful ordinauns
Dayly encreaſynge in worſhyp and renowne,
Tyll Tarquyne the proude kynge, with that great confuſion,
Oppreſſed dame Lucrece, the wyfe of Colatyne,
Kynges never reyned in Rome ſyth that tyme.

Alſo how the Romayns, under thre dyctatours,
Governed all regyons of the worlde ryght wyſely,
Tyll Julyus Ceſar, excellynge all conquerours,
Subdued Pompeius, and toke the hole monarchy
And the rule of Rome to hym ſelfe manfully;
But Caſſius Brutus, the fals conſpyratour,
Cauſed to be ſlayne the ſayd noble emperour.

After the ſayd Julius, ſucceded his ſyſter ſone,
Called Octavianus, in the imperyall ſee,
And by his precepte was made deſcrypcyon
To every regyon, lande, ſhyre [y], and cytee,
A tribute to pay unto his dignyte:
That tyme was univerſal peas and honour,
In whiche tyme was borne our bleſſed Savyoure.

All theſe hyſtoryes, noble and auncyent,
Rejoyſynge the audyence, he ſange with pleaſuer;
And many other mo of the Newe Teſtament,
Pleaſaunt and profytable for their ſoules cure,
Whiche be omytted, now not put in ure [z]:
The mynyſters were ready, theyr offyce to fullfyll,
To take up the tables at their lordes wyll.

[y] This puts one in mind of the *Sheriffs*, in our Tranſlation of the Bible, among the officers of the kingdom of Babylon, DAN. iii. 2.

[z] Not mentioned here.

Whan this noble feeſt and great ſolempnyte,
Dayly endurynge a longe tyme and ſpace,
Was royally ended with honour and royalte,
Eche kynge at other lyſence taken hace,
And ſo departed from thens to theyr place:
Kyng Wulfer retourned, with worſhyp and renowne,
From the houſe[a] of Ely to his owne manſyon.

If there be any merit of imagination or invention, to which the poet has a claim in this deſcription, it altogether conſiſts in the application. The circumſtances themſelves are faithfully copied by Bradſhaw, from what his own age actually preſented. In this reſpect, I mean as a picture of antient life, the paſſage is intereſting; and for no other reaſon. The verſification is infinitely inferior to Lydgate's worſt manner.

Bradſhaw was buried in the cathedral church, to which his convent was annexed, in the year 1513[b]. Bale, a violent reformer, obſerves, that our poet was a perſon remarkably pious for the times in which he flouriſhed[c]. This is an indirect ſatire on the monks, and on the period which preceded the reformation. I believe it will readily be granted, that our author had more piety than poetry. His Prologue contains the following humble profeſſions of his inability to treat lofty ſubjects, and to pleaſe light readers.

To deſcrybe hye hyſtoryes I dare not be ſo bolde,
Syth it is a matter for clerkes convenyent;
As of the ſeven ages, and of our parentes olde,
Or of the four empyres whilom moſt excellent;
Knowyng my lerning therto inſuffycient:
As for baudy balades you ſhall have none of me,
To excyte lyght hertes to pleaſure and vanity[d].

[a] Monaſtery.
[b] Ath. Oxon. i. 9.
[c] Cent. ix. Numb. 17.
[d] Prol. lib. i. Signat. A. iii.

A great

A great tranſlator of the lives of the Saxon ſaints, from the Saxon, in which language only they were then extant, into Latin, was Goſcelinus, a monk of Saint Auſtin's at Canterbury, who paſſed from France into England, with Herman, biſhop of Saliſbury, about the year 1058 [e]. As the Saxon language was at this time but little underſtood, theſe tranſlations opened a new and ample treaſure of religious hiſtory: nor were they acquiſitions only to the religion, but to the literature, of that era. Among the reſt, were the Lives of ſaint Werburgh [f], ſaint Etheldred [g], and ſaint Sexburgh [h], moſt probably the legends, which were Bradſhaw's originals. Uſher obſerves, that Goſcelinus alſo tranſlated into Latin the antient Catalogue of the Saxon ſaints buried in England [i]. In the regiſter of Ely it is recorded, that he was the moſt eloquent writer of his age; and that he circulated all over England, the lives, miracles, and GESTS, of the ſaints of both ſexes, which he reduced into proſe-hiſtories [k]. The words of the Latin deſerve our attention. "In hiſtoriis "in *proſa* dictando mutavit." Hence we may perhaps infer, that they were not before in proſe, and that he took them from old metrical legends: this is a preſumptive proof, that the lives of the ſaints were at firſt extant in verſe. In the ſame light we are to underſtand the words which immediately follow. "Hic ſcripſit *Proſam* ſanctæ Etheldredæ [l]." Where the *Proſe* of ſaint Etheldred is oppoſed to her *poetical* legend [m]. By *mutavit dictando*, we are to underſtand, that he

[e] W. Malmeſbur. lib. iv. ubi infr.—— Goſcelin. in Præfatt. ad Vit. S. Auguſtini. See Mabillon, ACT. BEN. Sæc. i. p. 499.

[f] Printed, ACT. SANCTOR. Bolland. tom. i. februar. p. 386. A part in Leland, Coll. ii. 154. Compare MSS. C. C. C. Cant. J. xiii.

[g] In Regiſtr. Elienſ. ut infr.

[h] See Leland. Coll. iii. p. 152. Compare the Lives of S. Etheldred, S. Werburgh, and S. Sexburgh, at the end of the HISTORIA AUREA of John of Tinmouth, MS. Lambeth. 12. I know not whether they make a part of his famous SANCTILOGIUM. He flouriſhed about the year 1380.

[i] Antiquit. Brit. c. ii. p. 15. See Leland's Coll. iii. 86. ſeq. And Hickeſ. Theſaur. vol. ult. p. 86. 146. 208.

[k] Cap. x. Vit. Ethel.

[l] Which is extant in this Ely regiſter, and contains 54 heads.

[m] And theſe improved proſe-narratives were often turned back again into verſe, even ſo late as in the age before us: to which, among others I could mention, we may

tranſlated, or *reformed*, or, in the moſt general ſenſe, *wrote anew in Latin*, theſe antiquated lives. His principal objects were the more recent ſaints, eſpecially thoſe of this iſland. Malmeſbury ſays, " Innumeras SANCTORUM VITAS RECEN-" TIUM *ſtylo extulit*, veterum vel amiſſas, vel *informiter editas*, " comptius *renovavit* [a]." In this reſpect, the labours of Goſcelin partly reſembled thoſe of Symeon Metaphraſtes, a celebrated Conſtantinopolitan writer of the tenth century: who obtained the diſtinguiſhing appellation of the METAPHRAST,

may refer the legend of Saint Euſtathius, MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 2.

Seynt *Euſtace*, a nobull knyzte,
Of hethen law he was;
And ere than he cryſtened was
Mene callyd him *Placidas*.
He was with *Trajan* themperor, &c.

A Latin legend on this ſaint is in MSS. Harl. 2316. 42.

Concerning legend-makers, there is a curious ſtory in MSS. James, xxxi. p. 6. [ad ITER LANCASTR. num. 39. vol. 40.] Bibl. Bodl. Gilbert de Stone, a learned eccleſiaſtic, who flouriſhed about the year 1380, was ſolicited by the monks of Holywell in Flintſhire, to write the life of their patron ſaint. Stone applying to theſe monks for materials, was anſwered, that they had none in their monaſtery. Upon which he declared, that he could execute the work juſt as eaſily without any materials at all: and that he would write them a moſt excellent legend, after the *manner* of the legend of Thomas a Becket. He has the character of an elegant Latin writer; and ſeems to have done the ſame piece of ſervice, perhaps in the ſame way, to other religious houſes. From his EPISTLES, it appears that he wrote the life of ſaint *Wolfade*, patron of the priory of canons regular of his native town of Stone in Staffordſhire, which he dedicated to the prior, William de Madely. Epiſt. iii. dat. 1399. [MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Sup. D. i. Art. 123.] He was Latin ſecretary to ſeveral biſhops, and could poſſibly write a legend or a letter with equal facility. His epiſtles are 123 in number. The firſt of them, in which he is ſtiled *chancellour to the biſhop of Wincheſter*, is to the archbiſhop of Canterbury. That is, *ſecretary*. [MSS. Cotton. VITELL. E. x. 17.] This biſhop of Wincheſter muſt have been William of Wykeham.

The moſt extraordinary compoſition of this kind, if we conſider, among other circumſtances, that it was compiled at a time when knowledge and literature had made ſome progreſs, and when mankind were ſo much leſs diſpoſed to believe or to invent miracles, more eſpecially when the ſubject was quite recent, is the LEGEND of KING HENRY the SIXTH. It is entitled, *De* MIRACULIS *beatiſſimi illius Militis Chriſti, Henrici ſexti, etc.* That it might properly rank with other legends, it was tranſlated from an Engliſh copy into Latin, by one Johannes, ſtyled *Pauperculus*, a monk, about the year 1503, at the command of John Morgan, dean of Windſor, afterwards biſhop of ſaint David's. It is divided into two books: to both of which, prefaces are prefixed, containing proofs of the miracles wrought by this pious monarch. At the beginning, there is a hymn, with a prayer, addreſſed to the royal ſaint. fol. 72.

Salve, miles preciose,
Rex Henrice generoſe, &c.

Henry could not have been a complete ſaint without his legend. MSS. Harl. 423. 7. And MSS. Reg. 13 C. 8. What ſhall we think of the judgment and abilities of the dignified eccleſiaſtic, who could ſeriouſly patroniſe ſo ridiculous a narrative?

[a] Hiſt. Angl. lib. iv. p. 130.

because, at the command, and under the auspices of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, he modernised the more antient narratives of the miracles and martyrdoms of the most eminent eastern and western saints, for the use of the Greek church: or rather digested, from detached, imperfect, or obsolete books on the subject, a new and more commodious body of the sacred biography.

Among the many striking contrasts between the manners and characters of antient and modern life, which these annals present, we must not be surprised to find a mercer, a sheriff, and an alderman of London, descending from his important occupations, to write verses. This is Robert Fabyan, who yet is generally better known as an historian, than as a poet. He was esteemed, not only the most facetious, but the most learned, of all the mercers, sheriffs, and aldermen, of his time: and no layman of that age is said to have been better skilled in the Latin language. He flourished about the year 1494. In his CHRONICLE, or *Concordance of histories*, from Brutus to the year 1485, it is his usual practice, at the division of the books, to insert metrical prologues, and other pieces in verse. The best of his metres is the COMPLAINT of king Edward the second; who, like the personages in Boccacio's FALL OF PRINCES, is very dramatically introduced, reciting his own misfortunes [o]. But this soliloquy is nothing more than a translation from a short and a very poor Latin poem attributed to that monarch, but probably written by William of Wyrcester, which is preserved among the manuscripts of the college of arms, and entitled, *Lamentatio gloriosi regis Edvardi de Karnarvon quam edidit tempore suæ incarcerationis*. Our author's transitions

[o] Fol. 171. tom. ii. edit. 1533. See Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scacc. p. 425. And Præfat. p. xxxviii. Fabyan says, "they "are reported to be his own makynge, in "the tyme of his empryſonment." ibid. By the way, there is a passage in this chronicler which points out the true reading of a controverted passage in Shakespeare, "Also children were christened "thorough all the land, and menne *house-* "*led and anealed*, excepte suche, &c." tom. ii. p. 30. col. 2.

from

from proſe to verſe, in the courſe of a prolix narrative, ſeem to be made with much eaſe; and, when he begins to verſify, the hiſtorian diſappears only by the addition of rhyme and ſtanza. In the firſt edition of his CHRONICLE, by way of epilogues to his ſeven books, he has given us *The ſeven joys of the Bleſſed Virgin in Engliſh Rime.* And under the year 1325, there is a poem to the virgin; and another on one Badby, a Lollard, under the year 1409 [p]. Theſe are ſuppreſſed in the later editions. He has likewiſe left a panegyric on the city of London; but deſpairs of doing juſtice to ſo noble a ſubject for verſe, even if he had the eloquence of Tully, the morality of Seneca, and the harmony of that *faire Lady* Calliope [q]. The reader will thank me for citing only one ſtanza from king Edward's COMPLAINT.

When Saturne, with his cold and iſye face,
The ground, with his froſtes, turneth grene to white;
The time winter, which treès doth deface,
And cauſeth all verdure to avoyde quite:
Then fortune, which ſharpe was, with ſtormes not lite
Hath me aſſaulted with her froward wyll,
And me beclipped with daungers ryght yll [r].

[p] Edit. Lond. 1516. fol.

[q] Fol. 2. tom. ii. ut ſupr.

[r] In the Britiſh Muſeum there is a poem on this ſubject, and in the ſame ſtanza. MSS. Harl. 2393. 4to. 1. The ghoſt of Edward the ſecond, as here, is introduced ſpeaking. It is addreſſed to queen Elizabeth, as appears, among other paſſages, from ſt. 92. 242. 243. 305. It begins thus.

Whie ſhould a wafted ſpirit ſpent in woe
Diſcloſe the wounds receyved within his breſt?

It is imperfect, having only 352 ſtanzas. Then follows the ſame poem; with many alterations, additions, and omiſſions. This is addreſſed to James the firſt, as appears from ſt. 6. 259. 260. 326, &c. It contains 581 ſtanzas. There is another copy in the ſame library, Num. 558. At the end the poet calls himſelf INFORTUNIO. This is an appellation which, I think, Spenſer ſometimes aſſumed. But Spenſer was dead before the reign of James: nor has this piece any of Spenſer's characteriſtic merit. It begins thus.

I ſing thy ſad diſaſter, fatal king,
Carnarvon Edward, ſecond of that name.

The poem on this ſubject in the addition to the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES, by William Niccols, is a different compoſition. A WINTER NIGHT'S VISION. Lond. 1610. p.702. Theſe two manuſcript poems deſerve no further mention: nor would they have been mentioned at all, but from their reference

As an hiſtorian, our author is the dulleſt of compilers. He is equally attentive to the ſucceſſion of the mayors of London, and of the monarchs of England: and ſeems to have thought the dinners at guildhall, and the pageantries of the city-companies, more intereſting tranſactions, than our victories in France, and our ſtruggles for public liberty at home. One of Fabyan's hiſtorical anecdotes, under the important reign of Henry the fifth, is, that a new weather-cock was placed on the croſs of Saint Paul's ſteeple. It is ſaid, that cardinal Wolſey commanded many copies of this chronicle to be committed to the flames, becauſe it made too ample a diſcovery of the exceſſive revenues of the clergy. The earlier chapters of theſe childiſh annals faithfully record all thoſe fabulous traditions, which generally ſupply the place of hiſtoric monuments in deſcribing the origin of a great nation.

Another poet of this period is John Watſon, a prieſt. He wrote a Latin theological tract entitled SPECULUM CHRISTIANI, which is a ſort of paraphraſe on the decalogue and the creed [r]. But it is interſperſed with a great number of wretched Engliſh rhymes: among which, is the following hymn to the virgin Mary [s].

reference to the text, and on account of their ſubject. Compare, MSS. Harl. 2251. 119. fol. 254. An unfiniſhed poem on Edward the ſecond, perhaps by Lydgate. Princ. "Beholde this greate prince Ed-"ward the ſecunde."

[r] MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 155. MSS. Laud. G. 12. MSS. Thoreſb. 530. There is an abridgement of this work, [MSS. Harl. 2250. 20.] with the date 1477. This is rather beyond the period with which we are at preſent engaged.

[s] Compare a hymn to the holy virgin, ſupr. vol. i. p. 314. Mathew Paris relates, that Godrich, a hermit, about the year 1150, who lived in a ſolitary wild on the banks of the river Ware near Durham, had a viſion, in his oratory, of the virgin Mary, who taught him this ſong.

Seint Marie clane virgine,
Moder Jeſu Chriſte Nazarine,
On ſo ſcild thir Godrich
On ſang bringe haeli widh the in godes rich.
Seinte Marie, Chriſtes bur,
Maidenes clenhad, moderes flur,
Delle mine ſennen, rixe in mine mod,
Bringe me to winne widh ſelf god.

Matt. Pariſ. Hiſt. Angl. [HENRIC. ii.] p. 115. edit. Tig. 1589.

In one of the Harleian manuſcripts, many very antient hymns to the holy virgin occur. MS. 2253. Theſe are ſpecimens. 66. fol. 80. b.

Bleſſed be þou [thou] levedy, ful of heovene bliſſe,
Swete flur of parays, moder of mildeneſſe,

 Praye

Mary Moder, wel thou be;
Mary Moder thenke on mee:
Mayden and moder was never none
Togeder, lady, ſafe thou allone[t].
Swete lady, mayden clene,
Schilde me fro ille, ſchame, and tene,
And out of dette, for charitee, &c[u].

Caxton, the celebrated printer, was likewiſe a poet; and beſide the rhyming introductions and epilogues with which he frequently decorates his books, has left a poem of conſiderable length, entitled the WORKE OF SAPIENCE[w]. It comprehends, not only an allegorical fiction concerning the two courts of the caſtle of Sapience, in which there is no imagination, but a ſyſtem of natural philoſophy, grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, aſtronomy, theology, and other

Fraye ze Jheſu þy [thy] ſone þat [that] he me rede and wyſſe
So my wey for to gon, þat he me nevere myſſe.

Ibid. 67. fol. 81. b.

As y me rod þis ender day,
By grene wode to ſeche play,
Mid harte y þohte al on a May [Maid],
Sweteſt of al þinge!
Lyþe, and ich ou telle may al of þat ſwete þinge.

Ibid. 69. fol. 83. In French and Engliſh.

Mayden moder mild, *vyez cel oreyſoun*,
From ſhom þou me ſhilde, *e di la mal feloun*,
Fôr love of thine childe, *me muez de treſoun*,
Ich wes wod and wilde, *ore ſu en priſoun*.

See alſo ibid. 49. fol. 75.—57. fol. 78. And 372. 7. fol. 55.

In the library of Mr. Farmer, of Tuſmore in Oxfordſhire, are, or were lately, a collection of hymns and antiphones, paraphraſed into Engliſh, by William Herbert, a Franciſcan frier, and a famous preacher, about the year 1330. Theſe, with ſome other of his pieces contained in the ſame library, are unmentioned by Bale, v. 31. And Pitts, p. 428. [*Autogr. in pergamen.*] Pierre de Corbian, a troubadour, has left a hymn, or prayer, to the holy virgin: which, he ſays, he choſe to compoſe in the romance-language, becauſe he could write it more *intelligibly* than Latin. Another troubadour, a mendicant frier of the thirteenth century, had worked himſelf up into ſuch a pitch of enthuſiaſm concerning the holy virgin, that he became deeply *in love* with her. It is partly owing, as I have already hinted, to the gallantry of the dark ages, in which the female ſex was treated with ſo romantic a reſpect, that the virgin Mary received ſuch exaggerated honours, and was ſo diſtinguiſhed an object of adoration in the devotion of thoſe times.

[t] Theſe four lines are in the exordium of a prayer to the virgin, MSS. Harl. 2382. (4to.) 3. fol. 86. b. [See ſupr. p. 60.]

[u] Printed by William Maclyn or Machlinia. Without date.

[w] Printed by him, without date. fol. in thirty-ſeven leaves.

topics

topics of the fashionable literature. Caxton appears to be the author, by the prologue: yet it is not improbable, that he might on this occasion employ some professed versifier, at least as an assistant, to prepare a new book of original poetry for his press. The writer's design, is to describe the effects of wisdom from the beginning of the world: and the work is a history of knowledge or learning. In a vision, he meets the goddess SAPIENCE in a delightful meadow; who conducts him to her castle, or mansion, and there displays all her miraculous operations. Caxton, in the poem, invokes the *gylted goddess* and *moost facundyous lady* Clio, apologises to those *makers* who delight in *termes gay*, for the inelegancies of language which as a foreigner he could not avoid, and modestly declares, that he neither means to rival or envy Gower and Chaucer.

Among the anonymous pieces of poetry belonging to this period, which are very numerous, the most conspicuous is the KALENDAR OF SHEPHERDS. It seems to have been translated into English about the year 1480, from a French book entitled KALENDRIER DES BERGERS[x]. It was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the year 1497[y]. This piece was calculated for the purposes of a perpetual almanac; and seems to have been the universal magazine of every article of salutary and useful knowledge. It is a medley of verse and prose; and contains, among many other curious particulars, the saints of the whole year, the moveable feasts, the signs of the zodiac, the properties of the twelve months, rules

[x] I have seen an edition of the French, of 1500.

[y] I have an edition printed by John Wally, at London, without date. 4to. In the prologue it is said, "This book was "first corruptly printed in France, and "after that at the cost and charges of "Richard Pinson newly translated and re-"printed although not so faithfully as the "original copy required, &c." It was certainly first printed by de Worde, 1497. Again, ch. ii. "From the yeare this ka-"lender was made M.CCCC.XCVII. unto "the yeare M.CCCCC.XVI." From whence I conclude, that Worde's edition was in 1497, Wally's in 1516. Again, "This "yeare of the present kalender whiche "began to have course the first daye of "January M.CCCC.XCVII."

for blood-letting, a collection of proverbs, a ſyſtem of ethics, politics, divinity, phiſiognomy, medicine, aſtrology, and geography [z]. Among other authors, *Cathon the great clarke* [a], *Solomon*, *Ptolomeus the prince of aſtronomy*, and Ariſtotle's Epiſtle to Alexander, are quoted [b]. Every month is introduced reſpectively ſpeaking, in a ſtanza of *balad royal*, its own panegyric. This is the ſpeech of May [c].

Of all monthes in the yeare I am kinge,
Flouriſhing in beauty excèllently;
For, in my time, in vertue is all thinge,
Fieldes and medes ſprede moſt beautiouſly,
And birdes ſinge with ſweete harmony;
Rejoyſing lovers with hot love endewed,
With fragrant flowers all about renewed.

In the theological part, the terrors and certainty of death are deſcribed, by the introduction of Death, ſeated on the pale horſe of the Apocalypſe, and ſpeaking thus [d].

Upon this horſe, blacke and hideous
DEATH I am, that fiercely doth ſitte:

[z] Pieces of this ſort were not uncommon. In the Britiſh muſeum there is an ASTROLOGICAL poem, teaching when to buy and ſell, to let blood, to build, to go to ſea, the fortune of children, the interpretation of dreams, with other like important particulars, from the day of the moon's age. MSS. Harl. 2320. 3. fol. 31. In the principal letter the author is repreſented in a ſtudious poſture. The manuſcript, having many Saxon letters intermixed, begins thus.

He þat wol herkyn of wit
þat ys witneſt in holy wryt,
Lyſtenyth to me a ſtonde,
Of a ſtory y ſchal zow telle,
What tyme ys good to byen and to ſylle,
In boke as hyt ys y ſownde.

The reader who is curious to know the ſtate of quackery, aſtrology, fortune-telling, midwifery, and other occult ſciences, about the year 1420, may conſult the works of one John Crophill, who practiſed in Suffolk. MSS. Harl. 1735. 4to. 3. ſeq. [See fol. 29. 36.] This *cunning-man* was likewiſe a poet; and has left, in the ſame manuſcript, ſome poetry ſpoken at an entertainment of *Frere Thomas*, and five ladies of quality, whoſe names are mentioned: at which, two great bowls, or goblets, called MERCY and CHARITY, were briſkly circulated. fol. 48.

[a] Epilogue.
[b] Cap. 42.
[c] Cap. 2.
[d] Cap. xix.

There

There is no faireneſſe, but ſight tedious,
All gay colours I do hitte.
My horſe runneth by dales and hilles,
And many he ſmiteth dead and killes.
In my trap I take ſome by every way,
By towns [and] caſtles I take my rent.
I will not reſpite one an houre of a daye,
Before me they muſt needes be preſent.
I ſlea all with my mortall knife,
And of duety I take the life.
HELL knoweth well my killing,
I ſleepe never, but wake and warke;
It [d] followeth me ever running,
With my darte I ſlea weake and ſtarke:
A great number it hath of me,
Paradyſe hath not the fourth parte, &c.

In the eighth chapter of our KALENDER are deſcribed the ſeven viſions, or the puniſhments in hell of the ſeven deadly ſins, which Lazarus ſaw between his death and reſurrection. Theſe puniſhments are imagined with great ſtrength of fancy, and accompanied with wooden cuts boldly touched, and which the printer Wynkyn de Worde probably procured from ſome German engraver at the infancy of the art [e]. The PROUD are bound by hooks of iron to vaſt wheels, like mills, placed between craggy precipices, which are inceſſantly whirling with the moſt violent impetuoſity, and ſound like thunder. The ENVIOUS are plunged in a lake half frozen, from which as they attempt to emerge for eaſe, their naked limbs are inſtantly ſmote with a blaſt of ſuch intolerable keenneſs, that they are compelled to dive again into the lake. To the WRATHFULL is aſſigned a gloomy cavern, in which their bodies are butchered, and their limbs man-

[d] That is, HELL. [e] Compare the torments of Dante's hell. INFERN. Cant. v. vi. ſeq.

gled

gled by demons with various weapons. The SLOTHFULL are tormented in a *horrible hall dark and tenebrous*, ſwarming with innumerable flying ſerpents of various ſhapes and ſizes, which ſting to the heart. This, I think, is the Hell of the Gothic EDDA. The COVETOUS are dipped in cauldrons filled with boiling metals. The GLUTTONOUS are placed in a vale near a loathſome pool, abounding with venomous creatures, on whoſe banks tables are ſpread, from which they are perpetually crammed with toads by devils. CONCUPISCENCE is puniſhed in a field full of immenſe pits or wells, overflowing with fire and ſulphur. This viſionary ſcene of the infernal puniſhments ſeems to be borrowed from a legend related by Matthew Paris, under the reign of king John: in which the ſoul of one Thurkhill, a native of Tidſtude in Eſſex is conveyed by ſaint Julian from his body, when laid aſleep, into hell and heaven. In hell he has a ſight of the torments of the damned, which are preſented under the form and name of the INFERNAL PAGEANTS, and greatly reſemble the fictions I have juſt deſcribed. Among the tormented, is a knight, who had paſſed his life in ſhedding much innocent blood at tilts and tournaments. He is introduced, compleatly armed, on horſeback; and couches his lance againſt the demon, who is commiſſioned to ſeize and to drag him to his eternal deſtiny. There is likewiſe a prieſt who never ſaid maſs, and a baron of the exchequer who took bribes. Turkill is then conducted into the manſions of the bleſſed, which are painted with ſtrong oriental colouring: and in Paradiſe, a garden repleniſhed with the moſt delicious fruits, and the moſt exquiſite variety of trees, plants, and flowers, he ſees Adam, a perſonage of gigantic proportion, but the moſt beautiful ſymmetry, reclined on the ſide of a fountain which ſent forth four ſtreams of different water and colour, and under the ſhade of a tree of immenſe ſize and height, laden with fruits of every kind, and breathing the richeſt odours. Afterwards ſaint Julian conveys the ſoul of Turkhill back to his

his body; and when awakened, he relates this vision to his parish-priest[f]. There is a story of a similar cast in Bede[g], which I have mentioned before[h].

As the ideas of magnificence and elegance were enlarged, the public pageants of this period were much improved: and beginning now to be celebrated with new splendour, received, among other advantages, the addition of SPEAKING PERSONAGES. These spectacles, thus furnished with speakers, characteristically habited, and accompanied with proper scenery, co-operated with the MYSTERIES, of whose nature they partook at first, in introducing the drama. It was customary to prepare these shews at the reception of a prince, or any other solemnity of a similar kind: and they were presented on moveable theatres, or occasional stages, erected in the streets. The speeches were in verse; and as the procession moved forward, the speakers, who constantly bore some allusion to the ceremony, either conversed together in the form of a dialogue, or addressed the noble person whose presence occasioned the celebrity. Speakers seem to have been admitted into our pageants about the reign of Henry the sixth.

[f] Matt. Paris. Hist. pag. 206. seq. Edit. Tig. Much the same sort of fable is related, ibid. p. 178. seq. There is an old poem on this subject, called OWAYNE MILES, MSS. COTT. CALIG. A. 12. f. 90.

[g] See DISSERTATION ii. Signat. E. The DEAD MAN'S SONG there mentioned, seems to be more immediately taken from this fiction as it stands in our SHEPHERD'S KALENDER. It is entitled, The DEAD MAN'S SONG, *whose Dwelling was near Basinghall in London.* Wood's BALLADS, Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. It is worthy of doctor Percy's excellent collection, and begins thus.

Sore sicke, dear frienns, long tyme I was,
And weakly laid in bed, &c.

See also the legend of saint Patrick's cave, Matt. Paris. p. 84. And MSS. Harl. 2385. 82. *De quodam ducto videre penas Inferni.* fol. 56. b.

[h] I chuse to throw together in the Notes many other anonymous pieces belonging to this period, most of which are too minute to be formally considered in the series of our poetry. The CASTELL OF HONOUR, printed in quarto by Wynkyn de Worde, 1506. The PARLYAMENT OF DEVYLLES. Princip. "As Mary was great with "Gabriel, &c." For the same, in quarto, 1509. The HISTORIE OF JACOB AND HIS TWELVE SONS. In stanzas. For the same, without date. I believe about 1500. Princ. "Al yonge and old that lyst to "here." A LYTEL TREATYSE *called the Dysputacyon or Complaynt of the Heart thorughe perced with the lokynge of the eye.* For the same, in quarto, perhaps before 1500. The first stanza is elegant, and deserves to be transcribed.

In

In the year 1432, when Henry the ſixth, after his coronation at Paris, made a triumphal entry into London, many ſtanzas, very probably written by Lydgate, were addreſſed to his majeſty, amidſt a ſeries of the moſt ſplendid allegorical ſpectacles, by a giant repreſenting religious fortitude, Enoch and Eli, the holy Trinity, two *Judges* and eight *Serjeants of the coife*, *dame Clenneſſe*, Mercy, Truth, and other perſonages of a like nature[1].

In the year 1456, when Margaret wife of Henry the ſixth, with her little ſon Edward, came to Coventy, on the feaſt of the exaltation of the holy croſs, ſhe was received with the

In the fyrſt weke of the ſeaſon of Maye,
Whan that the wodes be covered in grene,
In which the nyghtyngale lyſt for to playe
To ſhewe his voys among the thornès kene,
Them to rejoyce which lovès ſervaunts bene,
Which fro all comforte thynke them faſt behynd;
My pleaſyr was as it was after ſene
For my dyſport to chaſe the harte and hynde.

The Lyfe of saint Joseph of Arimathea. For Pinſon, in quarto. 1520. The lyfe of Petronylla. In ſtanzas, for the ſame, without date, in quarto. The Castle of Laboure. In ſtanzas. For the ſame, in quarto, without date, with neat wooden cuts. The lyfe of saint Radegunda. In quarto, for the ſame. The A. B. C. E. of Aristotille, MSS. Harl. 1304. 4. Proverbial verſes in the alliterative manner, viz.

Woſo wil be wiſe and worſhip deſireth,
Lett him lerne one letter, and loke on another, &c.

Again, ibid. 541. 19. fol. 213. [Compare, ibid. 913. 10. fol. 15. b. 11. fol. 15. b.] See alſo ſome ſatyrical Ballads written by *Frere* Michael Kildare, chiefly on the *Religious orders*, *Saints*, *the White Friars of Drogheda*, *the vanity of riches*, &c. &c. *A divine poem on death*, &c. MSS. Harl. 913. 3. fol. 7. 4. fol. 9. 5. fol. 10. 13. fol. 16. [He has left a Latin poem in rhyme on the abbot and prior of Glouceſter, ibid. 5. fol. 10. And burleſque pieces on ſome of the divine offices, ibid. 6. fol. 12. 7. fol. 13. b.] Hither we may alſo refer a few pieces written by one Whyting, not mentioned in Tanner, MSS. Harl. 541. 14. fol. 207. ſeq. Undoubtedly many other poems of this period, both printed and manuſcript, have eſcaped my enquiries, but which, if diſcovered, would not have repaid the reſearch.

Among Rawlinſon's manuſcripts there is a poem, of conſiderable length, on the antiquity of the Stanley family, beginning thus.

I entende with true reporte to praiſe
The valiaunte actes of the ſtoute Standelais,
Ffrom whence they came, &c.

It comes down no lower than Thomas earl of Derby, who was executed in the reign of Henry the ſeventh. This induced me to think at firſt, that the piece was written about that time. But the writer mentions king Henry the eighth, and the ſuppreſſion of Monaſteries. I will only add part of a Will in verſe, dated 1477. MSS. Langb. Bibl. Bodl. vi. fol. 176. [M. 13. Th.]

Fleſhly luſtes and feſtes,
And furures of divers beſtes,
(A fend was hem fonde;)
Hole clothe caſt on ſhredys,
And wymen with thare hye hedys,
Have almoſt loſt thys londe!

[1] Fabyan, ubi ſupr. fol. 382. ſeq.

preſentation

presentation of pageants, in one of which king Edward the confessor, saint John the Evangelist, and saint Margaret, each speak to the queen and the prince in verse[k]. In the next reign in the year 1474, another prince Edward, son of Edward the fourth, visited Coventry, and was honoured with the same species of shew: he was first welcomed, in an octave stanza, by Edward the confessor; and afterwards addressed by saint George, completely armed: a king's daughter holding a lamb, and supplicating his assistance to protect her from a terrible dragon, the lady's father and mother, standing in a tower above, the conduit on which the champion was placed, "renning wine in four places, and "minstralcy of organ playing[l]." Undoubtedly the Franciscan friers of Coventry, whose sacred interludes, presented on Corpus Christi day, in that city, and at other places, make so conspicuous a figure in the history of the English drama[m], were employed in the management of these devises: and that the Coventry men were famous for the arts of exhibition, appears from the share they took in the gallant entertainment of queen Elisabeth at Kenelworth-castle, before whom they played their *old storial show*[n].

At length, personages of another cast were added; and this species of spectacle, about the period with which we are

[k] LEET-BOOK of the city of Coventry. MS. fol. 168. Stowe says, that at the reception of this queen in London, in the year 1445, several pageaunts were exhibited at *Paul's-gate*, with verses written by Lydgate, on the following lemmata. *Ingredimini et replete terram. Non amplius irascar super terram. Madam Grace chancellor de dieu. Five wise and five foolish virgins. Of saint Margaret*, &c. HIST. ENGL. pag. 385. edit. Howes. I know not whether these poems were *spoken*, or only affixed to the pageaunts. Fabyan says, that in those pageaunts there was *resemblance of dyvirse olde hystoryes*. I suppose tapestry. CRON. tom. ii. fol. 398. edit. 1533. See the ceremonies at the coronation of Henry the sixth, in 1430. Fab. ibid. fol. 378.

[l] Ibid. fol. 221.

[m] See supr. vol. i. p. 293. The friers themselves were the actors. But this practice being productive of some enormities, and the laity growing as wise as the clergy, at least as well qualified to act plays; there was an injunction in the MEXICAN COUNCIL, ratified at Rome in the year 1589, to prohibit all clerks from playing in the Mysteries, *even on* CORPUS CHRISTI-DAY. "Neque in Comœdiis personam "agat, *etiam in* FESTO CORPORIS CHRIS-"TI." SACROSANCT. CONCIL. fol. per Labb. tom. xv. p. 1268. edit. Paris. 1672.

[n] See supr. vol. i. p. 91.

 concerned,

concerned, was enlivened by the admiſſion of new characters, drawn either from profane hiſtory, or from profane allegory [o], in the application of which, ſome degree of learning and invention appeared.

I have obſerved in a former work, and it is a topic which will again be conſidered in its proper place, that the frequent and familiar uſe of allegoric perſonifications in the public pageants, I mean the general uſe of them, greatly contributed to form the ſchool of Spenſer [p]. But moreover from what is here ſaid, it ſeems probable, that the PAGEAUNTS, which being ſhewn on civil occaſions, derived great part of their decorations and actors from hiſtorical fact, and conſequently made profane characters the ſubject of public exhibition, dictated ideas of a regular drama, much ſooner than the MYSTERIES: which being confined to ſcripture ſtories, or rather the legendary miracles of ſainted martyrs, and the no leſs ideal perſonifications of the chriſtian virtues, were not calculated to make ſo quick and eaſy a tranſition to the repreſentations of real life and rational action.

In the year 1501, when the princeſs Catharine of Spain came to London, to be married to prince Arthur, her proceſſion through the city was very magnificent. The pageants were numerous, and ſuperbly furniſhed; in which the principal actors, or ſpeakers, were not only God the father, ſaint Catharine, and ſaint Urſula, but king Alphonſus the aſtronomer and an anceſtor of the princeſs, a Senator, an Angel, Job, Boethius, Nobility, and Virtue. Theſe perſonages ſuſtained a ſort of action, at leaſt of dialogue. The

[o] Profane allegory, however, had been applied in pageants, ſomewhat earlier. In the pageants, abovementioned, preſented to Henry the ſixth, the ſeven liberal ſciences perſonified are introduced, in a *tabernacle of curious werke*, from which their queen *dame Sapience* ſpeaks verſes. At entering the city he is met, and ſaluted in metre by three ladies, *richly cladde in golde and ſilkes* with coronets, who ſuddenly iſſue from a ſtately tower hung with the moſt ſplendid arras. Theſe are the Dames, NATURE, GRACE, and FORTUNE. Fabyan, ut ſupr. fol. 382. ſeq. But this is a rare inſtance ſo early.

[p] See Obſ. FAIRY QUEEN. ii. 90.

lady

lady was compared to Hesperus, and the prince to Arcturus; and Alphonsus, from his skill in the stars, was introduced to be the fortune-teller of the match[q]. These machineries were contrived and directed by an ecclesiastic of great eminence, bishop Fox; who, says Bacon, "was not only a grave coun-"sellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, "and a good master of ceremonies, and any thing else that "was fit for the active part, belonging to the service of "court, or state of a great king." It is probable, that this prelate's dexterity and address in the conduct of a court-rareeshow procured him more interest, than the gravity of his counsels, and the depth of his political knowledge: at least his employment in this business presents a striking picture of the importance of those popular talents, which even in an age of blind devotion, and in the reign of a superstitious monarch, were instrumental in paving the way to the most opulent dignities of the church. "Whosoever, adds the same pene-"trating historian, had these toys in compiling, they were "not altogether PEDANTICAL[r]." About the year 1487, Henry the seventh went a progress into the north; and at every place of distinction was received with a pageant; in which he was saluted, in a poetical oration, not always religious, as, at York by Ebranck, a British king and the founder of the city, as well as by the holy virgin, and king David: at Worcester by Henry the sixth his uncle: at Hereford by saint George, and king Ethelbert, at entering the cathedral there: at Bristol, by king Bremmius, Prudence, and Justice. The two latter characters were personated by young girls[s].

In the mean time it is to be granted, that profane characters were personated in our pageants, before the close of the fourteenth century. Stowe relates, that in the year

[q] Chron. MS.

[r] Bacon's HENRY THE SEVENTH. COMPL. Hist. Engl. vol. i. p. 628.

[s] From a manuscript in the Cotton library, printed in Leland. COLLECTAN. ad calc. vol. iii. p. 185.

1377, for the entertainment of the young prince Richard, ſon of Edward the black prince, one hundred and thirty citizens rode diſguiſed from Newgate to Kennington where the court reſided, attended with an innumerable multitude of waxen torches, and various inſtruments of muſic, in the evening of the Sunday preceding Candlemas-day. In the firſt rank were forty-eight, habited like eſquires, with viſors; and in the ſecond the ſame number, in the character of knights. "Then followed one richly arrayed like an EMPEROR, and after him, at ſome diſtance, one ſtately-tyred "like a POPE, whom followed twenty-four CARDINALLS, "and after them eyght or tenne with blacke viſors not "amiable, as if they had been LEGATES from ſome forrain "princes." But this parade was nothing more than a DUMB SHEW, unaccompanied with any kind of interlocution. This appears from what follows. For our chronicler adds, that when they entered the hall of the palace, they were met by the prince, the queen, and the lords; "whom the ſaid mummers did ſalute, *ſhewing by a pair of dice their deſire to play "with the prince*," which they managed with ſo much complaiſance and ſkill, that the prince won of them a bowl, a cup, and a ring of gold, and the queen and lords, each, a ring of gold. Afterwards, having been feaſted with a ſumptuous banquet, they had the honour of dancing with the young prince and the nobility, and ſo the ceremony was concluded[t]. Matthew Paris informs us, that at the magnificent marriage of Henry the third with Eleanor of Provence, in the year 1236, certain ſtrange pageants, and wonderful deviſes, were diſplayed in the city of London; and that the number of HISTRIONES on this occaſion was in-

[t] Stowe's SURV. LOND. pag. 71. edit. 1599. 4to. It will perhaps be ſaid, that this ſhew was not properly a PAGEANT but a MUMMERY. But theſe are frivolous diſtinctions: and, taken in a general view, this account preſerves a curious ſpecimen of early PERSONATION, and proves at leaſt that the practice was not then in its infancy.

finite.

finite[v]. But the word HISTRIO, in the Latin writers of the barbarous ages[w], generally comprehends the numerous tribe

[v] I will cite the passage more at large, and in the words of the original. "Convenerunt autem vocata ad convivium "nuptiale tanta nobilium multitudo utriusque sexus, tanta religiosorum numerositas, tanta plebium populositas, tanta "HISTRIONUM *Varietas*, quod vix eos "civitas Londoniarum sinu suo capaci "comprehenderet. Ornata est igitur civitas tota sloscericis, et vexillis, coronis, "et palliis, cereis et lampadibus, et quibusdam *prodigiosis ingeniis et portentis*, "*&c.*" HIST. p. 406. edit. Tig. 1589. sub HENRICO iii. Here, by the way, the expression *Varietas* histrionum plainly implies the comprehensive and general meaning of the word HISTRIO; and the multifarious performances of that order of men. Yet in the Injunctions given by the Barons to the religious houses, in the year 1258, there is an article which seems to shew, that the Histriones were sometimes a *particular* species of public entertainers. "HISTRIONUM LUDI non *videantur* vel "*audiantur*, vel permittantur fieri, coram "abbate vel monasticis." Annal. Burton. p. 437. Oxon. 1684. Whereas minstrels, harpers, and juglers, were notoriously permitted in the monasteries. We cannot ascertain whether LUDI here means plays, then only religious: LUDI *theatrales* in churches and church-yards, on vigils and festivals, are forbidden in the Synod of Exeter, dat. 1287. cap. xiii. CONCIL. MAGN. BRIT. per Wilkins. tom. ii. p. 140. col. 2. edit. 1737. fol.

I cannot omit the opportunity of adding a striking instance of the extraordinary freedom of speech, permitted to these people, at the most solemn celebrities. About the year 1250, king Henry the third, passing some time in France, held a most magnificent feast in the great hall of the knights-templars at Paris; at which, beside his own suite, were present the kings of France and Navarre, and all the nobility of France. The walls of the hall were hung all over with shields, among which was that of our king Richard the first. Just before the feast began, a JOCULATOR, or minstrel, accosted king Henry thus. "My lord, why did you invite so many "Frenchmen to feast with you in this "hall? Behold, there is the shield of "Richard, the magnanimous king of England!—All the Frenchmen present will "eat their dinner in fear and trembling!" Matt. Paris. p. 871. sub. HENR. iii. edit. Tigur. 1589. fol. Whether this was a preconcerted compliment, previously suggested by the king of France, or not, it is equally a proof of the familiarity with which the minstrels were allowed to address the most eminent personages.

[w] There is a passage in John of Salisbury much to our purpose, which I am obliged to give in Latin, "At eam [desidiam] nostris prorogant HISTRIONES. "Admissa sunt ergo SPECTACULA, et infinita lenocinia vanitatis.—Hinc *mimi*, "*salii vel saliares*, *balatrones*, *æmiliani*, "*gladiatores*, *palæstritæ*, *gignadii*, *præstigiatores*, malefici quoque multi, et tota "JOCULATORUM SCENA procedit. Quorum adeo error invaluit, ut a *præclaris* "*domibus* non arceantur etiam illi, qui "*obscænis partibus corporis*, *oculis* omnium "eam ingerunt *turpitudinem*, quam erubescet videre vel cynicus. Quodque "magis mirere, nec *tunc* ejiciuntur, quando TUMULTUANTES INFERIUS *crebro* "*sonitu aerem fædant*, *et turpiter inclusum turpius produnt*. Veruntamen quid in "singulis possit aut deceat, animus sapientis advertit, nec APOLOGOS refugit, aut "NARRATIONES, aut quæcunque SPECTACULA, dum virtutis, &c." POLYCRAT. lib. i. cap. viii. p. 28. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595. Here, GIGNADII, a word unexplained by Du Cange, signifies wrestlers, or the performers of athletic exercises: for *gignasium* was used for *gymnasium* in the barbarous Latinity. By *apologos*, we are perhaps to understand an allegorical story or fable, such as were common in the Provencial poetry; and by *narrationes*, tales of chivalry: both which were recited at festivals by these HISTRIONES. *Spectacula* I need

of mimics, juglers, dancers, tumblers, muſicians, minſtrels, and the like public practitioners of the recreative arts, with which thoſe ages abounded: nor do I recollect a ſingle inſtance in which it preciſely bears the reſtrained modern interpretation.

As our thoughts are here incidentally turned to the rudiments of the Engliſh ſtage [x], I muſt not omit an anecdote, entirely new, with regard to the mode of playing the MYSTERIES at this period, which yet is perhaps of much higher antiquity. In the year 1487, while Henry the ſeventh kept his reſidence at the caſtle at Wincheſter, on occaſion of the birth of prince Arthur, on a ſunday, during the time of dinner, he was entertained with a religious drama called CHRISTI DESCENSUS AD INFEROS, or *Chriſt's deſcent into hell* [y]. It was repreſented by the PUERI ELEEMOSYNARII, or choir-boys, of Hyde abbey, and ſaint Swithin's priory, two large monaſteries at Wincheſter. This is the only proof I have ever ſeen of choir-boys acting in the old MYSTERIES: nor

need not explain: but here ſeems to be pointed out the whole ſyſtem of antient exhibition or entertainment. I muſt add another pertinent paſſage from this writer, whom the reader will recollect to have flouriſhed about the year 1140. "Non "facile tamen crediderim ad hoc quem-"quam impelli poſſe litteratorem, ut "HISTRIONEM profiteatur. — GESTUS "ſiquidem EXPRIMUNT, rerum utilitate "deducta." Ibid. lib. viii. cap. xii. p. 514. [Compare Blount's ANT. TENURES, p. 11. HEMINGSTON.]

With regard to APOLOGI, mentioned above, I have farther to obſerve, that the Latin metrical apologues of the dark ages, are probably tranſlations from the Provencial poetry. Of this kind is Wircker's SPECULUM STULTORUM, or BURNELL'S ASS, See ſupr. vol. i. p. 419. And the ASINUS PÆNITENTIARIUS, in which an aſs, wolf, and fox, are introduced, confeſſing their ſins, &c. See Matt. Flacius, Catal. Teſt. Verit. pag. 903. edit. 1556. In the Britiſh muſeum there is an antient thin folio volume on vellum, containing upwards of two hundred ſhort moral tales in Latin proſe, which I alſo claſs under the APOLOGI here mentioned by John of Saliſbury. Some are legendary, others romantic, and others allegorical. Many of them I believe to be tranſlations from the Provencial poetry. Several of the Eſopian fables are intermixed. In this collection is Parnell's HERMIT, *De* ANGELO *et Heremita Peregrinum occiſum ſepelientibus*, Rubr. 32. fol. 7. And a tale, I think in Fontaine, *of the king's ſon who never ſaw a woman*. Rubr. 8. fol. 2. The ſtories ſeem to have been collected by an Engliſhman, at leaſt in England: for there is, the tale of one *Godfrey, a prieſt of Suſſex*. Rubr. 40. fol. 8. MSS. Harl. 463. The ſtory of Parnell's HERMIT is in *Geſta Romanorum*, MSS. Harl. 2270. ch. lxxxx.

[x] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 236. ſeq.

[y] Regiſtr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. MS. ut ſupr.

do

do I recollect any other instance of a royal dinner, even on a festival, accompanied with this species of diversion [z]. The story of this interlude, in which the chief characters were Christ, Adam, Eve, Abraham, and John the Baptist, was not uncommon in the antient religious drama, and I believe made a part of what is called the LUDUS PASCHALIS, or *Easter Play* [a]. It occurs in the Coventry plays acted on Corpus Christi day [b]; and in the Whitsun-plays at Chester, where it is called the HARROWING OF HELL [c]. The representation is Christ entering hell triumphantly, delivering our first parents, and the most sacred characters of the old and new testaments, from the dominion of Satan, and conveying them into Paradise. There is an ancient poem, perhaps an interlude, on the same subject, among the Harleian manuscripts; containing our saviour's dialogues in hell with Sathanas, the Janitor, or porter of hell, Adam, Eve, Habraham, David, Johan *Baptist*, and Moyses. It begins,

Alle herkneþ to me nou:
A strif wolle y tellen ou.
Of Jhesu ant of Sathan
þo Jhesus was to hell y-gan [d].

[z] Except, that on the first Sunday of the magnificent marriage of king James of Scotland with the princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry the seventh, celebrated at Edinburgh with high splendour, "after dynnar a MORALITE was "played by the said master Inglyshe and "hys companyons in the presence of the "kyng and qwene." On one of the preceding days, "After soupper the kynge "and qwene beyng togader in hyr grett "chamber, John Inglysh and his com-"panyons *plaid*." This was in the year 1503. Apud Leland. coll. iii. p. 300. 299. APPEND. edit. 1770.

[a] The Italians pretend that they have a LUDUS PASCHALIS as old as the twelfth century. TEATRO ITALIANO, tom. i. See *Un Istoria del Teatro*, &c. prefixed, p. ii. Veron. 1723. 12mo.

[b] [See supr. vol. i.] "Nunc dormiunt "milites, et veniet anima Christi de in-"ferno cum Adam et Eva, Abraham, "Joh. Baptiste, et aliis."

[c] MSS. Harl. 2013. PAGEAUNT xvii. fol. 138.

[d] MSS. Harl. 2253. 21. fol. 55. b. There is a poem on this subject, MS. Bodl. 1687.

How Jesu Crist *harowed helle*
Of hardi gestes ich wille telle.

[See supr. vol. i. p. 18.]

The

The composers of the MYSTERIES did not think the plain and probable events of the new testament sufficiently marvellous for an audience who wanted only to be surprised. They frequently selected their materials from books which had more of the air of romance. The subject of the MYSTERIES just-mentioned was borrowed from the PSEUDO-EVANGELIUM, or the FABULOUS GOSPEL, ascribed to Nicodemus[e]: a book, which, together with the numerous apocryphal narratives, containing infinite innovations of the evangelical history, and forged at Constantinople by the early writers of the Greek church, gave birth to an endless variety of legends concerning the life of Christ and his apostles[f]; and which, in the barbarous

[e] In Latin. A Saxon translation, from a manuscript at Cambridge, coeval with the conquest, was printed at Oxford, by Thwaites, 1699. In an English translation by Wynkyn de Worde, the prologue says, "Nichodemus, which was a worthy prynce, "dydde wryte thys blessyd storye in He-"brewe. And Theodosius, the emperour, "dyde it translate out of Hebrew into "Latin, and byshoppe Turpyn dyde "translate it out of Latyn into Frenshe." With wooden cuts, 1511. 4to. There was another edition by Wynkyn de Worde, 1518. 4to. and 1532. See a very old French version, MSS. Harl. 2253. 3. fol. 33. b. There is a translation into English verse, about the fourteenth century. MSS. Harl. 4196. 1. fol. 206. See also, 149. 5. fol. 254. b. And MSS. coll. Sion. 17. The title of the original is, NICODEMI DISCIPULI *de Jesu Christi passione et resurrectione* EVANGELIUM. Sometimes it is entitled GESTA SALVATORIS *nostri Jesu Christi*. Our lord's *Descent into hell* is by far the best invented part of the work. Edit. apud ORTHODOX. PATR. Jac. Greyn. [Basil. 1569. 4to.] pag. 653. seq. The old Latin title to the pageaunt of this story in the *Chester plays* is, "DE DESCENSU "AD INFERNA, et de his que ibidem "fiebant secundum EVANGELIUM NICO-"DEMI," fol. 138. ut supr. Hence the first line in the old interlude, called HICKS-CORNER, is illustrated.

Now Jesu the gentyll that *brought Adam from hell.*

There is a Greek homily on *Saint John's Descent into Hell*, by Eusebius Alexandrinus. They had a notion that saint John was our Saviour's precursor, not only in this world, but in hades. See Allat. de libr. eccles. Græcor. p. 303. seq. Compare *the Legend of Nicodemus, Christ's descent into hell, Pilate's exile*, &c. MSS. Bodl. B. 5. 2021. 4. seq.

[f] In the manuscript register of saint Swithin's priory at Winchester, it is recorded, that Leofric, bishop of Exeter, about the year 1150, gave to the convent, a book called GESTA *Beatissimi Apostoli Petri cum Glosa*. This is probably one of these commentitious histories. By the way, the same Leofric was a great benefactor in books to his church at Exeter. Among others, he gave *Boetii Liber* ANGLICUS, and, *Magnus liber* ANGLICUS *omnino* METRICE *descriptus*. What was this translation of Boethius, I know not; unless it is Alfred's. It is still more difficult to determine, what was the other piece, the GREAT BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE, at so early a period. The grant is in Saxon, and, if not genuine, must be of high antiquity. Dugdal. MONAST. tom. i. p. 222. I have given Dugdale's Latin translation. The Saxon words are, "Boeciep boc on englipc.—And 1. mycel "englipc boc be gehpilcum þingum on "leodþiran gepopþt."

ages,

ages, was better eſteemed than the genuine goſpel, on account of its improbabilities and abſurdities.

But whatever was the ſource of theſe exhibitions, they were thought to contribute ſo much to the information and inſtruction of the people on the moſt important ſubjects of religion, that one of the popes granted a pardon of one thouſand days to every perſon who reſorted peaceably to the plays performed in the Whitſun week at Cheſter, beginning with the creation, and ending with the general judgment; and this indulgence was ſeconded by the biſhop of the dioceſe, who granted forty days of pardon: the pope at the ſame time denouncing the ſentence of damnation on all thoſe incorrigible ſinners, who preſumed to diſturb or interrupt the due celebration of theſe pious ſports[f]. It is certain that they had their uſe, not only in teaching the great truths of ſcripture to men who could not read the bible, but in aboliſhing the barbarous attachment to military games, and the bloody contentions of the tournament, which had ſo long prevailed as the ſole ſpecies of popular amuſement. Rude and even ridiculous as they were, they ſoftened the manners of the people, by diverting the public attention to ſpectacles in which the mind was concerned, and by creating a regard for other arts than thoſe of bodily ſtrength and ſavage valour.

[f] MSS. Harl. 2124. 2013.

SECT. X.

THE only writer deſerving the name of a poet in the reign of Henry the ſeventh, is Stephen Hawes. He was patroniſed by that monarch, who poſſeſſed ſome tincture of literature, and is ſaid by Bacon to have confuted a Lollard in a public diſputation at Canterbury [a].

Hawes flouriſhed about the cloſe of the fifteenth century; and was a native of Suffolk [b]. After an academical education at Oxford, he travelled much in France; and became a complete maſter of the French and Italian poetry. His polite accompliſhments quickly procured him an eſtabliſhment in the houſhold of the king; who ſtruck with the livelineſs of his converſation, and becauſe he could repeat by memory moſt of the old Engliſh poets, eſpecially Lydgate, made him groom of the privy chamber [c]. His facility in the French tongue was a qualification, which might ſtrongly recommend him to the favour of Henry the ſeventh; who was fond of ſtudying the beſt French books then in vogue [d].

Hawes has left many poems, which are now but imperfectly known, and ſcarcely remembered. Theſe are, the TEMPLE OF GLASSE. The CONVERSION OF SWERERS [e], in octave ſtanzas, with Latin lemmata, printed by de Worde in 1509 [f]. A JOYFULL MEDITATION OF ALL ENGLOND, OR

[a] LIFE of HENRY vii. p. 628. edit. ut ſupr. One Hodgkins, a fellow of King's college in Cambridge, and vicar of Ringwood in Hants, was eminently ſkilled in the mathematics; and on that account, Henry the ſeventh frequently condeſcended to viſit him at his houſe at Ringwood. Hatcher, MS. *Catal. Præpoſ. et Soc. Coll. Regal. Cant.*

[b] Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 5.

[c] Bale ſays, that he was called by the king "ab interiori camera ad privatum cubiculum." Cent. viii.

[d] Bacon, ut ſupr. p. 637.

[e] "The CONVERSYON OF SWERERS, "made and compyled by Stephen Hawes, "groome of the chamber of our ſovereigne "lord kynge Henry vii."

[f] It contains only one ſheet in quarto.

TH

THE CORONACYON TO OUR MOST NATURAL SOVEREIGN LORD KING HENRY THE EIGTH IN VERSE. By the ſame, and without date; but probably it was printed ſoon after the ceremony which it celebrates. Theſe coronation-carols were cuſtomary. There is one by Lydgate[g]. THE CONSOLATION OF LOVERS. THE EXEMPLAR OF VIRTUE. THE DELIGHT OF THE SOUL. OF THE PRINCE'S MARRIAGE. THE ALPHABET OF BIRDS. Some of the five latter pieces, none of which I have ſeen, and which perhaps were never printed, are ſaid by Wood to be written in Latin, and ſeem to be in proſe.

The beſt of Hawes's poems, hitherto enumerated, is the TEMPLE OF GLASS[h]. On a compariſon, it will be found to

[g] A BALLAD *preſented to Henry the ſixth the day of his coronation.* Princ. "Moſt "noble prince of cryſten princes all." MSS. Aſhmol. 59. ii.

[h] By miſtake, as it ſeems, I have hither quoted Hawes's TEMPLE of GLASS, under the name of Lydgate. See ſupr. vol. i. p. 410. 417. It was firſt printed by Wynken de Worde, in 1500. "*Here by-"genneth* the TEMPLE of GLASS. By "Stephen Hawes, grome of the chamber "to king Henry vii." [Ames, Hiſt. Print. pag. 86.] 8vo. in twenty-ſeven leaves. Afterwards by Berthelette, without date, or name of the author, with this colophon. "Thus endeth the temple of glaſſe. Em-"printed at London, in Fleteſtrete, in the "houſe of Thomas Berthelette, near to the "cundite, at the ſygne of the Lucrece. "Cum privilegio." I will give the beginning, with the title.

This boke called the Temple of glaſſe, is in many places amended, and late diligently imprynted.

Through conſtreynt and greuous heuyneſs,
For great thought and for highe penſyueneſſe,
To bedde I went nowe this other night,
Whan that Lucina with her pale lyght,
Was ioyned laſt with Phebus in Aquary,
Amydde Decembre, whan of January
There be kalendes of the newe yere;
And derke Dyana, horned and nothyng clere,
Hydde her beames under a myſty cloude,
Within my bedde for colde gan me ſhroude;
All deſolate for conſtraynt of my wo,
The long night walowyng to and fro,
Tyll at laſt, or I gan take kepe, &c.

This edition, unmentioned by Ames, is in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. C. 39. Art. Seld. 4to. In the ſame library are two manuſcript copies of this poem. MSS. Fairfax, xvi. membran. without a name. And MSS. Bodl. 638. In the firſt leaf of the Fairfax manuſcript is this entry. "I bought "this at Glouceſter, 8 Sept. 1650, in-"tending to exchange it for a better boke. "*Ffairfax.*" And at the end, in the ſame hand. "Here lacketh ſeven leaves "that are in Joſeph Holland's boke." This manuſcript, however, contains as much as Berthelett's edition. Lewis mentions the *Temple of Glaſs by John Lydgate*, in Caxton's ſecond edition of CHAUCER. [LIFE CH. p. 104. See alſo Middleton's DISSERT. p. 263.] But no ſuch poem ap-

be a copy of the HOUSE OF FAME of CHAUCER, in which that poet ſees in a viſion a temple of glaſs, on the walls of which were engraved ſtories from Virgil's Eneid and Ovid's Epiſtles. It alſo ſtrongly reſembles that part of Chaucer's ASSEMBLY OF FOULES, in which there is the fiction of a temple of braſs, built on pillars of jaſper, whoſe walls are painted with the ſtories of unfortunate lovers [i]. And in his ASSEMBLY of LADIES, in a chamber made of beryl and cryſtal, belonging to the ſumptuous caſtle of *Pleaſaunt Regard*, the walls are decorated with hiſtorical ſculptures of the ſame kind [k]. The ſituation of Hawes's TEMPLE on a craggy rock of ice, is evidently taken from that of Chaucer's HOUSE OF FAME. In Chaucer's DREAME, the poet is tranſported into an iſland, where *wall and yate was all of glaſſe* [l]. Theſe ſtructures of glaſs have their origin in the chemiſtry of the dark ages. This is Hawes's exordium.

Me dyd oppreſſe a ſodayne, dedely ſlepe:
Within the whichè, methought that I was
Ravyſhed in ſpyrite into a TEMPLE OF GLAS,
I ne wyſt howe ful ferre in wylderneſſe,
That founded was, all by lyckelyneſſe,
Nat upon ſtele, but on a craggy roche
Lyke yſe yfroze: and as I dyd approche,
Againe the ſonne that ſhone, methought, ſo clere
As any criſtall; and ever, nere and nere,

pears in that edition in ſaint John's college library at Oxford.

The ſtrongeſt argument which induces me to give this poem to Hawes, and not to Lydgate, is, that it was printed in Hawes's life-time, with his name, by Wynkyn de Worde. Bale alſo mentions, among Hawes's poems, *Templum Cryſtallinum* in one book. There is, however, a no leſs ſtrong argument for giving it to Lydgate, and that is from Hawes himſelf; who, reciting Lydgate's Works, in the PASTIME OF PLEASURE, ſays thus, [ch. xiv. edit. 1555. Signat. G. iiii. ut infr.]

——— And the tyme to paſſe
Of love he made the bryght *temple of glaſſe*.

And I muſt add, that this piece is expreſsly recited in the large catalogue of Lydgate's works, belonging to W. Thinne, in Speght's edition of Chaucer, printed 1602. fol. 376. Yet on the whole, I think this point ſtill doubtful: and I leave it to be determined by the reader, before whom the evidence on both ſides is laid at large.

[i] V. 290.
[k] V. 451.
[l] V. 72.

As

As I gan nyghe this grisely dredefull place,
I wext astonyed, the lyght so in my face
Began to smyte, so persyng ever in one,
On every partè where that I dyde gon,
That I ne mightè nothing as I wolde
Aboutè me consydre, and beholde,
The wondre esters [m], for brightnesse of the sonne:
Tyll at the lastè, certayne skyes donne [n]
With wynde [o] ychased, han their course ywent,
Before the stremes of Titan and iblent [p],
So that I myght within and without,
Where so I wolde, behelden me about,
For to report the facyon and manere
Of all this placè, that was circuler,
In cumpace-wyse rounde by yntale ywrought:
And whan I had longe goòn, and well sought,
I founde a wicket, and entred yn as faste
Into the temple, and myne eyen caste
On every side, &c [q].

The walls of this wonderful temple were richly pictured with the following historical portraitures; from Virgil, Ovid, king Arthur's romance, and Chaucer.

I sawe depeynted upon a wall [r],
From est to west ful many a fayre ymage,
Of sondry lovers, lyke as they were of age
I set in ordre after they were true;
With lyfely colours, wonders fresshe of hewe,
And as methought I saw som syt and som stande,
And some knelyng, with bylles [s] in theyr hande,

[m] The wonderful chambers of this temple.
[n] *Dun.* Dark.
[o] i. e. Collected.
[p] *Blinded*, darkened the sun.
[q] This text is given from Berthelett's edition, collated with MSS. Fairfax. xvi.
[r] From Pr. Cop. and MSS. Fairf. xvi. as before.
[s] Bills of complaint.

And

An ſome with complaynt woful and pitious,
With dolefull chere, to put to Venus,
So as ſhe ſate fletynge in the ſee,
Upon theyr wo for to have pite.
And fyrſt of all I ſawe there of Cartage
Dido the quene, ſo goodly of viſage,
That gan complayne her auenture and caas,
Howe ſhe diſceyued was of Aeneas,
For all his heſtes and his othes ſworne,
And ſayd helas that ſhe was borne,
Whan ſhe ſawe that dede ſhe muſt be.
And next her I ſawe the complaynt of Medee,
Howe that ſhe was falſed of Jaſon.
And nygh by Venus ſawe I ſyt Addon,
And all the maner howe the bore hym ſloughe,
For whom ſhe wepte and had pite inoughe.
There ſawe I alſo howe Penelope,
For ſhe ſo long ne myght her lorde ſe,
Was of colour both pale and grene.
And alder next was the freſhe quene;
I mean Alceſt, the noble true wife,
And for Admete howe ſhe loſt her lyfe;
And for her trouthe, if I ſhall nat lye,
Howe ſhe was turned into a dayſye.
There was alſo Griſildis innocence,
And all hir mekeneſſe and hir pacience.
There was eke Yſaude, and many other mo,
And all the tourment and all the cruell wo
That ſhe had for Triſtram all her lyue;
And howe that Tyſbe her hert dyd ryue
With thylke ſwerde of ſyr Pyramus.
And all maner, howe that Theſeus
The minotaure ſlewe, amyd the hous
That was forwrynked by craft of Dedalus,
Whan that he was in priſon ſhyt in Crete, &c.

And

And uppermore men depeinten might ſee,
Howe with her ring goodlie Canace
Of every foule the leden [s] and the ſong
Could underſtand, as ſhe hem walkt among:
And how her brother ſo often holpen was
In his miſchefe by the ſtede of braſs [t].

We muſt acknowledge, that all the pictureſque invention which appears in this compoſition, entirely belongs to Chaucer. Yet there was ſome merit in daring to depart from the dull taſte of the times, and in chuſing Chaucer for a model, after his ſublime fancies had been ſo long forgotten, and had given place for almoſt a century, to legends, homilies, and chronicles in verſe. In the mean time, there is reaſon to believe, that Chaucer himſelf copied theſe imageries from the romance of GUIGEMAR, one of the metrical TALES, or LAIS, of Bretagne [u], tranſlated from the Armorican original into French, by Marie, a French poeteſs, about the thirteenth century: in which the walls of a chamber are painted with Venus, and the *Art of love* from Ovid [v]. Although, perhaps, Chaucer might not look further than the temples in Boccacio's THESEID for theſe ornaments. At the ſame time it is to be remembered, that the imagination of theſe old poets muſt have been aſſiſted in this reſpect, from the mode which antiently prevailed, of entirely covering the walls of the more magnificent apartments, in caſtles and palaces, with ſtories from ſcripture, hiſtory, the claſſics, and romance. I have already given inſtances of this practice, and I will

[s] Language.
[t] See Chaucer's SQUIER'S TALE.
[u] Fol. 141. MSS. Harl. 978. See ſupr. DISSERTAT. i.
[v] A paſſage in Ovid's REMEDIUM AMORIS concerning Achilles's ſpear, is ſuppoſed to be alluded to by a troubadour, Bernard Ventadour, who lived about the year 1150. HIST. TROUBAD. p. 27. This Monſ. Millot calls, "Un trait d'erudition ſingulier dans un troubadour." It is not, however, impoſſible, that he might get this fiction from ſome of the early romances about Troy.

here

here add more[v]. In the year 1277, Otho, duke of Milan, having restored the peace of that city by a signal victory, built a noble castle, in which he ordered every particular circumstance of that victory to be painted. Paulus Jovius relates, that these paintings remained, in the great vaulted chamber of the castle, fresh and unimpaired, so late as the year 1547. "Extantque adhuc in *maximo testudinatoque con-* "*clavi*, incorruptæ præliorum cum *veris ducum vultibus* ima- "gines, *Latinis elegis* singula rerum elogia indicantibus[x]." That the castles and palaces of England were thus ornamented at a very early period, and in the most splendid style, appears from the following notices. Langton, bishop of Litchfield, commanded the coronation, marriages, wars, and funeral, of his patron king Edward the first, to be painted in the great hall of his episcopal palace, which he had newly built[y]. This must have been about the year 1312. The following anecdote relating to the old royal palace at Westminster, never yet was published. In the year 1322, one Symeon, a friar minor, and a doctor in theology, wrote an ITINERARY, in which is this curious passage. He is speaking of Westminster Abbey. "Eidem monasterio quasi "immediate conjungitur illud famosissimum palatium re- "gium Anglorum, in quo illa VULGATA CAMERA, in cujus "*parietibus* sunt omnes HISTORIÆ BELLICÆ TOTIUS BIBLIÆ "ineffabiliter *depictæ*, atque in Gallico completissime et per- "fectissime constanter conscriptæ, in non modica intuen- "tium admiratione, et maxima regali magnificentia[z]." —

[v] See supr. vol. i. p. 303. To the passages adduced from Chaucer these may be added, CHAUCER'S DREME, v. 1320.

——— In a chamber *paint*
Full of *stories old* and *divers*.

Again, ibid. v. 2167.

For there n' as no lady ne creture,
Save on the wals *old portraiture*
Of horsemen, hawkis, and houndes, &c.

Compare Dante's PURGATORIO, c. x. pag. 105. seq. edit. Ald.

[x] Vit. Vicecomit. Mediolan. OTHO. p. 56. edit. Paris, 1549. 4to.

[y] Erdswicke's Staffordshire, p. 101.

[z] "Itinerarium *Symeonis et fratris Hugonis Illuminatoris ex Hibernia in terram sanctam*, A. D. MCCCXXII." MSS. C. C. C. Cantabr. G. 6. Princip. "Culmine "honoris spreto." It comprehends a journey through England, and describes many curiosities now lost. See supr. vol. i. p. 114.

"Near

" Near this monaſtery ſtands the moſt famous royal palace " of England; in which is that celebrated chamber, on " whoſe walls all the warlike hiſtories of the whole Bible " are painted with inexpreſſible ſkill, and explained by a " regular and complete ſeries of texts, beautifully written " in French over each battle, to the no ſmall admiration of " the beholder, and the increaſe of royal magnificence [a]." This ornament of a royal palace, while it conveys a curious hiſtory of the arts, admirably exemplifies the chivalry and the devotion of the times, united. That part of the Old Teſtament, indeed, which records the Jewiſh wars, was almoſt regarded as a book of chivalry: and their chief heroes, Joſhua and David, the latter of whom killed a giant, are often recited among the champions of romance. In France, the battles of the kings of Iſrael with the Philiſtines and Aſſyrians, were wrought into a grand volume, under the title of " *Pluſieurs Batailles des roys d'Iſrael en contre les* " *Philiſtines et Aſſyriens* [b]."

[a] This palace was conſumed by fire in 1299, but immediately rebuilt, I ſuppoſe, by Edward the firſt. Stowe's LONDON, p. 379. 387. edit. 1599. So that theſe paintings muſt have been done between the years 1299, and 1322. It was again deſtroyed by fire in 1512, and never afterwards re-edified. Stowe, ibid. p. 389. About the year 1500, the walls of the Virgin Mary's chapel, built by prior Silkeſtede, in the cathedral of Wincheſter, were elegantly painted with the miracles, and other ſtories, of the New Teſtament, in ſmall figures; many delicate traces of which now remain.

Falcandus, the old hiſtorian of Sicily, who wrote about the year 1200, ſays, that the chapel in the royal palace at Palermo, had its walls decorated " de lapillulis quadris, partim aureis, partim diverſicoloribus veteris ac novi Teſtamenti depictam " hiſtoriam continentibus." Sicil. Hiſtor. p. 10. edit. Paris. 1550. 4to. But this was moſaic work, which, chiefly by means of the Cruſades, was communicated to all parts of Europe from the Byzantine Greeks; and with which all the churches, and other public edifices at Conſtantinople, were adorned. EPIST. de COMPARAT. Vet. et Nov. Romæ. p. 122. Man. Chryſolor. See ſupr. vol. i. p. 354. Leo Oſtienſis ſays, that one of the abbots of Caſſino in Italy, in the eleventh century, ſent meſſengers to Conſtantinople, to bring over artificers in MOSAIC, to ornament the church of the monaſtery, after Rome or Italy had loſt that art for five hundred years. He calls Rome *magiſtra Latinitatis*. Chron. Caſſin. lib. iii. c. 27. Compare Muratori, ANTICH. ITALIAN. Tom. i. Diſſ. xxiv. p. 279. Nap. 1752. 4to.

[b] MSS. Reg. [Brit. Muſ.] 19 D. 7. fol. Among the Harleian manuſcripts, there is an Arabic book, containing the Pſalms of David, with an additional pſalm, on the ſlaughter of the giant Goliah. MSS. Harl. 5476. See above.

With regard to the form of Hawes's poem, I am of opinion, that VISIONS, which are so common in the poetry of the middle ages, partly took their rise from Tully's SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS. Had this composition descended to posterity among Tully's six books de REPUBLICA, to the last of which it originally belonged, perhaps it would have been overlooked and neglected [c]. But being preserved, and illustrated with a prolix commentary, by Macrobius, it quickly attracted the attention of readers, who were fond of the marvellous, and with whom Macrobius was a more admired classic than Tully. It was printed, subjoined to Tully's OFFICES, in the infancy of the typographic art [d]. It was translated into Greek by Maximus Planudes [e]; and is frequently quoted by Chaucer [f]. Particularly in the ASSEMBLY OF FOULES, he supposes himself to fall asleep after reading the SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS, and that Scipio shewed him the beautiful vision which is the subject of that poem [g]. Nor is it improbable, that, not only the form, but the first

[c] But they were extant about the year 1000, for they are cited by Gerbert. Epist. 83. And by Peter of Poitou, who died in 1197. See Barth. Adverf. xxxii. 5. 58. Leland says, that Tully de REPUBLICA was consumed by fire, among other books, in the library of William Selling, a learned abbot of saint Austin's at Canterbury, who died in 1494. SCRIPT. CELLINGUS.

[d] Venet. 1472. fol. Apud. Vindel. Spiram.

[e] Lambeccius mentions a Greek manuscript of Julian, a cardinal of S. Angelo, Ὁ ὄνειρος τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. 5. p. 153. The DISPUTATIO of Favonius Elegius, a Carthaginian rhetorician, and a disciple of saint Austin, on the SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS, was printed by G. Schottus, Antw. 1613. 4to.

[f] ROM. ROSE. lib. i. v. 7. [&c.]

An author that hight MACROBE,
That halte not dremis false ne lese;
But undoth us the AVISION
That whilom met KING CIPIOUN.

NONNES PR. TALE, v. 1238. Urr.

MACROBIUS that writith th' AVISION
In Affricke, of the worthy SCIPION.

DREME CH. v. 284. He mentions this as the most wonderful of dreams. HOUSE F. v. 407. lib. i. He describes a prospect more extensive and various than that which Scipio saw in his dream.

That sawe in dreme, at point devise,
Heven, and erth, hell, and paradise.

And in other places.

[g] He makes Scipio say to him, v. 110.

———Thou hast the so wel borne
In looking of mine olde book al to torne,
Of which MACROBIE raught not a lite, &c.

idea

idea of Dante's INFERNO, was suggested by this favourite apologue; which, in Chaucer's words, treats

——— ——— Of heaven, and hell,
And yearth, and souls, that therein dwell [h].

Not to insist on Dante's subject, he uses the shade of Virgil for a mystagogue; as Tully supposes Scipio to have shewn the other world to his ancestor Africanus.

But Hawes's capital performance is a poem entitled, "THE PASSETYME OF PLEASURE, or the HISTORIE OF "GRAUNDE AMOURE and LA BAL PUCEL: contayning the "knowledge of the seven sciences, and the course of man's "lyfe in this worlde. Invented by Stephen Hawes, groome "of kyng Henry the seventh hys chambre [i]." It is dedicated to the king, and was finished at the beginning of the year 1506.

If the poems of Rowlie are not genuine, the PASTIME OF PLEASURE is almost the only effort of imagination and invention which had yet appeared in our poetry since Chaucer. This poem contains no common touches of romantic and allegoric fiction. The personifications are often happily sustained, and indicate the writer's familiarity with the Provencial school. The model of his versification and phraseology is that improved harmony of numbers, and facility of diction, with which his predecessor Lydgate adorned our octave stanza. But Hawes has added new graces to Lydgate's manner. Antony Wood, with the zeal of a true antiquary, laments, that "such is the fate of poetry, that this book, "which in the time of Henry the seventh and eighth was

[h] Ibid. v. 32.

[i] By Wynkyn de Worde, in 1517. 4to. with wooden cuts. A second edition followed in 1554. By John Wayland, in 4to. A third, in 4to. by John Waley, in 1555. See a poem called a *Dialogue between a Lover and a Jay*, by one Thomas Feylde, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 4to. Princ. Prol. "Thoughe laureate poetes in "old antiquite." This obscure rhymer is here only mentioned, as he has an allusion to his cotemporary Hawes.

" taken into the hands of all ingenious men, is now " thought but worthy of a ballad-monger's ſtall!" The truth is, ſuch is the good fortune of poetry, and ſuch the improvement of taſte, that much better books are become faſhionable. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that this poem has been unjuſtly neglected: and on that account, an apology will be leſs neceſſary for giving the reader a circumſtantial analyſis of its ſubſtance and deſign.

GRAUNDE AMOURE, the hero of the poem, and who ſpeaks in his own perſon [k], is repreſented walking in a delicious meadow. Here he diſcovers a path which conducts him to a glorious image, both whoſe hands are ſtretched out and pointing to two highways; one of which is the path of CONTEMPLATION, the other of ACTIVE LIFE, leading to the Tower of Beauty. He chuſes the laſt-mentioned path, yet is often tempted to turn aſide into a variety of bye-paths, which ſeemed more pleaſant: but proceeding directly forward, he ſees afar off another image, on whoſe breaſt is written, " This is the road to the Tower of DOCTRINE, he " that would arrive there muſt avoid ſloth, &c." The even-

[k] There is ſomething dramatic in this circumſtance. Raimond Vidal de Beſaudin, a troubadour of Provence, who flouriſhed about the year 1200, has given the following dramatic form to one of his *contes* or tales. One day, ſays the troubadour, Alphonſus, king of Caſtille, whoſe court was famous for good cheer, magnificence, loyalty, valour, the practice of arms and the management of horſes, held a ſolemn aſſembly of minſtrels and knights. When the hall was quite full, came his queen Eleanor, covered with a veil, and diſguiſed in a cloſe robe bordered with ſilver, adorned with the blaſon of a golden lion; who making obeyſance, ſeated herſelf at ſome diſtance from the king. At this inſtant, a minſtrel advancing to the king, addreſſed him thus. " O king, emperour " of valour, I come to ſupplicate you to " give me audience." The king, under pain of diſgrace, ordered that no perſon ſhould interrupt the minſtrel in what he ſhould ſay. The minſtrel had travelled from his own country to recite an adventure which had happened to a baron of Arragon, not unknown to king Alphonſus: and he now proceeds to tell no unaffecting ſtory concerning a jealous huſband. At the cloſe, the minſtrel humbly requeſts the king and queen, to baniſh all jealous huſbands from their dominions. The king replied, " MINSTREL, your tale is pleaſant and gentle, " and you ſhall be rewarded. But to ſhew " you ſtill further how much you have " entertained me, I command that henceforth your tale ſhall be called Le JALOUX CHATIE." Our troubadour's tale is greatly enlivened by theſe accompaniments, and by being thrown into the mouth of a minſtrel.

ing

ing being far advanced, he ſits down at the feet of the image, and falls into a profound ſleep; when, towards the morning, he is ſuddenly awakened by the loud blaſt of a horn. He looks forward through a valley, and perceives a beautiful lady on a palfrey, ſwift as the wind, riding towards him, encircled with tongues of fire [l]. Her name was FAME, and with her ran two milk-white greyhounds, on whoſe golden collars were inſcribed in diamond letters *Grace* and *Governaunce* [m]. Her palfrey is Pegaſus; and the burning tongues denote her office of conſigning the names of

[l] In Shakeſpeare, RUMOUR is painted *full of tongues*. This was from the PAGEANTS.

[m] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 363. Greyhounds were antiently almoſt as great favourites as hawks. Our foreſathers reduced hunting to a ſcience; and have left large treatiſes on this ſpecies of diverſion, which was ſo connected with their ſtate of life and manners. The moſt curious one I know, is, or was lately, among the manuſcripts of Mr. Farmor, of Tuſmore in Oxfordſhire. It is entitled, "LE ART DE VENERIE, le quel "maiſtre Guillame Twici venour le roy "d'Angleterre fiſt en ſon temps per apran-"dre autres." This *maſter William Twici* was grand huntſman to Edward the ſecond. In the Cotton library, this book occurs in Engliſh under the names of William Twety and John Giffard, moſt probably a tranſlation from the French copy, with the title of *a book of Venerie dialogue wiſe*. Princ. "TWETY now will we beginnen." MSS. Cotton. VESPAS. B. xii. The leſs antient tract on this ſubject, called the *Maiſtre of the Game*, written for the inſtruction of prince Henry, afterwards Henry the fifth, is much more common. MSS. Digb. 182. Bibl. Bodl. I believe the *maiſtre venour* has been long aboliſhed in England: but the *royal falconer* ſtill remains. The latter was an officer of high dignity in the Grecian court of Conſtantinople, at an early period, under the ſtyle of πρωτοιερακαρι. Pachym. lib. i. c. 8. x. 15. Codin. cap. ii. Phrenzes ſays, that the emperor Andronicus Palæologus the younger kept more than one thouſand and four hundred hawks, with almoſt as many men to take care of them. lib. i. c. 10.

About the year 750, Winifrid, or Boniface, a native of England, and archbiſhop of Mons, acquaints Ethelbald, a king of Kent, that he has ſent him, one hawk, two falcons, and two ſhields. And Hedilbert, a king of the Mercians, requeſts the ſame archbiſhop Winifrid, to ſend him two falcons which have been trained to kill cranes. See EPISTOL. Winifrid. [Bonifac.] Mogunt. 1605. 1629. And in Bibl. Patr. tom. vi. and tom. xiii. p. 70. *Falconry*, or a right to ſport with falcons, is mentioned ſo early as the year 986. Chart. Ottonis iii. Imperator. ann. 986. apud Ughell. de Epiſcop. Januenſ. A charter of Kenulf, king of the Mercians, granted to the abbey of Abingdon, and dated 821, prohibits all perſons carrying hawks or falcons, to treſpaſs on the lands of the monks. Dugd. Monaſt. i. p. 100. Julius Firmicus, who wrote about the year 355, is the firſt Latin author who mentions hawking, or has even uſed the word. FALCO. Matheſ. lib. v. c. 7. vii. c. 4. Hawking is often mentioned in the capitularies of the eighth and ninth centuries. The *grand fauconnier* of France was an officer of great eminence. His ſalary was four thouſand florins; he was attended by a retinue of fifty gentlemen and fifty aſſiſtant falconers, and allowed to keep three hundred hawks. He licenſed every vender of falcons in France; and received a tribute for every bird that was ſold in that kingdom,

illustrious personages to posterity; among which she mentions a lady of matchless accomplishments, named LA BELL PUCELL, who lives within a tower seated in a delightful island; but which no person can enter, without surmounting many dangers. She then informs our hero, that before he engages in this enterprise, he must go to the Tower of DOCTRINE, in which he will see the Seven Sciences [n]; and that there, in the turret, or chamber, of Music, he will have the first sight of La Bell Pucell. FAME departs, but leaves with him her two greyhounds. Graunde Amoure now arrives at the Tower, or rather castle, of DOCTRINE,

kingdom, even within the verge of the court. The king of France never rode out, on any occasion, without this officer. [See supr. vol. i. p. 166.]

An ingenious French writer insinuates, that the passion for hunting, which at this day subsists as a favourite and fashionable species of diversion in the most civilised countries of Europe, is a strong indication of our gothic origin, and is one of the savage habits, yet unreformed, of our northern ancestors. Perhaps there is too much refinement in this remark. The pleasures of the chace seem to have been implanted by nature; and, under due regulation, if pursued as a matter of mere relaxation and not of employment, are by no means incompatible with the modes of polished life.

[n] The author of the TRESOR, a troubadour, gives the following account of his own system of erudition, which may not be inapplicable here. He means to shew himself a profound and universal scholar; and professes to understand the seven liberal arts, grammar, the Latin language, logic, the Decretals of Gratian, music according to Boethius and Guy Aretin, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, the ecclesiastic computation, medicine, pharmacy, surgery, necromancy, geomancy, magic, divination, and mythology, *better than Ovi and Thales le Menteur:* the histories of Thebes, Troy, Rome, Romulus, Cesar, Pompey, Augustus, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, who took Jerusalem, the *Twelve Cesars down to Constantine*; the history of Greece, and that of Alexander, who dying distributed his acquisitions among his *twelve peers*; the history of France, containing the transactions of Clovis, converted by saint Remi; Charles Martel, who *established tenths*; king Pepin, Charlemagne and Roland, and the *good* king Louis. To these he adds, the HISTORY of ENGLAND, which comprehends the arrival of Brutus in England, and his conquest of the giant Corineus, the prophesies of Merlin, the redoubted death of Arthur, the adventures of Gawaine, and the amours of Tristram and Bel Isould. Amidst this profusion of fabulous history, which our author seems to think real, the history of the Bible is introduced; which he traces from the patriarchs down to the day of judgment. At the close of the whole, he gives us some more of his fashionable accomplishments; and says, that he is skilled in the plain chant, in singing to the lute, in making canzonetts, pastorals, amorous and pleasant poesies, and in dancing: that he is beloved by ecclesiastics, knights, ladies, citizens, minstrels, squires, &c. The author of this TREASURE, or cyclopede of science, mentioned above, is Pierre de Corbian, who lived about the year 1200. Crescimbeni says, that this TRESOR furnished materials of a similar compilation in Italian verse to Bennet, Dante's master; and of another in French prose. But see Jul. Niger, Script. Flor. p. 112.

framed

framed of fine copper, and ſituated on a craggy rock: it ſhone ſo bright, that he could diſtinctly diſcern the form of the building; till at length, the ſky being covered with clouds, he more viſibly perceives its walls decorated with figures of beaſts in gold, and its lofty turrets crowned with golden images[o]. He is admitted by COUNTENANCE the portreſs, who leads him into a court, where he drinks water of a moſt tranſcendent fragrance, from a magnificent fountain, whence flow four rivers, clearer than Nilus, Ganges, Tigris, or Euphrates[p]. He next enters the hall framed of jaſper, its windows chryſtal, and its roof overſpread with a golden vine, whoſe grapes are repreſented by rubies[q]: the floor is paved with beryl, and the walls hung with rich tapeſtry, on which our hero's future expedition to the Tower of La Bell Pucell was glorioſuſly wrought[r]. The

[o] He ſays, that the *little turrets* had, for weathercocks or fans, images of gold, which, moving with the wind, played a tune. So Chaucer, CH. DREAME, v. 75.

For everie yate [tower] of fine gold
A thouſand fanis, aie turning,
Entunid had, and briddes ſinging
Divers, and on eche fane a paire,
With opin mouth againe the aire:
And of a ſute were all the toures:—
And many a *ſmall turret hie.*

Again, in the caſtle of PLEASAUNT REGARD, the fans on the high towers are mentioned as a circumſtance of pleaſure and beauty. ASSEMBL. LAD. v. 160.

The towris hie full pleaſant ſhall ye finde,
With *phanis freſhe, turning with everie winde.*

And our author again, ch. xxxviii.

Aloft the towres the golden fanes goode
Dyde with the wynde make full ſweete armony
Them for to heare it was great melody.

Our author here paints from the life. An exceſſive agglomeration of turrets, with their fans, is one of the characteriſtic marks of the florid mode of architecture, which was now almoſt at its heighth. See views of the palaces of Noneſuch and Richmond.

[p] The Cruſades made the eaſtern rivers more famous among the Europeans than any of their own. Arnaud Daniel, a troubadour of the thirteenth century, declares, he had rather pleaſe his miſtreſs than poſſeſs all the dominions which are waſhed by Hebrus, Meander, and Tigris. Hiſt. Troub. ii. p. 485. The compliment would have been equally exaggerated, if he had alluded to ſome of the rivers of his own country.

[q] From ſir John Maundeville's TRAVELS. "In the hall, is a vine made of "*gold*, that goeth all aboute the hall: "and it hath many branches of grapes, "ſome are white, &c. All the *red* are of "*rubies*, &c." ch. lxvii. Paulus Silentiarius, in his deſcription of the church of S. Sophia at Conſtantinople, mentions ſuch an ornament. ii. 235.

Κλημασι χρυσοκομοις περιδρομον αμπελον ιρπει, &c.
Palmitibus auricomis circumcurrens vitis ſerpit.

[r] In the eleventh book of Boccacio's THESEID, after Arcite is dead, Palamon builds a ſuperb temple in honour of him, in

marſhall of this caſtle is REASON, the ſewer OBSERVANCE, the cook TEMPERANCE, the high-ſteward LIBERALITY, &c. He then explains to DOCTRINE his name and intended adventure; and ſhe entertains him at a ſolemn feaſt. He viſits her ſeven daughters, who reſide in the caſtle. Firſt he is conducted to GRAMMAR, who delivers a learned harangue on the utility of her ſcience: next to LOGIC, who diſmiſſes him with a grave exhortation: then to RHETORIC, who crowned with laurel, and ſeated in a ſtately chamber, ſtrewed with flowers, and adorned with the clear mirrours of ſpeculation, explains her five parts in a laboured oration. Graunde Amoure reſolves to purſue their leſſons with vigour; and animates himſelf, in this difficult taſk, with the examples of Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate [t], who are panegy-

in which his whole hiſtory is painted. The deſcription of this painting is a recapitulatory abridgement of the preceding part of the poem. Hawes's tapeſtry is leſs judiciouſly placed in the beginning of the piece, becauſe it precludes expectation by foreſtalling all the future incidents.

[t] He recites ſome of the pieces of the two latter. Chaucer, he ſays, wrote the BOOK OF FAME *on hys own invencion*. The TRAGEDIES of the xix ladies, *a tranſlacyon*. The CANTERBURY TALES, *upon hys ymaginacyon*, ſome of which are *vertuous*, others *glad* and *merry*. The *pytous dclour* of TROYLUS AND CRESSIDA, and *many other bokes*.

Among Lydgate's works, he recites the LIFE OF OUR LADY. SAINT EDMUND'S LIFE. The FALL OF PRINCES. The THREE REASONS. The CHORLE AND THE BIRD. The TROYBOOK. VIRTUE AND VICE, [MSS. Harl. 2251. 63. fol. 95.] The TEMPLE OF GLASS. The BOOK OF GODS AND GODDESSES. This laſt, I ſuppoſe, is The BANKET OF GODS AND GODDESSES.

The poem of the CHORLE AND THE BIRD our author calls a *pamflete*. Lydgate himſelf ſays, that he tranſlated this tale from a *pamflete in Frenſche*, ſt 5. It was firſt printed by Caxton in his CHAUCER. Afterwards by Wynkyn de Worde, before 1500, in quarto. And, I think, by Copland. Aſhmole has printed it under the title of HERMES'S BIRD, and ſuppoſes it to have been written originally by Raymund Lully; or at leaſt made Engliſh by Cremer, abbot of Weſtminſter, Lully's ſcholar. THEATR. CHEM. p. 213. 467 465. Lydgate, in the laſt ſtanza, again ſpeaks of this piece as a "*tranſlacyon ewte* "*of the Frenſhe*." But the fable on which it is founded, is told by Petrus Alphonſus, a writer of the twelfth century, in his tract *de Clericali Diſciplina*, never printed. See ſupr. p. 137.

Our author, in his recital of Chaucer's pieces, calls the LEGENDE OF GOOD WOMEN *tragidyes*. Antiently a ſerious narrative in verſe was called a *tragedy*. And it is obſervable, that he mentions *xix ladyes* belonging to this legend. Only *nine* appear at preſent. *Nineteen* was the number intended, as we may collect from Lydgate's FALL PR. Prol. and ibid. l. i. c. 6. Compare MAN of L. T. Prol. v. 60. Urr. Where eight more ladies than are in the preſent *legende* are mentioned. This piece is called the *legendis of ix good women*, MSS. Fairf. xvi. Chaucer himſelf ſays, "I ſawe "cominge of ladyes *Nineteen* in royall ha-"bit." v. 383. Urr. Compare Parſ. T. Urr. p. 214. col. 1.

riſed

rised with great propriety. He is afterwards admitted to ARITHMETIC, who wears a GOLDEN *wede*[t]: and, last of all, is led to the Tower of MUSIC[u], which was composed of crystal, in eager expectation of obtaining a view of La Bell Pucell, according to FAME's prediction. MUSIC was playing on an organ, before a solemn assembly; in the midst of which, at length he discovers La Bell Pucell, is instantly captivated with her beauty, and almost as soon tells her his name, and discloses his passion[w]. She is more beautiful than Helen, Proserpine, Cressida, queen Hyppolita, Medea, Dido, Polyxena, Alcmena, Menalippa, or even *fair Rosamund.* The solemnity being finished, MUSIC and La Bell Pucell go forth into a stately temple, whither they are followed by our hero. Here MUSIC seats herself amidst a concert of all kinds of instruments[x]. She explains the principles of harmony. A

[t] The walls of her chamber are painted in gold with the three fundamental rules of arithmetic.

[u] In the TRESOR of Pierre de Corbian, cited at large above, Music, according to Boethius and Guy Aretin, is one of the seven liberal sciences. At Oxford, the graduates in music, which still remains there as an academical science, are at this day required to shew their proficiency in Boethius DE MUSICA. In a pageant, at the coronation of king Edward the sixth, MUSIC personified appears among the seven sciences. Leland. Coll. APPEND. iii. 317. edit. 1770.

[w] In the description of her person, which is very elegant, and consists of three stanzas, there is this circumstance, "She gartered "wel her hose." ch. xxx. Chaucer has this circumstance in describing the *Wife of Bath.* Prol. v. 458.

Hire hosen weren of fine scarlet rede
Ful *straite yteyed.*———

[x] That is, tabours, trumpets, pipes, sackbuts, organs, recorders, harps, lutes, *croudds, tymphans,* [l. symphans] dulcimers, *claricimbales,* rebeckes, *clarychordes.* ch. xvi. At the marriage of James of Scotland with the princess Margaret, in the year 1503, "the king began before hyr to play "of the *clarychordes* and after of the *lute.* "And uppon the said *clarychorde* sir Ed-"ward Stanley played a ballade and sange "therewith." Again, the king and queen being together, "after she played upon the "*clarychorde* and after of the *lute,* he be-"inge uppon his knee allwaies bare-"headed." Leland. Coll. APPEND. iii. p. 284. 285. edit. 1770. In Lydgate's poem, entitled RESON AND SENSUALLITE, *compyled by John Lydgate,* various instruments and sorts of music are recited. MSS. Fairfax. xvi. Bibl. Bodl. [Pr. "To "all folkys virtuous."] "*Here reherſyth* "*the auctor* the MYNSTRALCYS *that were* "*in the gardyn.*"

Of al maner mynstralcye
That any man kan specifye:
Ffor there were rotys of Almayne,
And eke of Arragon and Spayne:
Songes, stampes, and eke daunces,
Divers plente of plesaunces;
And many unkouth notys newe
Of swiche folke as lovid trewe;
And instrumentys that dyd excelle,
Many moo than I kan telle:

Harpys,

dance is plaid [y], and Graunde Amoure dances with La Bell Pucell. He retires, deeply in love. He is met by COUNSELL, who consoles and conducts him to his repose in a stately chamber of the castle. In the morning, COUNSELL and our hero both together visit La Bell Pucell. At the gate of the garden of the castle they are informed by the portress CURTESY, that the lady was sitting alone in an arbour, weaving a garland of various flowers. The garden is described as very delicious, and they find the lady in the arbour near a stately fountain, *among the floures of aromatyke fume*. After a long dialogue, in which for some time she seems to reject his suit, at last she resigns her heart; but withal acquaints her lover, that he has many monsters to encounter, and many dangers to conquer, before he can obtain her. He replies, that he is well acquainted with these difficulties; and declares, that, after having received instructions from ASTRONOMY, he will go to the Tower of CHIVALRY, in order to be more completely qualified to succeed in this hazardous enterprise. They take leave with tears; and the lady is received into a ship, which is to carry her into the island where her Tower stood. COUNSELL consoles Amoure [z], and leaves him to attend other desponding

Harpys, fythales, and eke rotys,
Well according with her notys,
Lutys, ribibles, and geternes,
More for estatys than tavernes;
Orguys, cytolis, monacordys.——
There were trumpes, and trumpettes,
Lowde shallys, and doucettes.

Here *geterne*, is a *guittar*, which, with *cytolis*, has its origin in *cithara*. *Fythales* is *fiddles*. *Shallys*, I believe, should be *shalmies*, or *shawms*. *Orguys* is *organs*. See supr. vol. i. p. 429. and 61. By *estatys* he means *states*, or solemn assemblies.

[y] Music commands her *mynstrelles* to play the dance, which was called *Mamours the swete*. So at the royal marriage just mentioned, "The *mynstrelles* begonne to play "a basse dance, &c. After this done, "*they* plaid a rownde, the which was "daunced by the lorde Grey ledyinge the "said queene.—After the dinner incon-"tynent *the mynstrelles of the chammer* "[chamber] began to play and then "daunced the quene, &c." Leland, APPEND. ubi supr. p. 284. seq.

[z] COUNSELL mentions the examples of Troilus and Cressida, and of Ponthus and Sidonia. Of the latter faithful pair, there is an old French romance, "Le Roman "du noble roy Pontus fils du roy de Gal-"lice et de la belle Sidoine fille du roy de "Bretagne." Without date, in bl. letter. 4to. It is in the royal library at Paris, MS. fol. See Lengl. Bibl. Rom. ii. 250. And among the king's manuscripts in the British museum there is, "Le Livre du roy Pon-"thus."

lovers. Our hero bids adieu in pathetic terms to the Tower of MUSIC, where he first saw Pucell. Next he proceeds to the Tower of GEOMETRY, which is wonderfully built and adorned. From thence he seeks ASTRONOMY, who resides in a gorgeous pavilion pitched in a fragrant and flowery meadow: she delivers a prolix lecture on the several operations of the mind, and parts of the body[a]. He then, accompanied with his greyhounds, enters an extensive plain overspread with flowers; and looking forward, sees a flaming star over a tower. Going forward, he perceives that this tower stands on a rough precipice of steel, decorated with beasts of various figures. As he advances towards it, he comes to a mighty fortress, at the gate of which were hanging a shield and helmet, with a marvellous horn. He blows the horn with a blast that shook the tower, when a knight appears; who, asking his business, is answered, that his name is Graunde Amoure, and that he was just arrived from the tower of DOCTRINE. He is welcomed by the knight, and admitted. This is the castle of CHIVALRY. The next morning he is conducted by the porter STEDFASTNESS into the base court, where stood a tower of prodigious height, made of jasper: on its summit were four images of armed knights on horses of steel, which, on moving a secret spring, could represent a turney. Near this tower was an antient temple of Mars: within it was his statue, or picture, of gold, with the figure of FORTUNE on her wheel; and the walls were painted with the siege of Troy[b]. He

"thus." 15 E. vi. 6. I think there are some elegant miniatures in this manuscript. Our author calls him "the famous knyght "yclypped Ponthus, whych loved Sy-"donye." ch. xvi. KING PONTHUS is among the copies of James Roberts, a printer in the reign of queen Elisabeth, Ames, p. 342. I believe it was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde, "The hystory of "Ponthus and Galyce, and of lytel Bry-"tayne." With wooden cuts. 1511. 4to.

[a] In a wooden cut Ptolomy the astronomer is here introduced, with a quadrant: and Plato, the *conynge and famous clerke*, is cited.

[b] This was a common subject of tapestry, as I have before observed: but as it was the most favourite martial subject of the dark ages, is here introduced with peculiar propriety. Chaucer, from the general popularity

ſupplicates Mars, that he may be enabled to ſubdue the monſters which obſtruct his paſſage to the Tower of Pucell. Mars promiſes him aſſiſtance; but adviſes him firſt to invoke Venus in her temple. FORTUNE reproves Mars for preſuming to promiſe aſſiſtance; and declares, that all human glory is in the power of herſelf alone. Amoure is then led [c] by Minerva to king Melyzus [d], the inventor of tilts and tournaments, who dubs him a knight. He leaves the caſtle of CHIVALRY, and on the road meets a perſon, habited like a Fool, named Godfrey Gobilive [e], who enters into a long diſcourſe on the falſehood of women [f]. They both go together

popularity of the ſtory, has made it a ſubject for painted glaſs. DREME CHAUC. v. 322. p. 406. Urr. col. 1.

— — and with glas
Were al the windowes wel yglaſed
Ful clere, and nat an hole ycraſed,
That to beholde it was grete joy;
For wholly all the *ſtory of Troy*
Was in the *glaiſinge* ywrought thus,
Of Hector, and king Priamus,
Achilles, &c.

In our author's deſcription of the palace of Pucell, "there was enameled with figures "curious *the ſyege of Troy*." cap. xxxviii. Sign. A. iii. edit. 1555. The arras was the *ſyege of Thebes*. ibid. In the temple of Mars was alſo "the ſege of Thebes de-"paynted fayre and clere" on the walls. cap. xxvii. Sign. Q. iii. [See ſupr. p. 216.]

[c] Through the ſumptuous hall of the caſtle, which is painted with the *Siege of Thebes*, and where many knights are playing at cheſs.

[d] A fabulous king of Thrace, who, I think, is mentioned in Caxton's RECUYAL OF THE HYSTORYES OF TROY, now juſt printed; that is, in the year 1471. Our author appeals to this romance, which he calls the *Recule of Troye*, as an authentic voucher for the truth of the labours of Hercules. ch. i. By the way, Boccacio's GENEALOGY OF THE GODS is quoted in this romance of Troy, B. ii. ch. xix.

[e] His father is *Davy Drunken nole*,
Who never dranke but in a fayre *blacke boule*.

Here he ſeems to allude to Lydgate's poem, called *Of Jack Wat that could pull the lining out of a black boll*. MS. Aſhmol. Oxon. 59. ii. MSS. Harl. 2251. 12. fol. 14. One *Jack Hare* is the ſame ſort of ludicrous character, who is thus deſcribed in Lydgate's *Tale of froward Maymonde*. MSS. Laud. D. 31. Bibl. Bodl.

A froward knave pleynly to deſcryve,
And a ſloggard ſhortely to declare,
A precious knave that caſtith hym never to thryve,
His mouth weel weet, his ſlevis riht thredbare;
A turnebroche, [turn-ſpit] a boy for hogge of ware,
With louring face noddyng and ſlumberyng,
Of new cryſtened, and called Jakke Hare,
Whiche of a *boll* can *plukke out the lynyng*.

Theſe two pieces of Lydgate appear to be the ſame.

[f] He relates, how Ariſtotle, *for all his clergy*, was ſo infatuated with love, that he ſuffered the lady, who only laughed at his paſſion, to bridle and ride him about his chamber. This ſtory is in Gower, CONF. AMANT. lib. viii. fol. clxxxix. b. edit. ut ſupr. [See ſupr. p. 25.]

I ſaw there Ariſtote alſo
Whom that the quene of Grece alſo
Hath brideled, &c.

Then

into the temple of Venus, who was now holding a ſolemn aſſembly, or court, for the redreſs of lovers. Here he meets with SAPIENCE, who draws up a ſupplication for him, which he preſents to Venus. Venus, after having exhorted him to be conſtant, writes a letter to Pucell, which ſhe ſends by Cupid. After offering a turtle, he departs with Godfrey Gobilive, who is overtaken by a lady on a palfrey, with a knotted whip in her hand, which ſhe frequently exerciſes on Godfrey[g]. Amoure aſks her name, which, ſhe anſwers, is CORRECTION; that ſhe lived in the Tower of CHASTITY, and that he who aſſumed the name of Godfrey Gobilive was FALSE REPORT, who had juſt eſcaped from her priſon, and diſguiſed himſelf in a fool's coat. She invites Amoure to her Tower, where they are admitted by Dame MEASURE; and led into a hall with a golden roof, in the midſt of which was a carbuncle of a prodigious ſize, which illuminated the room[h]. They are next introduced to

Then follows a long and ridiculous ſtory about Virgil, not the poet, but a necromancer framed in the dark ages, who is deceived by the tricks of a lady at the court of Rome; on whom, however, her paramour takes ample revenge by means of his ſkill in muſic. ch. xxix. I have mentioned this Virgil, ſupr. vol. i. p. 407. See alſo, ſupr. p. 25. Where I have falſely ſuppoſed him to be the poet. This fiction is alſo alluded to by Gower, and added to that of Ariſtotle's, among his examples of the power of love over the wiſeſt men. ubi ſupr.

And eke Virgile of acqueintance
I ſigh [ſaw] where he the maiden praid
Which was the daughter, as men ſaid,
Of themperour whilom of Rome.

There is an old book, printed in 1510, entitled, "VIRGILIUS. This boke treat-" eth of the lyfe of Virgilius, and of his " deth, and many marvayles that he did " in his lyfetyme by whitchcraft and ni-" gramanſy, thorouhg the help of the de-" vylls of hell." Coloph. "Thus endeth " the lyfe of Virgilius with many dyvers " conſaytes that he dyd. *Emprynted in the* " *cytie of Andewarpe by me John Doeſ-* " *borche, dwellyng at the Camer Porte.*" With cuts, octavo. It was in Mr. Weſt's library. *Virgil's Life* is mentioned by Laneham among other romantic pieces, *Killinw. Caſtle.* p. 34. edit. 1575. 12°. This fictitious perſonage, however, ſeems to be formed on the genuine Virgil, becauſe, from the ſubject of his eighth Eclogue, he was ſuppoſed to be an adept in the myſteries of magic and incantation.

[g] In another place he is called FOLLY, and ſaid to ride on a mare. When chivalry was at its heighth in France, it was a diſgrace to any perſon, not below the degree of a gentleman, *to ride a mare.*

[h] From Chaucer, ROM. ROSE, v. 1120. Urr. p. 223. a. RICHESSE is crowned with the coſtlieſt gems,

But all before full ſubtilty
A fine carboncle ſel ſawe I,
The ſtone ſo cleare was and bright,
That al ſo ſone as it was night,
Men mightin ſene to go for nede
A mile or two in length and brede.
Such light yſprange out of that ſtone.

But

a fair chamber; where they are welcomed by many famous women of antiquity, Helen, *quene* Proſerpine, the *lady Meduſe*, Penthesilea, &c. The next morning, CORRECTION ſhews our hero a marvellous dungeon, of which SHAMFASTNESSE is the keeper; and here FALSE REPORT is ſeverely puniſhed. He now continues his expedition, and near a fountain obſerves a ſhield and a horn hanging. On the ſhield was a lion rampant of gold in a ſilver field, with an inſcription, importing, that this was the way to La Bell Pucell's habitation, and that whoever blows the horn will be aſſaulted by a moſt formidable giant. He ſounds the horn: when inſtantly the giant appeared, twelve feet high, armed in braſs, with three heads, on each of which was a ſtreamer, with the inſcriptions *Falſehood*, *Imagination*, *Perjury*. After an obſtinate combat, he cuts off the giant's three heads with his ſword *Claraprudence*. He next meets three fair ladies, VANITY, GOOD-OPERATION, FIDELITY. They conduct him to their caſtle with muſic; where, being admitted by the portreſs OBSERVANCE, he is healed of his wounds by them. He proceeds and meets PERSEVERANCE, who acquaints him, that Pucell continued ſtill to love: that, after ſhe had read Venus's letter, STRANGENESS and DISDAIN came to her, to diſſuade her from loving him; but that ſoon after, PEACE and MERCY [1] arrived, who ſoon undid all that DISDAIN and STRANGENESS had ſaid, adviſing her to ſend PERSEVERANCE

But this is not uncommon in romance, and is an Arabian idea. See ſupr. vol. i. p. 378. In the *Hiſtory* of the SEVEN CHAMPIONS, a book compiled in the reign of James the firſt by one Richard Johnſon, and containing ſome of the moſt capital fictions of the old Arabian romance, in the adventure of the ENCHANTED FOUNTAIN, the knights entering a dark hall, "tooke off their "gauntletts from their left hands whereon "they wore *marvellous great and fine diamonds*, that gave ſo *much light*, that they "might *plainly ſee* all things that were in "the hall, the which was very great and "wide, and upon the walls were painted "the figures of many furious fiends, &c." SEC. P. ch. ix. And in Maundeville's TRAVELLS, "The emperour hath in his "chamber a pillar of gold, in which is a "ruby and carbuncle a foot long, which "lighteth all his chamber by night, &c." ch. lxxii.

[1] MERCY is no uncommon divinity in the love-ſyſtem of the troubadours. See M. Millot's HIST. LITT. DES TROUBAD. tom. i. p. 281. Par. 1774.

to

to him with a shield. This shield PERSEVERANCE now presents, and invites him to repose that night with her cousin COMFORT, who lived in a moated manor-place under the side of a neighbouring wood[k]. Here he is ushered into a

[k] There is a description of a magnificent *manor-place*, curious for its antiquity, in an old poem, written before the year 1300, entitled a *Disputation bytwene a Cryſten man and a Jewe*, perhaps translated from the French, MS. Vernon. fol. 301. ut supr. [See Carpentier's Suppl. du Cange, Lat. Gloss. V. RADIMERE.]

Forth heo (*a*) wenten on the ſfeld
To an hul (*b*) thei bi held,
Tho eorthe clevet (*c*) as a ſcheld (*d*),
On the grownde grene:
Some fonde thei on (*e*) ſtih,
Thei went theron (*f*) radly;
The criſten mon hedde (*g*) farly
What hit mihte mene.

Aftir that ſtiz lay a ſtrete,
Clere i pavet with (*h*) gete,
Thei fond a Maner that was mete
With murthes ful ſchene;
Wel corven and wroht
With halles heize uppon (*i*) loft,
To a place weore thei brouht
As paradys the (*k*) clene.

Ther was foulen (*l*) ſong,
Much murthes among,
Hoſe lenge wolde longe
Fful luitell hym thouht:
On vche a ſyde of the halle,
Pourpell, pelure, and (*m*) palle;
Wyndowes in the walle
Was wonderli (*n*) i wrouht:

There was (*o*) doſers on the (*p*) dees,
Hoſe the cheeſe wolde (*q*) chee
That never richere was,
In no ſale (*r*) ſouht:
Both the mot and the mold
Schone al on red golde
The criſtene mon hadde ferli of that (*s*) ſolde,
That hider was brouzt.

Ther was erbes * growen grene,
Spices ſpringynge bi twene,
Such hadde I not ſene,
Ffor ſothe as I ſay:
The thruſtell (*t*) ſonge full ſrhille,
He newed notes at his wille;
Ffaire flowers to fille,
Ffine in that ffay:

And al the rounde table good,
Hou Arthur in eorthe (*u*) nod,
Sum ſate and ſum ſtod,
O the grounde grey:
Hit was a wonder ſiht
As thei wer quik men (*w*) diht
To ſeo hou they (*x*) play.

Together with ſome of his expreſſions, I do not always underſtand this writer's context and tranſitions, which have great abruptneſs. In what he ſays of king Arthur, I ſuppoſe he means, that king Arthur's round table, and his knights turneying, were painted on the walls of the hall.

(*a*) They. (*b*) Hill. (*c*) Cleaved. (*d*) Shield. (*e*) Road. Way. Cavern aſcent. (*f*) Readily. Eaſily. (*g*) Was very attentive. *Heeded.* (*h*) Paved with *grit*, i. e. ſand, or gravel. (*i*) With halls built high. (*k*) Bright, or pleaſant, as Paradiſe. (*l*) Fowls, birds. (*m*) The gueſts ſate on each ſide of the hall, cloathed in purple, furs, or ermine, and rich robes. (*n*) Wonderfully wrought. (*o*) *Doſſer* is a baſket carried on the back. Lat. *Dorſarium.* Chaucer's H. F. iii. 850. "Or elſe hutchis or *Doſſens.*" We muſt here underſtand Proviſions. (*p*) *Dees* is here the *table.* (*q*) Whoever would chuſe the beſt. (*r*) Hall. Lat. *Sala.* (*s*) Houſe. (*t*) Thruſh. (*u*) *Yod*, went. Walked *on earth.* (*w*) As if they were living men. (*x*) To ſee their ſports, tournaments, &c.

* An Herbary, for furniſhing domeſtic medicines, always made a part of our antient gardens. In Hawes's poem, now before us, in the delicious garden of the caſtle of Muſic, "Amiddes the garden "there was an *herber* fayre and quadrante." ch. xviii. In the Gloſſary to Chaucer, *Erber*, is abſurdly interpreted *Arbours.* NON. PR. T. v. 1081. "Or *erve* ive growing in our *erberis.*" Chaucer is here enumerating various medical herbs, uſually planted in *erberis*, or herbaries.

chamber

chamber precious, perfumed with the richeſt odours. Next morning, guided by PERSEVERANCE and COMFORT, he goes forward, and ſees a caſtle, nobly fortified, and walled with jet. Before it was a giant with ſeven heads, and upon the trees about him were hanging many ſhields of knights, whom he had conquered. On his ſeven heads were ſeven helmets crowned with ſeven ſtreamers, on which were inſcribed *Diſſimulation*, *Delay*, *Diſcomfort*, *Variance*, *Envy*, *Detraction*, *Doubleneſs*. After a bloody battle, he kills the giant, and is ſaluted by the five ladies STEDFASTNESS, AMOROUS PURVEYANCE, JOY AFTER SORROW, PLEASAUNCE, GOOD REPORT, AMITIE, CONTINUANCE, all riding from the caſtle on white palfries. Theſe ladies inform Amoure, that they had been exiled from La Bell Pucell by DISDAINE, and beſieged in this caſtle, for one whole year, by the giant whom he had juſt ſlain. They attend him on his journey, and travel through a dreary wilderneſs, full of wild beaſts: at length they diſcern, at a vaſt diſtance, a glorious region, where ſtood a ſtately palace beyond a tempeſtuous ocean. "That, ſays PERSEVERANCE, "is the palace of Pucelle." They then diſcover, in the iſland before them, an horrible fiend, roaring like thunder, and breathing flame, which my author ſtrongly paints,

The fyre was greet, it made the ylande lyght.

PERSEVERANCE tells our hero, that this monſter was framed by the two witches STRANGENESS and DISDAINE, to puniſh La Bell Pucell for having baniſhed them from her preſence. His body was compoſed of the ſeven metals, and within it a demon was incloſed. They now enter a neighbouring temple of Pallas; who ſhews Amoure, in a trance, the ſecret formation of this monſter, and gives him a box of wonderful ointment. They walk on the ſea-ſhore, and eſpy two ladies rowing towards them; who land, and having told Amoure that they are ſent by PATIENCE to enquire his name,

name, receive him and his company into the ſhip PERFECTNESS. They arrive in the iſland; and Amoure diſcovers the monſter near a rock, whom he now examines more diſtinctly. The face of the monſter reſembled a virgin's, and was of gold; his neck of ſilver; his breaſt of ſteel; his fore-legs, armed with ſtrong talons, of laten; his back of copper; his tail of lead, &c. Amoure, in imitation of Jaſon, anoints his ſword and armour with the unguent of Pallas; which, at the firſt onſet, preſerves him from the voluminous torrent of fire and ſmoke iſſuing from the monſter's mouth. At length he is killed; and from his body flew out a *foule ethiope*, or black ſpirit, accompanied with ſuch a ſmoke that all the iſland was darkened, and loud thunder-claps enſued. When this ſpirit was entirely vaniſhed, the air grew ſerene; and our hero now plainly beheld the magnificent caſtle of La Pucell, walled with ſilver, and *many a ſtory upon the wall enameled royally*[1]. He rejoins his company; and entering the gate of the caſtle, is ſolemnly received by PEACE, MERCY, JUSTICE, REASON, GRACE, and MEMORY. He is then led by the portreſs COUNTENAUNCE into the baſe court; where, into a conduit of gold, dragons ſpouted water of the richeſt odour. The gravel of the court is like gold, and the hall and chambers are moſt ſuperbly decorated. Amoure and La Pucell ſit down and converſe together. Venus intervenes, attended by Cupid cloathed in a blue mantle embroidered with golden hearts pierced with arrows, which he throws

[1] See ſupr. p. 217. and vol. i. p. 114. 303. I know not from what romantic hiſtory of the cruſades, Richard Johnſon took the deſcription of the ſtately houſe of the *courteous Jew* at Damaſcus, built for entertaining chriſtian pilgrims, in which "the *walls* were "*painted* with as many *ſtories* as there were "years ſince the creation of the world." SEC. P. ch. iv. The word *enameled*, in the text, is probably uſed in the ſame ſenſe as in Stowe, SURVEY LOND. p. 359. edit. 1599. "The great bell-tower, [of the "priory of S. John in Clerkenwell,] a moſt "curious piece of workmanſhippe, graven, "guilt, and *inameled*, to the great beautifying of the citie, and paſſinge all "other that I have ſeene, &c." So again our author, Hawes, ch. ii.

——— The toure doth ſtande
Made all of golde, *enameled* aboute
With noble ſtoryes.———

about the lovers, declaring that they ſhould ſoon be joined in marriage. A ſudden tranſition is here made from the pagan to the chriſtian theology. The next morning they are married, according to the catholic ritual, by LEX ECCLESIÆ; and in the wooden print prefixed to this chapter, the lovers are repreſented as joining hands at the weſtern portal of a great church, a part of the ceremonial of antient marriages [m]. A ſolemn feaſt is then held in honour of the nuptials [n].

Here the poem ſhould have ended. But the poet has thought it neceſſary to extend his allegory to the death and burial of his hero. Graund Amoure having lived in conſummate happineſs with his amiable bride for many years, ſaw one morning an old man enter his chamber, carrying a ſtaff, with which he ſtrikes Amoure's breaſt, ſaying, *Obey*, &c. His name is OLD AGE. Not long after came POLICY or Cunning, and AVARICE. Amoure now begins to abandon his triumphal ſhows and ſplendid carouſals, and to be intent on amaſſing riches. At laſt arrived DEATH, who peremptorily denounces, that he muſt prepare to quit his wealth and the world. After this fatal admonition, came CONTRITION and CONSCIENCE, and he dies. His body is interred by MERCY and CHARITY; and while his epitaph is written by REMEMBRANCE, FAME appears; promiſing that ſhe will enroll his name with thoſe of Hector, Joſhua,

[m] For this cuſtom, ſee ſupr. vol. i. p. 437. And the romance of APPOLYNE, ch. xxxiii.

[n] Which is deſcribed thus, ch. xxix.

Why ſhould I tary by long continuance
Of the feaſt, &c.

In the ſame manner Chaucer paſſes over the particularities of Cambuſcan's feaſt, SQU. T. v. 83. Urr. And of Theſeus's feaſt, KN. T. v. 2199. See alſo MAN OF L. T. v. 704. And Spenſer's FAIRY QU. v. iii. 3. [See ſupr. vol. i. p. 333.] And Matthew Paris, in deſcribing the magnificent marriage and coronation of queen Eleanor in 1236, uſes exactly the ſame formulary, and on a ſimilar ſubject, "Quid in eccleſia ſeriem enarrem deo, ut "decuit, reverenter miniſtrantium? Quid "in menſa dapium et diverſorum libami-"num deſcribam fertilitatem redundan-"tem? Venationis [veniſon] abundan-"tiam? Piſcium varietatem? Joculato-"rum voluptatem? Miniſtrantium venuſ-"tatem? etc." HIST. ANGL. ſub. HEN. iii. p. 406. edit. Tig. ut ſupr. Compare another feaſt deſcribed in the ſame chronicle, much after the ſame manner; and which, the writer adds, was more ſplendid than any feaſt celebrated in the time of Ahaſuerus, king Arthur, or Charlemagne. ibid. p. 871.

Judas

Judas Maccabeus, king David [o], Alexander the Great, Julius Cesar, Arthur [p], Charlemagne [q], and Godfrey of Bulloign [r].

[o] The chief reason for ranking king David among the knights of romance was, as I have already hinted, because he killed the giant Goliah: an achievement here mentioned by Hawes. See supr. p. 217. and vol. i. p. 418.

[p] Of Arthur and his knights he says, that their exploits are recorded "in royall "bokes and jestes hystoryall." ch. xliii. Sir Thomas Maillorie had now just published his MORTE ARTHUR, a narrative digested from various French romances on Arthur's story. Caxton's printed copy of this favourite volume must have been known to our poet Hawes, which appeared in 1485. fol. By the way, in panegyrising Chaucer, Hawes mentions it, as a circumstance of distinction, that his works were printed. ch. xiiii.

——— Whose name
In PRINTED bokes doth remayne in fame.

This was natural at the beginning of the typographic art. Many of Chaucer's poems were now recently printed by Caxton.

With regard to Maillorie's book, much, if not most, of it, I believe, is taken from the great French romance of LANCELOT, translated from Latin into French at the command of one of our Henrys, a metrical English version of which is now in Benet library at Cambridge. [See a specimen in Mr. Naasmith's curious catalogue, p. 54.] I have left it doubtful whether it was the third Henry who ordered this romance to be translated into Latin, vol. i. p. 115. But, beside the proofs there suggested, in favour of that hypothesis, it appears, that Henry the third paid great attention to these compositions, from the following curious anecdote just published, which throws new light on that monarch's character.

Arnaud Daniel, a troubadour, highly celebrated by Dante and Petrarch, about the year 1240 made a voyage into England, where, in the court of king Henry the third, he met a minstrel, who challenged him at *difficult rhymes*. The challenge was accepted, a considerable wager was laid, and the rival bards were shut up in separate chambers of the palace. The king, who appears to have much interested himself in the dispute, allowed them ten days for *composing*, and five more for *learning to sing*, their respective pieces: after which, each was to exhibit his performance in the presence of his majesty. The third day, the English minstrel announced that he was ready. The troubadour declared he had not wrote a line; but that he had tried, and could not as yet put two words together. The following evening he overheard the minstrel practising his *chanson* to himself. The next day he had the good fortune to hear the same again, and learned the air and words. At the day appointed they both appeared before the king. Arnaud desired to sing first. The minstrel, in a fit of the greatest surprise and astonishment, suddenly cried out, *C'est ma chanson, This is* MY SONG. The king said it was impossible. The minstrel still insisted upon it; and Arnaud, being closely pressed, ingenuously told the whole affair. The king was much entertained with this adventure; and ordering the wager to be withdrawn, loaded them with rich presents. But he afterwards obliged Arnaud to give a *chanson* of his own composition. Millot, ut supr. tom. ii. p. 491.

In the mean time I would not be understood to deny, that Henry the second encouraged these pieces; for it partly appears, that Gualter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, translated, from Latin into French, the popular romance of SAINT GRAAL, at the instance of Henry the second, to whom he was chaplain, about the year 1190. See MSS. Reg. 20 D. iii. a manuscript perhaps coeval with the translator; and, if so, the original copy presented to the king. Maister Benoit, or Benedict, a rhymer in French, was also patronised by this monarch: at whose command he compiled a metrical Chronicle of the DUKES OF NORMANDY: in which are cited Isidore Hispalensis, Pliny, and saint Austin. MSS. Harl. 1717. 1. on vellum. See fol. 85. 192. 163. 236. This old French poem

Aftewards TIME, and ETERNITIE clothed in a white veſtment and crowned with a triple diadem of gold, enter the temple, and pronounce an exhortation. Laſt follows an epilogue, in which the poet apologiſes for his hardineſs in attempting to *feign* and *deviſe* this fable.

The reader readily perceives, that this poetical apologue is intended to ſhadow the education of a complete gentleman; or rather, to point out thoſe accompliſhments which conſtitute the character of true gallantry, and moſt juſtly deſerve the reward of beauty. It is not pretended, that the perſonifications diſplay that force of colouring, and diſtinctneſs of delineation, which animate the ideal portraits of John of Meun. But we muſt acknowledge, that Hawes has ſhewn no inconſiderable ſhare of imagination, if not in inventing romantic action, at leaſt in applying and enriching the general incidents of the Gothic fable. In the creation of allegoric imagery he has exceeded Lydgate. That he is greatly ſuperior to many of his immediate predeceſſors and cotemporaries, in harmonious verſification, and clear expreſſion, will appear from the following ſtanza.

is full of fabulous and romantic matter; and ſeems to be partly tranſlated from a Latin Chronicle, DE MORIBUS ET ACTIS PRIMORUM NORMANNIÆ DUCUM, written about the year 1000, by Dudo, dean of S. Quintin's, and printed among Du Cheſne's SCRIPTOR. NORMAN. p. 49. edit. 1619. Maiſter Benoit ends with our Henry the firſt. Dudo with the year 996.

[q] With his *douſeperes*, or twelve peers, among which he mentions Rowland and Oliver.

[r] Theſe are the NINE WORTHIES: to whom Shakeſpeare alludes in LOVE'S LAB. LOST. "Here is like to be a good preſence "of WORTHIES. He preſents Hector of "Troy: The ſwain, Pompey the Great: "The pariſh-curate, Alexander: Armado's page, Hercules: The pedant, Judas "Macchabeus, &c." ACT. V. SC. I.

Elias Cairels, a troubadour of Perigord, about the year 1240, wiſhes for the wiſdom of Solomon, the courteſy of Roland, the puiſſance of Alexander, the ſtrength of Samſon, the friendly attachment of ſir Triſtram, the *chevalerie* of ſir Gawaine, and the learning of Merlin. Though not immediately connected with the preſent purpoſe, I cannot reſiſt the temptation of tranſcribing the remainder of our troubadour's idea of complete happineſs in this world. His ambition can be gratified by nothing leſs than by poſſeſſing, "Une ſi "parfaite loyauté, que nul chevalier et nul "jongleur n' aient rien à reprendre en lui; "une maitreſſe jeune, jolie, et decente; "mille cavaliers bien en ordre pour le "ſuivre par tout, &c." Millot, HIST. LITT. des TROUBAD. tom. i. p. 388. [See ſupr. vol. i. p. 417.

Beſides

Besydes this gyaunt, upon every tree
I did see hanging many a goodly shielde
Of noble knygtes, that were of hie degree,
Whiche he had slayne and murdred in the fielde:
From farre this gyaunt I ryght well behelde;
And towarde hym as I rode on my way,
On his first heade I sawe a banner gay [s].

To this poem a dedication of eight octave stanzas is prefixed, addressed to king Henry the seventh: in which our author professes to follow the manner of his *maister* Lydgate.

To folowe the trace and all the perfytness
Of my maister Lydgate, with due exercise,
Such fayned tales I do fynde [t] and devyse:
For under coloure a truthe may aryse,
As was the guyse, in old antiquitie,
Of the poetes olde a tale to surmyse,
To cloake the truthe. — — —

In the course of the poem he complains, that since Lydgate, *the most dulcet sprynge of famous rhetoryke*, that species of poetry which deals in fiction and allegoric fable, had been entirely lost and neglected. He allows, that some of Lydgate's successors had been skilful versifiers in the *balade royall* or octave stanza, which Lydgate carried to such perfection: but adds this remarkable restriction,

They *fayne* no *fables* pleasaunt and *covert*:—
Makyng balades of fervent amytie,
As gestes and tryfles [u]. — — —

[s] Ch. xxxv.
[t] Invent.
[u] Ch. xiv. So Barklay, in the SHIP OF FOOLES, finished in 1508, fol. 18. a. edit. 1570. He is speaking of the profane and improper conversation of priests in the choir.

And all of fables and *jestes* of Robin Hood,
Or other *trifles*. — — —

These

Theſe lines, in a ſmall compaſs, diſplay the general ſtate of poetry which now prevailed.

Coeval with Hawes was William Walter, a retainer to ſir Henry Marney, chancellour of the duchy of Lancaſter: an unknown and obſcure writer whom I ſhould not have named, but that he verſified, in the octave ſtanza, Boccacio's ſtory, ſo beautifully paraphraſed by Dryden, of Sigiſmonda and Guiſcard. This poem, I think, was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, and afterwards reprinted in the year 1597, under the title of THE STATELY TRAGEDY OF GUISCARD AND SIGISMOND[x]. It is in two books. He alſo wrote a dialogue in verſe, called the *Spectacle of Lovers*[y], and the *Hiſtory of Titus and Geſippus*, a tranſlation from a Latin romance concerning the ſiege of Jeruſalem.

About the year 1490, Henry Medwall, chaplain to Morton archbiſhop of Canterbury, compoſed an interlude, called NATURE, which was afterwards tranſlated into Latin. It is not improbable, that it was played before the archbiſhop. It was the buſineſs of chaplains in great houſes to compoſe interludes for the family. This piece was printed by Raſtel, in 1538, and entitled, "NATURE, a goodly interlude of nature, compylyd by mayſter Henry Medwall, chaplayn to the right reverent father in God, Johan Morton, ſometyme cardynall, and archebyſhop of Canterbury."

In the year 1497, Laurence Wade, a Benedictine monk of Canterbury[z], tranſlated, into Engliſh rhymes, THE LIFE OF THOMAS A BECKETT, written about the year 1180, in

[x] Viz. "Certaine worthye manuſcript poems of great antiquitie, reſerved long in the ſtudie of a Northfolke gentleman, now firſt publiſhed by J. S. Lond. R. D. 1597." 12mo. In this edition, beſide the ſtory of SIGISMUNDA, mentioned in the text, there is "The Northern Mother's Bleſſing, written nine yeares before the death of G. Chaucer. And The Way to Thriſt." This collection is dedicated to the worthieſt Poet MAISTER EDMOND SPENSER.

[y] Begins the PROLOGUE, "Foraſmuche as ydelneſs is rote of all vices." This and the following piece are alſo printed in quarto, by Wynkin de Worde.

[z] Profeſſed in the year 1467. CATAL. *Mon. Cant.* inter MSS. C. C. C. C. N. 7.

Latin,

Latin[a], by Herbert Bosham[b]. The manuscript, which will not bear a citation, is preserved in Benet college in Cambridge[c]. The original had been translated into French verse by Peter Langtoft[d]. Bosham was Becket's secretary, and present at his martyrdom.

[a] VITA ET RES GESTÆ THOMÆ EPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS, published in the QUADRILOGUS, Paris. 1495. 4to.

[b] See supr. vol. i. 61.

[c] MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. CCCXCVII. 1. Beginn. Prol. "O ye vertuous soverayns "spirituall and temporall."

[d] Pits. p. 890. APPEND.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

I Place Alexander Barklay within the year 1500, as his SHIP OF FOOLS appears to have been projected about that period. He was educated at Oriel college in Oxford [d], accomplished his academical studies by travelling, and was appointed one of the priests, or prebendaries, of the college of saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire [e]. Afterwards he became a Benedictine monk of Ely monastery [f]; and at length took the habit of the Franciscans at Canterbury [g]. He temporised with the changes of religion; for he possessed some church-preferments in the reign of Edward the sixth [h]. He died, very old, at Croydon, in Surry [i], in the year 1552.

[d] He seems to have spent some time at Cambridge, EGLOG. i. Signat. A. iii.

And once in Cambridge I heard a scoller say,
One of the same that go in copès gay.

[e] The chief patron of his studies appears to have been Thomas Cornish, provost of Oriel college, and Suffragan bishop of Tyne, in the diocese of Bath and Wells; to whom he dedicates, in a handsome Latin epistle, his SHIP OF FOOLS. But in the poem, he mentions *My Maister Kyrkham*, calling himself "his true servitour, his chap-"layne, and bede-man." fol. 152. b. edit. 1570. Some biographers suppose Barklay to have been a native of Scotland. It is certain that he has a long and laboured encomium on James the fourth, king of Scotland; whom he compliments for his bravery, prudence, and other eminent virtues. One of the stanzas of this panegyric is an acrostic on JACOBUS. fol. 206. a. He most probably was of Devonshire or Gloucestershire.

[f] In the title to his translation from Mancinus, called the MIRROUR OF GOOD MANNERS.

[g] MS. Bale, Sloan. f. 68.

[h] He was instituted to Much Badew in Essex, in 1546. Newcourt, REP. i. 254. And to Wokey in Somersetshire, the same year. Registr. Wellens. He had also the church of All Saints, in Lombard-street, London, on the presentation of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, which was vacant by his death, Aug. 24, 1552. Newcourt, ut supr.

[i] He frequently mentions Croydon in his EGLOGES. He was buried in Croydon church. EGL. i. Signat. A. iii.

And as in CROIDON I heard the Collier preache.

Again, ibid.

While I in youth in CROIDON towne did dwell.

Again, ibid.

He hath no felowe betwene this and CROIDON
Save the proude plowman *Gnatho* of *Chorlington*.

He mentions the collier again, ibid.

Such maner riches the *collier* tell thee can.

Also, ibid.

As the riche shepheard that woned in *Mortlake*.

Barklay's

Barklay's principal work is the SHIP OF FOOLES, abovementioned. About the year 1494, Sebastian Brandt, a learned civilian of Basil, and an eminent philologist, published a satire in German with this title[i]. The design was to ridicule the reigning vices and follies of every rank and profession, under the allegory of a Ship freighted with Fools of all kinds, but without any variety of incident, or artificiality of fable; yet although the poem is destitute of plot, and the voyage of adventures, a composition of such a nature became extremely popular. It was translated into French[k]; and, in the year 1497, into tolerable Latin verse, by James Locher, a German, and a scholar of the inventour Brandt[l]. From the original, and the two translations, Barklay formed a large English poem, in the balade or octave stanza, with considerable additions gleaned from the follies of his countrymen. It was printed by Pinson, in 1509, whose name occurs in the poem.

> Howbeit the charge PINSON has on me layde
> With many fooles our navy not to charge[m].

It was finished in the year 1508, and in the college of saint Mary Ottery, as appears by this rubric, "The SHYP OF "FOLYS, translated in the colege of saynt Mary Otery, in "the counte of Devonshyre, oute of Laten, Frenche, and "Doch, into Englishe tonge, by Alexander Barclay, preste "and chaplen in the sayd colledge, M.CCCCC.VIII[n]. Our au-

[i] I presume this is the same Sebastian Brandt, to whom Thomas Acuparius, poet laureate, dedicates a volume of Poggius's works, Argentorat. 1513. fol. He is here styled, "Juris utriusque doctor, et S. P. Q. "Argentinensis cancellarius." The dedication is dated 1511. See Hendreich. PANDECT. p. 703.

[k] By Joce Bade. Paris, 1497.

[l] See THE PROLOGUE.

[m] Fol. 38. In another place he complains that some of his *wordes* are *amis*, on account of the *printers not perfect in science*. And adds that,

—— The printers in their busynes
Do all their workes speediely and in haste.
fol. 258. b.

[n] In folio. A second edition, from which I cite, was printed with his other works, in the year 1570, by Cawood, in folio, with curious wooden cuts, taken from Pinson's impression, viz. "The SHIP OF FOOLES, "wherein is shewed the folly of all states, "with divers other works adjoined to the "same, &c." This has both Latin and English. But Ames, under Wynkyn de Worde, recites "The Ship of Fools in this "World." 4to. 1517. HIST. PRINT. p. 94.

thor's ſtanza is verboſe, proſaic, and tedious: and for many pages together, his poetry is little better than a trite homily in verſe. The title promiſes much character and pleaſantry: but we ſhall be diſappointed, if we expect to find the foibles of the crew of our ſhip touched by the hand of the author of the CANTERBURY TALES, or expoſed in the rough yet ſtrong ſatire of Pierce Plowman. He ſometimes has a ſtroke of humour: as in the following ſtanza, where he wiſhes to take on board the eight ſecondaries, or minor canons, of his college. " *Alexander Barclay ad* FATUOS, *ut dent locum* OCTO " SECUNDARIIS *beatæ Mariæ de Ottery, qui quidem prima hujus* " *ratis tranſtra merentur* [o]."

Softe, Foolis, ſofte, a litle ſlacke your pace,
Till I have ſpace you to' order by degree;
I have eyght neyghbours, that firſt ſhall have a place
Within this my ſhyp, for they moſt worthy be:
They may their learning receyve coſtles and free,
Their walles abutting and joining to the ſchooles [p];
Nothing they can [q], yet nought will they learn nor ſee,
Therefore ſhall they guide this one ſhip of fooles.

The ignorance of the Engliſh clergy is one of the chief objects of his animadverſion. He ſays [r],

For if one can flatter, and beare a hawke on his fiſt,
He ſhalbe made parſon of Honington or of Clift.

Theſe were rich benefices in the neighbourhood of ſaint Mary Ottery. He diſclaims the profane and petty tales of the times.

[o] Fol. 68.
[p] To the collegiate church of ſaint Mary Ottery a ſchool was annexed, by the munificent founder, Grandiſon, biſhop of Exeter. This college was founded in the year 1337.
[q] Know.
[r] Fol. 2.

I write

I write no jeste ne tale of Robin Hood [s],
Nor sowe no sparkles, ne sede of viciousnes;
Wise men love vertue, wilde people wantonnes,
It longeth not my science nor cuning,
For Philip the sparrow the dirige to sing.

The last line is a ridicule on his cotemporary Skelton, who wrote a LITLE BOKE OF PHILIP SPARROW, or a Dirge,

For the soule of Philip Sparrow
That was late slaine at Carow, &c [t].

And in another place, he thus censures the fashionable reading of his age: much in the tone of his predecessor Hawes.

For goodly scripture is not worth an hawe,
But tales are loved ground of ribaudry,
And many are so blinded with their foly,
That no scriptur thinke they so true nor gode
As is a foolish jest of Robin hode [u].

As a specimen of his general manner, I insert his character of the Student, or Bookworm: whom he supposes to be the First Fool in the vessel.

That [w] in this ship the chiefe place I governe,
By this wide sea with foolis wandering,
The cause is plaine and easy to discerne;
Still am I busy bookes assembling,

[s] Fol. 23.
[t] See Skelton's WORKS, p. 215. edit. 1736. This will be mentioned again, below.
[u] Fol. 23.
[w] I subjoin the Latin from which he translates, that the reader may judge how much is our poet's own. fol. 1. a.

Primus in excelso teneo quod nave rudentes,
Slultivagosque sequor comites per flumina vasta,
Non ratione vacat certa, sensuque latenti:
Congestis etenim stultus confido libellis;
Spem quoque, nec parvam, congesta volumina præbent.
Calleo nec verbum, nec libri sentio mentem:

For to have plentie it is a pleasaunt thing,
In my conceyt, to have them ay in hand;
But what they meane do I not understande.

But yet I have them in great reverence
And honour, saving them from filth and ordure;
By often brusshing and much diligence,
Full goodly bounde in pleasaunt coverture
Of damas, sattin, or els of velvet pure [x]:
I keepe them sure fearing least they should be lost
For in them is the cunning wherein I me boast.

But if it fortune that any learned man
Within my house fall to disputation,
I drawe the curtaynes to shewe my bokes then,
That they of my cunning should make probation:
I love not to fall in altercation:
And while the commen, my bookes I turne and winde,
For all is in them, and nothing in my minde.

Ptolomeus [y] the riche caused, longe agone,
Over all the worlde good bookes to be sought,

Attamen in magno per me servantur honore,
Pulveris et cariem plumatis tergo flabellis.
Ast ubi doctrinæ certamen volvitur, inquam,
Ædibus in nostris librorum culta supellex
Eminet, et chartis vivo contentus opertis,
Quas video ignorans, juvat et me copia sola.
Constituit quondam dives Ptolomeus, haberet
Ut libros toto quæsitos undique mundo;
Quos grandes rerum thesauros esse putabat:
Non tamen arcanæ legis documenta tenebat,
Queis sine non poterat vitæ disponere cursum.
En pariter teneo numerosa volumina, tardus:
Pauca lego, viridi contentus tegmine libri.
Cur vellem studio sensus turbare frequenti,
Aut tam sollicitis animum confundere rebus?
Qui studet, assiduo motu fit stultus et amens.
Seu studeam, seu non, dominus tamen esse vocabor;
Et possum studio socium disponere nostro,
Qui pro me sapiat, doctasque examinet artes:
Aut si cum doctis versor, *concedere* malo
Omnia, ne cogar fors verba Latina profari.

[x] Students and monks were antiently the binders of books. In the first page of a manuscript Life of Concubranus, this note occurs, "Ex CONJUNCTIONE dompni "Wyllelmi Edys monasterii B. Mariæ S. "Modwenæ virginis de Burton super Trent "monachi, dum esset studens Oxoniæ, "A. D. MDXVII." See MSS. Cotton. CLEOPATR. ii. And MSS. Coll. Oriel. N. vi. 3. et 7. Art. The word Conjunctio is *ligatura*. The book is much older than this entry.

[y] Ptolomeus Philadelphus, for whom he quotes Josephus, lib. xii.

Done

Done was his commandement, &c.

* * * * * * * * *

Lo in likewiſe of bookès I have ſtore,
But few I reade, and fewer underſtande;
I folowe not their doctrine, nor their lore,
It is enough to beare a booke in hande:
It were too much to be in ſuch a lande;
For to be bounde to loke within the booke
I am content on the fayre coveryng to looke.——

Eche is not lettred that nowe is made a lorde,
Nor eche a clerke that hath a benefice;
They are not all lawyers that plees do recorde,
All that are promoted are not fully wiſe;
On ſuche chance now fortune throwes her dice:
That though one knowe but the yriſhe game
Yet would he have a gentlemans name.

So in likewiſe, I am in ſuch a caſe,
Though I nought can [z], I would be called wiſe;
Alſo I may ſet another in my place
Which may for me my bookès exerciſe;
Or els I will enſue the common guiſe,
And ſay *concedo* to every argument
Leſt by much ſpeech my Latin ſhould be ſpent [a].

In one part of the poem, Prodicus's apologue, of Hercules meeting VIRTUE and PLEASURE, is introduced. In the ſpeech of PLEASURE, our author changes his metre; and breaks forth into a lyrical ſtrain, not totally void of elegance and delicacy, and in a rhythmical arrangement adopted by Gray.

[z] Know. [a] Fol. 2.

All

All my vestùre is of golde pure,
My gay chaplèt with stonès set,
With couverture of fine asure,
In silver net my haire upknet,
Softe silke betwene, lest it might fret;
My purple pall oercovereth all,
Cleare as cristàll, no thing egall.—
With harpe in hande, alway I stande,
Passing eche houre, in swete pleasoùr;
A wanton bande, of every lande,
Are in my towre, me to honoùr,
Some of valoùr, some bare and poore;
Kinges in their pride sit by my side:
Every freshe floure, of swete odourè,
To them I provide, that with me bide.—
Whoeer they be, that folowe me,
And gladly flee to my standàrde,
They shall be free, nor sicke, nor see
Adversitie, and paynès harde.
No poynt of payne shall he sustayne,
But joy soverayne, while he is here;
No frost ne rayne there shall distayne
His face by payne, ne hurt his chere.
He shall his hede cast to no drede
To get the mede[b] and lawde of warre;
Nor yet have nede, for to take hede,
How battayles spede, but stande afarre.
Nor yet be bounde to care the sounde
Of man or grounde, or trompet shrill;
Strokes that redound shall not confounde,
Nor his minde wounde, but if he will, &c[c].

All antient satirical writings, even those of an inferior cast, have their merit, and deserve attention, as they transmit

[b] *Meed.* Reward. [c] Fol. 241. b.

mit pictures of familiar manners, and preserve popular customs. In this light, at least, Barklay's SHIP OF FOOLS, which is a general satire on the times, will be found entertaining. Nor must it be denied, that his language is more cultivated than that of many of his cotemporaries, and that he contributed his share to the improvement of the English phraseology. His author, Sebastian Brandt, appears to have been a man of universal erudition; and his work, for the most part, is a tissue of citations from the ancient poets and historians.

Barklay's other pieces are the MIRROUR OF GOOD MANNERS; and five EGLOGES[d].

The MIRROUR is a translation from a Latin elegiac poem, written in the year 1516, by Dominic Mancini DE QUATUOR VIRTUTIBUS. It is in the ballad-stanza[e]. Our translator,

[d] He also wrote, *The figure of our mother holy church oppressed by the French king*, printed for Pinson, 4to.—*Answer to John Skelton the Poet.*—*The Lives of S. Catharine, S. Margaret, and St. Etheldred.*—*The Life of S. George*, from Mantuan: dedicated to N. West bishop of Ely, and written while our author was a monk of Ely. —*De Pronuntiatione Gallica.* John Palsgrave, a polite scholar, and an eminent preceptour of the French language about the reign of Henry the eighth, and one of the first who published in English a grammar or system of rules for teaching that language, says in his *L'Eclaircissement de la language François*, addressed to Henry the eighth, and printed (fol. Lond.) in 1530, that our author Barklay wrote a tract on this subject at the command of Thomas duke of Norfolk.—*The famous Cronycle of the Warre which the Romans had agaynst Jugurth usurper of the kyngdom of Numidy: which cronycle is compyled in Latyn by the renowned Romayn Sallust.* And *translated into Englishe by* SYR ALEXANDER BARCLAY, *preest, at the commaundmente of the hye and mighty prince Thomas duke of Norfolk.* In two editions, by Pinson, of this work, both in folio, and in the public library at Cambridge, the Latin and English are printed together. The Latin is dedicated to Vesey bishop of Exeter, and dated "ex Cellula Hatfeld regis [*i. e.* Kings Hatfield, Hertfordshire] iii. id. Novemb." A new edition, without the Latin and the two dedications, was printed by J. Waley, 1557, 4to.—*Orationes variæ.* —*De fide Orthodoxa.*—To these I add, what does not deserve mention in the text, a poem translated from the French, called The CASTEL OF LABOURE, *wherein is riches, vertue, and honor.* It is of some length, and an allegory; in which Lady REASON conquers Despair, Poverty, and other evils, which attend a poor man lately married. The Prologue begins, "Ye mortal people that desire to obtayne." The poem begins, "In musyng an evenynge with me was none." Printed for Wynken de Worde, 1506. 4to. And again by Pinson, without date. 4to. In seven-lined stanzas. By mistake I have mentioned this piece as anonymous, supr. p. 200.

[e] Printed as above, 1570. fol. And by Pinson, at the command of Richard earl of Kent. Without date, 4to. The Latin elegiacs are printed in the margin, which have been frequently printed. At Basil, 1543.

as appears by the addreſs prefixed, had been requeſted by ſir Giles Alyngton to abridge, or moderniſe, Gower's CONFESSIO AMANTIS. But the poet declined this undertaking, as unſuitable to his age, infirmities, and profeſſion; and choſe rather to oblige his patron with a grave ſyſtem of ethics. It is certain that he made a prudent choice. The performance ſhews how little qualified he was to correct Gower.

Our author's EGLOGES, I believe, are the firſt that appeared in the Engliſh language[f]. They are, like Petrarch's and Mantuan's[g], of the moral and ſatirical kind; and contain but few touches of rural deſcription and bucolic imagery. They ſeem to have been written about the year 1514[h]. The three firſt are paraphraſed, with very large additions, from the MISERIÆ CURIALIUM of Eneas Sylvius[i], and treat of the *Miſeryes of Courtiers and Courtes of all Princes in general.* The fourth, in which is introduced a long poem in ſtanzas, called the *Tower of Vertue and Honour*[k], *of the behaviour of riche men agaynſt poetes.* The fifth, *of the diſputation of citizens and men of the country.* Theſe paſtorals, if they deſerve the name, contain many alluſions to the times. The poet is

1543. At Antwerp, 1559. With the epigram of Peter Carmelian annexed. And often before. Laſtly, at the end of MARTINI *Braccarenſis Formula honeſtæ Vitæ*, Helmſtad. 1691. 8vo. They are dedicated "Frederico Severinati epiſcopo Mallea-"cenſi." They firſt appeared at Leipſic, 1516. See Trithemius, concerning another of his poems, Mancini's, *De paſſione domini*, cap. 995.

[f] Printed as above, 1570, fol. Firſt, I believe, by Humphry Powell. 4to. Without date. Perhaps about 1550.

[g] Whom he mentions, ſpeaking of EGLOGES. EGLOG. I. PROL.

And in like maner, nowe lately in our dayes,
Hath other poetes attempted the ſame wayes,
As the moſt famous Baptiſt Mantuan
The beſt of that ſort ſince poets firſt began,
And Frauncis Petrarke alſo in Italy, &c.

[h] Becauſe he praiſes "noble Henry "which now *departed late.*" Afterwards he falls into a long panegyric on his ſucceſſour Henry the eighth. EGLOG. I. As he does in the SHIP OF FOOLES, fol. 205. a. where he ſays,

This noble prince beginneth vertuouſly
By juſtice and pitie his realme to mayntayne.

He then wiſhes he may retake Jeruſalem from the Turks; and compares him to Hercules, Achilles, &c.

[i] That is pope PIUS the ſecond, who died in 1464. This piece is among his EPISTLES, ſome of which are called Tracts. EPIST. CLVI.

[k] It is properly an elegy on the death of the duke of Norfolk, lord high admiral.

prolix

prolix in his praiſes of Alcock biſhop of Ely, and founder of Jeſus college in Cambridge[k].

Yes ſince his dayes a cocke was in the fen[l],
I knowe his voyce among a thouſand men:
He laught, he preached, he mended every wrong;
But, Coridon, alas no good thing bideth long!
He All was a Cock[m], he wakened us from ſlepe,
And while we ſlumbered, he did our foldes kepe.
No cur, no foxes, nor butchers dogges wood,
Could hurte our fouldes, his watching was ſo good.
The hungry wolves, which that time did abounde,
What time he crowed[n], abaſhed at the ſounde.
This cocke was no more abaſhed of the foxe,
Than is a lion abaſhed of an oxe.

[k] This very learned and munificent prelate deſervedly poſſeſſed ſome of the higheſt dignities in church and ſtate. He was appointed biſhop of Ely in 1486. He died at Wiſbich, 1501. See Whart. ANGL. SACR. i. 675. 801. 381. Roſſe ſays, that he was tutor to prince Edward, afterwards Edward the fifth, but removed by the king's uncle Richard. Roſſe, I think, is the only hiſtorian who records this anecdote. HIST. REG. ANGL. p. 212. edit. Hearn.

[l] The iſle of Ely.

[m] ALCOCK.

[n] Among Wren's manuſcript Collections, (Regiſtr. parv. Conſiſtorii Elienſis, called the BLACK BOOK.) the following curious memorial, concerning a long ſermon preached by Alcock at ſaint Mary's in Cambridge, occurs. "I. Alcock, divina gratia epiſcopus Elienſis prima die dominica, 1488, bonum et *blandum* ſermonem prædicavit in eccleſia B. Mariæ Cantabrig. qui incepit in hora prima poſt meridiem et duravit in horam tertiam et ultra." He ſometimes, and even in the epiſcopal character, condeſcended to ſport with his own name. He publiſhed an addreſs to the clergy aſſembled at Barnwell, under the title of GALLI CANTUS *ad confratres ſuos curatos in ſynodo apud Barnwell*, 25 Sept. 1498. To which is annexed his CONSTITUTION for celebrating certain feaſts in his dioceſe. Printed for Pinſon, 1498. 4to. In the beginning is the figure of the biſhop preaching to his clergy, with two cocks on each ſide. And there is a cock in the firſt page. By the way, Alcock wrote many other pieces. The HILL OF PERFECTION, from the Latin. For Pinſon, 1497. 4to. For Wynkyn de Worde, 1497. 4to. Again, for the ſame, 1501. 4to. THE ABBY OF THE HOLY GHOST *that ſhall be founded and grounded in a clear conſcience, in which abbey ſhall dwell twenty and nine ladies gholſly*. For the ſame, 1531. 4to. Again, for the ſame, without date, but before 1500. 4to. At the end, "Thus endeth without boſt, The Abby of the holi goſt." [See MSS. Harl. 5272. 3. —1704. 9. fol. 32. b. And MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 155. And MSS. MORE, 191.] SPOUSAGE OF A VIRGIN TO CHRIST, 1486. 4to. HOMELIÆ VULGARES. MEDITATIONES PIÆ. A fragment of a comment upon the SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS, in Engliſh verſe, is ſuppoſed to be by biſhop Alcock, MSS. Harl. 1704. 4. fol. 13.

When he went, faded the floure of al the fen;
I boldly ſweare this cocke trode never hen!

Alcock, while living, erected a beautiful ſepulchral chapel in his cathedral, ſtill remaining, but miſerably defaced. To which the ſhepherd alludes in the lines that follow:

This was the father of thinges paſtorall,
And that well ſheweth his cathedrall.
There was I lately, aboute the midſt of May:
Coridon, his church is twenty ſith more gay
Then all the churches between the ſame and Kent;
There ſawe I his tombe and chapel excellent.—
Our pariſhe church is but a dongeon
To that gay churche in compariſon.—
When I ſawe his figure lye in the chapel ſide, &c [o].

In another place he thus repreſents the general lamentation for the death of this worthy prelate: and he riſes above himſelf in deſcribing the ſympathy of the towers, arches, vaults, and images, of Ely monaſtery.

The pratie palace by him made in the fen [p],
The maidès, widowes, the wives, and the men,
With deadly dolour were pearſed to the hearte,
When death conſtraynd this ſhepherd to departe.
Corne, graſſe, and fieldes, mourned for wo and payne,
For oft his prayer for them obtayned rayne.
The pleaſaunt floures for him faded eche one.—
The okès, elmès: every ſorte of dere [q]
Shrunke under ſhadowes, abating all their chere.

[o] Eglog. i. Signat. A. iii.

[p] He rebuilt, or greatly improved, the epiſcopal palace at Ely.

[q] Beaſts, quadrupeds of all kinds. So in the romance of Syr Bevis, Signat. F. iii.

Rattes and myſe and ſuch ſmal *dere*
Was his meate that ſeven yere.

Whence Shakeſpeare took, as Dr. Percy has obſerved, the well-known diſtich of the madman in King Lear, Act iii. Sc. 4.

Mice

The mightie walles of Ely monaſtery,
The ſtonès, rockes, and towrès ſemblably,
The marble pillours, and images eche one,
Swete all for ſorrowe, when this cocke was gone, &c [r].

It ſhould be remembered, that theſe paſtorals were probably written while our poet was a monk of Ely: and although Alcock was then dead, yet the memory of his munificence and piety was recent in the monaſtery [s].

Speaking of the dignity and antiquity of ſhepherds, and particularly of Chriſt at his birth being firſt ſeen by ſhepherds, he ſeems to deſcribe ſome large and ſplendid picture of the Nativity painted on the walls of Ely cathedral.

I ſawe them myſelfe well paynted on the wall,
Late gaſing upon our churche cathedrall:
I ſaw great wethers, in picture, and ſmall lambes,
Daunſing, ſome ſleping, ſome ſucking of their dams;
And ſome on the grounde, meſemed, lying ſtill:
Then ſawe I horſemen appendant of an hill;
And the three kings, with all their company,
Their crownes gliſtering bright and oriently,
With their preſents and giftès miſticall:
All this behelde I in picture on the wall [t].

Mice and rats and ſuch ſmall *deere*
Have been Tom's food for ſeven long yeere.

It cannot now be donbted, that Shakeſpeare in this paſſage wrote *deer*, inſtead of *geer* or *cheer*, which have been conjecturally ſubſtituted by his commentators.

[r] Egl. iii.

[s] He alſo compliments Alcock's predeceſſour Moreton, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury: not without an alluſion to his troubles, and reſtoration to favour, under Richard the third and Henry the ſeventh. Egl. iii.

And ſhepheard Moreton, when he durſt not appeare,
Howe his olde ſervauntes were carefull of his chere;
In payne and pleaſour they kept fidelitie,
Till grace agayne gave him authoritie, &c.

And again, Egl. iiii.

Micene [Mecenas] and Moreton be deade and gone certaine.

The *Deane of Powles*, I ſuppoſe dean Colet, is celebrated as a preacher, ibid. As is, "The olde friar that wonned in "Greenwich," Egl. v.

[t] Egl. v.

Virgil's poems are thus characterised, in some of the best turned lines we find in these pastorals:

He sunge of fieldes, and tilling of the grounde,
Of shepe and oxen, and battayle did he sounde;
So shrille he sounded in termes eloquent
I trowe his tunes went to the firmament [u].

He gives us the following idea of the sports, spectacles, and pleasures, of his age.

Some men deliteth beholding men to fight,
Or goodly knightes in pleasaunt apparayle,
Or sturdie souldiers in bright harnes and male [x].—
Some glad is to see these ladies beauteous,
Goodly appoynted in clothing sumpteous:
A number of people appoynted in like wise [y]
In costly clothing, after the newest gise;
Sportes, disgising [z], fayre coursers mount and praunce,
Or goodly ladies and knightes sing and daunce:
To see fayre houses, and curious picture,
Or pleasaunt hanging [a], or sumpteous vesture,
Of silke, of purpure, or golde moste orient,
And other clothing divers and excellent:
Hye curious buildinges, or palaces royall,
Or chapels, temples fayre and substanciall,
Images graven, or vaultes curious [b];
Gardeyns, and meadowes, or places [c] delicious,
Forests and parkes well furnished with dere,
Cold pleausant streames, or wellès fayre and clere,
Curious cundytes, &c [d].

[u] Egl. iv.
[x] Armour and coats of mail.
[y] Apparelled in uniform.
[z] Masques, &c.
[a] Tapestry.
[b] Roofs, curiously vaulted.
[c] Houses, Seats.
[d] Egl. ii. I shall here throw together in the Notes, some traits in these Eclogues of the common customs and manners of the

We have before ſeen, that our author and Skelton were rivals. He alludes to Skelton, who had been laureated at Oxford, in the following lines.

the times. A ſhepherd, after mentioning his ſkill in ſhooting birds with a bow, ſays, Egl. i.

No ſhephearde throweth the *axletree* ſo farre.

A gallant is thus deſcribed, Egl. ii.

For women uſe to love them moſt of all,
Which boldly boſteth, or that can ſing and jet;
Whiche hath the maiſtry oftimes in tournament,
Or that can gambauld, or dance feat and gent.

The following ſorts of wine are recited, Egl. ii.

As muſcadell, caprike, romney, and malmeſy,
From Genoe brought, from Greece, or Hungary.

As are the dainties of the table, ibid.

A ſhepherd at court muſt not think to eat,
—— Swanne, nor heron,
Curlewe, nor crane. ——

Again, ibid.

What fiſhe is of ſavour ſwete and delicious,—
Roſted or ſodden in ſwete herbes or wine;
Or fried in oyle, moſt ſaporous and fine.—
—— —— The paſties of a hart.——
The crane, the feſaunt, the pecocke, and curlewe,
The partriche, plover, bittorn, and heronſewe:——
Seaſoned ſo well in licour redolent,
That the hall is full of pleaſant ſmell and ſent.

At a feaſt at court, ibid.

Slowe be the ſewers in ſerving in alway,
But ſwift be they after, taking the meate away:
A ſpeciall cuſtom is uſed them amonge,
No good diſhe to ſuffer on borde to be long:
If the diſhe be pleaſaunt, eyther fleſhe or fiſhe,
Ten handes at once ſwarme in the diſhe:
And if it be fleſhe ten knives ſhall thou ſee
Mangling the fleſhe, and in the platter flee:
To put there thy handes is perill without fayle,
Without a gauntlet or els a glove of mayle.

The two laſt lines remind us of a ſaying of Quin, who declared it was not ſafe to ſit down to a turtle-feaſt in one of the city-halls, without a baſket-hilted knife and fork. Not that I ſuppoſe Quin borrowed his bon mots from black letter books.

The following lines point out ſome of the feſtive tales of our anceſtors. Egl. iv.

Yet would I gladly heare ſome mery FIT
Of Mayde Marian, or els of Robin Hood;
Or Bentley's Ale which chaſeth well the blood,
Of Perte of Norwich, or ſauce of Wilberton,
Or buckiſh Toby well-ſtuffed as a ton.

He mentions *Bentley's Ale*, which *maketh me to winke*, Egl. ii.

Some of our antient domeſtic paſtimes and amuſements are recorded, Egl. iv.

Then is it pleaſure the yonge maydens amonge
To watche by the fire the winter-nightès long:——
And in the aſhes ſome playès for to marke,
To cover wardens [pears] for faulte of other warke:
To toſte white ſhevers, and to make prophitroles;
And, aſtir talking, oftimes to fill the bowles, &c.

He mentions ſome muſical inſtruments, Egl. ii.

— — — Methinkes no mirth is ſcant,
Where no rejoyſing of minſtrelſie doth want:
The bagpipe or fiddle to us is delectable, &c.

And the mercantile commodities of different countries and cities, Egl. iv.

England hath cloth, Bordeus hath ſtore of wine,
Cornwalle hath tinne, and Lymſter woolès fine.

London

Then is he decked as *poete laureate*,
When ſtinking Thais made him her *graduate*: —
If they have ſmelled the *artes triviall*,
They count them poets *hye and heroicall*[e].

The TOWRE OF VERTUE AND HONOUR, introduced as a ſong of one of the ſhepherds into theſe paſtorals, exhibits no very maſterly ſtrokes of a ſublime and inventive fancy. It has much of the trite imagery uſually applied in the fabrication of theſe ideal edifices. It, however, ſhews our author in a new walk of poetry. This magnificent tower, or caſtle, is built on inacceſſible cliffs of flint: the walls are of gold, bright as the ſun, and decorated with *olde hiſtoryes and pictures manyfolde*: the turrets are beautifully ſhaped. Among its heroic inhabitants are king Henry the eighth, Howard duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Shrewſbury. LABOUR is the porter at the gate, and VIRTUE governs the houſe. LABOUR is thus pictured, with ſome degree of ſpirit.

Fearfull is LABOUR, without favour at all,
Dreadfull of viſage, a monſter intractable;
Like Cerberus lying at gates infernall;
To ſome men his looke is halfe intollerable,
His ſhoulders large for burden ſtrong and able,
His bodie briſtled, his necke mightie and ſtiffe;
By ſturdie ſinewes his joynts ſtrong and ſtable,
Like marble ſtones his handès be as ſtiffe.

London hath ſcarlet, and Briſtowe pleaſaunt red, &c.

Of ſongs at feaſts, EGL. iv.

When your fat diſhes ſmoke hot upon your table,
Then laude ye ſonges and balades magnifie,
If they be merry, or written craftely,
Ye clappe your handes and to the makinge harke,
And one ſay to another, lo here a proper warke.

He ſays that minſtrels and ſingers are highly favoured at court, eſpecially thoſe of the *French giſe*. EGL. ii. Alſo *jugglers* and *pipers*, EGL. iv.

[e] EGL. iv.

Here

Here muſt man vanquiſh the dragon of Cadmus,
Gainſt the Chimere here ſtoutly muſt he fight;
Here muſt he vanquiſh the fearfull Pegaſus,
For the golden fleece here muſt he ſhewe his might:
If LABOUR gainſay, he can nothing be right:
This monſter LABOUR oft changeth his figure,
Sometime an oxe, a bore, or lion wight,
Playnely he ſeemeth thus changeth his nature.

Like as Protheus ofte changeth his ſtature.
* * * * * * * * *
Under his browes he dreadfully doth lowre
With gliſtering eyes, and ſide-dependant beard,
For thirſt and hunger alway his chere is ſoure,
His horned forehead doth make faynt hearts afeard.

Alway he drinketh, and yet alway is drye,
The ſweat diſtilling with droppes abundant, &c.

The poet adds, that when the noble Howard had long boldly contended with this hideous monſter, had broken the bars and doors of the caſtle, had bound the porter, and was now preparing to aſcend the tower of Virtue and Honour, FORTUNE and DEATH appeared, and interrupted his progreſs[f].

The firſt modern Latin Bucolics are thoſe of Petrarch, in number twelve, written about the year 1350[g]. The Eclogues of Mantuan, our author's model, appeared about the year 1400, and were followed by many others. Their number multiplied ſo ſoon, that a collection of thirty-eight modern bucolic poets in Latin was printed at Baſil, in the year 1546[h]. Theſe writers judged this indirect and diſguiſed mode of dialogue, conſiſting of ſimple characters which ſpoke freely and plainly, the moſt ſafe and convenient vehicle for abuſing

[e] EGL. iv.
[f] Ibid.
[g] BUCOLICORUM ECLOGÆ XII.
[h] Viz. xxxviii. AUTHORES BUCOLICI, Baſil. 1546. 8vo.

the

the corruptions of the church. Mantuan became ſo popular, as to acquire the eſtimation of a claſſic, and to be taught in ſchools. Nothing better proves the reputation in which this writer was held, than a ſpeech of Shakeſpeare's pedant, the pedagogue Holofernes. " *Fauſte, precor, gelida quando pecus* " *omne ſub ulmo*[i], and ſo forth. Ah, good old MANTUAN! " I may ſpeak of thee, as the traveller doth of Venice, *Vi-* " *negia, Vinegia, chi non te vedi, ei non te pregia.* Old MAN- " TUAN! Old MANTUAN! Who underſtandeth thee not, " loveth thee not[k]." But although Barklay copies Mantuan, the recent and ſeparate publication in England of Virgil's bucolics, by Wynkyn de Worde[l], might partly ſuggeſt the new idea of this kind of poetry.

With what avidity the Italian and French poets, in their reſpective languages, entered into this ſpecies of compoſition, when the rage of Latin verſification had ſubſided, and for the purpoſes above-mentioned, is an inquiry reſerved for a future period. I ſhall only add here, that before the cloſe of the fifteenth century, Virgil's bucolics were tranſlated into Italian[m], by Bernardo Pulci, Foſſa de Cremona, Benivieni, and Fiorini Buoninſegni.

[i] One of Mantuan's lines. Farnaby in his Preface to Martial ſays, that *Fauſte precor gelida*, was too often preferred to *Arma virumque cano.* I think there is an old black letter tranſlation of Mantuan into Engliſh. Another tranſlation appeared by one Thomas Harvey, 1656. Mantuan was three times printed in England before the year 1600. Viz. B. Mantuani Carmelitæ theologi ADOLESCENTIA ſeu BUCOLICA. With the commentary of Jodocus Badius. Excud. G. Dewes and H. Marſhe, 1584. 12mo. Again, for the ſame, the ſame year, 12mo. Again, for Robert Dexter, 1598. 12mo. With Arguments to the Eclogues, and Notes by John Murmelius, &c.

[k] LOVE'S LAB. L. ACT iv. Sc. 3.

[l] BUCOLICA VIRGILII *cum commento familiari.* At the end, *Ad juvenes hujus Maroniani operis commendatio. Die vero* viii *Aprilis.* 4to. And they were reprinted by the ſame, 1514, and 1516.

[m] Viz. LA BUCOLICA DI VIRGILIO per Fratrem Evangeliſtam FOSSA de Cremona ord. ſervorum. In Venezia, 1494. 4to. But thirteen years earlier we find, Bernardo PULCI nella BUCOLICA di Virgilio: di Jeronimo BENIVIENI, Jacopo FIORINO Buoninſegni de Sienna: Epiſtole di Luca Pulci. In Firenze, per Bartolomeo Miſcomini, 1484. A dedication is perfixed, by which it appears, that Buoninſegni wrote a PISCATORY ECLOGUE, the firſt ever written in Italy, in the year 1468. There was a ſecond edition of Pulci's verſion, La BUCOLICA di VIRGILIO tradotta per Bernardo PULCI con l'Elegie. In Fiorenza, 1494.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

IT is not the plan of this work to comprehend the Scotch poetry. But when I consider the close and national connection between England and Scotland in the progress of manners and literature, I am sensible I should be guilty of a partial and defective representation of the poetry of the former, was I to omit in my series a few Scotch writers, who have adorned the present period, with a degree of sentiment and spirit, a command of phraseology, and a fertility of imagination, not to be found in any English poet since Chaucer and Lydgate: more especially as they have left striking specimens of allegorical invention, a species of composition which appears to have been for some time almost totally extinguished in England.

The first I shall mention is William Dunbar, a native of Salton in East Lothian, about the year 1470. His most celebrated poems are The THISTLE AND THE ROSE, and THE GOLDEN TERGE.

The THISTLE AND THE ROSE was occasioned by the marriage of James the fourth, king of Scotland, with Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of Henry the seventh, king of England: an event, in which the whole future political state of both nations was vitally interested, and which ultimately produced the union of the two crowns and kingdoms. It was finished on the ninth day of May in the year 1503, nearly three months before the arrival of the queen in Scotland: whose progress from Richmond to Edinburgh was attended with a greater magnificence of parade, processions, and spectacles, than I ever remember to have seen on any similar occasion [a]. It may be pertinent to premise, that Mar-

[a] See a memoir, cited above, in Leland's COLL. tom. iii. APPEND. edit. 1770. p. 265. It is worthy of particular notice, that during this expedition there was in the magnificent suite of the princess a company of players, under the direction of one John English,

garet was a ſingular patroneſs of the Scotch poetry, now beginning to flouriſh. Her bounty is thus celebrated by Stewart of Lorne, in a Scotch poem, called LERGES OF THIS NEW YEIR DAY, written in the year 1527.

Grit god relief [b] MARGARET our quene!
For and ſcho war and ſchò has bene [c]
Scho wold be larger of lufray [d]
Than all the laif that I of mene [e],
For lerges [f] of this new-yeir day [g].

Dunbar's THISTLE AND ROSE is opened with the following ſtanzas, which are remarkable for their deſcriptive and pictureſque beauties.

Quhen [h] Merche was with variand windis paſt,
And Apperyll had with her ſilver ſhouris
Tane leif [i] of Nature, with ane orient blaſt,
And luſty May, that muddir [k] is of flouris
Had maid the birdis to begyn thair houris [l].

Engliſh, who is ſometimes called Johannes. "Amonge the faide lordes and the qweene "was in order, Johannes and his com-"panye, the menſtrells of muſicke, &c." p 267. See alſo, p. 299. 300. 280. 289. In the midſt of a moſt ſplendid proceſſion, the princeſs rode on horſe-back behind the king into the city of Edinburgh, p. 287. Afterwards the ceremonies of this ſtately marriage are deſcribed; which yet is not equal, in magnificence and expence, to that of Richard the ſecond with Iſabell of France, at Calais, in the year 1397. This laſt-mentioned marriage is recorded with the moſt minute circumſtances, the dreſſes of the king and the new queen, the names of the French and Engliſh nobility who attended, the preſents, one of which is a golden cup ſtudded with jewels, and worth three thouſand pounds, given on both ſides, the banquets, entertainments, and a variety of other curious particulars, in five large vellum pages, in an antient Regiſter of Merton priory in Surrey, in old French. MSS. LAUD, E. 54. fol. 105. b. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Froiſſart, who is moſt commonly prolix in deſcribing pompous ceremonies, might have greatly enriched his account of the ſame royal wedding, from this valuable and authentic record. See his CRON. tom. iv. p. 226. ch. 78. B. penult. Paris, 1574. fol. Or lord Berners's Tranſlation, vol. ii. f. 275. cap. ccxvi. edit. Pinſon, 1523. fol.

[b] Great god help, &c.

[c] If ſhe continues to do as ſhe has done.

[d] Bounty. Fr. *L'Offre*.

[e] Any other I could ſpeak of.

[f] Largeſs. Bounty.

[g] St. x.

[h] When. *Qu* has the force of *w*.

[i] Taken Leave.

[k] Mother.

[l] Mattin oriſons. From *Horæ* in the miſſal. So again in the GOLDEN TERGE, St. ii. Where he alſo calls the birds the *chapel-clarkes*.

Amang the tendir odouris reid and quhyt,
Quhois harmony to heir it was delyt:

In bed at morrow sleiping as I lay,
Methoct Aurora, with her cristall ene
In at the window lukit [m] by the day,
And halsit [n] me with visage pale and grene;
On quhois hand a lark sang, fro the splene [o],
" Awak, luvaris [p], out of your slemering [q],
" Se how the lusty morrow doth upspring!"

Methoct freshe May befoir my bed upstude,
In weid [r] depaynt of mony diverse hew,
Sober, benygn, and full of mansuetude,
In bright atteir of flouris forgit new [s],
Hevinly of color, quhyt, reid, brown, and blew,
Balmit in dew, and gilt with Phebus' bemys;
Quhil al the house illumynit of her lemys [t].

MAY then rebukes the poet, for not rising early, according to his annual custom, to celebrate the approach of the spring; especially as the lark has now announced the dawn of day, and his heart in former years had always,

chapel-clarkes of Venus, St. iii. In the COURTE OF LOVE, Chaucer introduces the birds singing a mass in honour of May. Edit. Urr. p. 570. v. 1353. seq.

On May-day, when the larke began to ryse,
To MATTINS went the lustie nighingale.

He begins the service with *Domine labia*. The eagle sings the *Venite*. The pepingay *Cæli enarrant*. The peacock *Dominus regnavit*. The owl *Benedicite*. The *Te Deum* is converted into *Te Deum* AMORIS, and sung by the thrush, &c. &c. Skelton, in the BOKE OF PHILIP SPARROW, ridicules the missal, in supposing various parts of it to be sung by birds. p. 226. edit. Lond. 1739, 12mo. Much the same sort of fiction occurs in Sir David Lyndesay's COMPLAYNT OF THE PAPYNGO, edit. ut infr. SIGNAT. B. iii.

Suppose the geis and hennis suld cry alarum,
And we sall serve *secundum usum Sarum*, &c.

[m] Looked.
[n] Hailed.
[o] With good will. Loudly.
[p] Lovers.
[q] Slumbering.
[r] Attire.
[s] From Chaucer, MILLER'S TALE, v. 147. p. 25. Urr.

Full brightir was the shining of hir hewe
Than in the Towre the noble *forged newe*.

[t] Brightness.

— — — glaid and blisfsful bene
Sangis [u] to mak undir the levis grene [x].

The poet replies, that the ſpring of the preſent year was unpromiſing and ungenial; unattended with the uſual ſong of birds, and ſerenity of ſky: and that ſtorms and ſhowers, and the loud blaſts of the horn of *lord* Eolus, had uſurped her mild dominion, and hitherto prevented him from wandering at leiſure under the vernal branches. MAY rejects his excuſe, and with a ſmile of majeſty commands him to ariſe, and to perform his annual homage to the flowers, the birds, and the ſun. They both enter a delicious garden, filled with the richeſt colours and odours. The ſun ſuddenly appears in all his glory, and is thus deſcribed in the luminous language of Lydgate.

The purpour ſone, with tendir bemys reid,
In orient bricht as angell did appeir,
Thorow goldin ſkyis putting up his heid,
Quhois gilt treſſis ſchone ſo wondir cleir,
That all the world take comfort far and neir [y].

Immediately the birds, like the morning-ſtars, ſinging together, hail the unuſual appearance of the ſun-ſhine.

And, as the bliſsful ſone of cherarchy [z],
The fowlis ſung throw comfort of the licht;
The burddis did with oppin voices cry,
" O luvaris, fo away thow dully nicht,
" And welcum day that comfortis every wicht.

[u] Songs.

[x] St. iv. See Chaucer's KNIGHT'S TALE, v. 1042. p. 9. Urr.

She was ariſin, and all redie dight,
For May will have no ſluggardy annight:
The ſeaſon prikkith every gentill herte;
And makith it out of his ſlepe to ſterte,
And ſayth, aryſe, and do May obſervaunce, &c.

[y] St. viii.

[z] The hierarchy. See JOB, ch. xxxviii. v. 7. The morning-ſtars ſinging together.

" Hail

" Hail May, hail Flora, hail Aurora ſchene,
" Hail princes Nature, hail Venus luvis quene [a].

NATURE is then introduced, iſſuing her interdict, that the progreſs of the ſpring ſhould be no longer interupted, and that Neptune and Eolus ſhould ceaſe from diſturbing the waters and air.

Dame Nature gaif an inhibitioun thair,
To fers Neptune, and Eolus the bauld [b],
Nocht to perturb the wattir nor the air;
And that no ſchouris [c] nor blaſtis cawld
Effray ſuld [d] floris, nor fowlis on the fauld;
Scho bad eke Juno goddes of the ſky
That ſcho the hevin ſuld amene and dry [e].

This preparation and ſuſpence are judicious and ingenious; as they give dignity to the ſubject of the poem, awaken our curioſity, and introduce many poetical circumſtances. NATURE immediately commands every bird, beaſt, and flower, to appear in her preſence; and, as they had been uſed to do every May-morning, to acknowledge her univerſal ſovereignty. She ſends the roe to bring the beaſts, the ſwallow to collect the birds, and the yarrow [f] to ſummon the flowers. They are aſſembled before her in an inſtant. The lion advances firſt, whoſe figure is drawn with great force and expreſſion.

[a] St. ix.
[b] Bold.
[c] Read *Scho-u-ris*.
[d] Should hurt.
[e] St. x.
[f] The yarrow is *Achillea*, or Milleſolium, commonly called *Sneeſwort*. There is no reaſon for ſelecting this plant to go on a meſſage to the flowers; but that its name has been ſuppoſed to be derived from *Arrow*, being held a remedy for healing wounds inflicted by that weapon. The poet, to apologiſe for his boldneſs in perſonifying a plant, has added, " full craftely conjurit ſcho." St. xii.

This

This awefull beist full terrible was of cheir,
Persing of luke, and stout of countenance,
Ryght strong of corps, of fassoun fair but feir [g],
Lusty of shaip, lycht of deliverance,
Reid of his cullour as the ruby glance,
In field of gold he stude full mychtely
With floure de lucis sirculit [h] lustely [i].

This is an elegant and ingenious mode of blazoning the Scottish arms, which are a lion with a border, or tressure, adorned with flower de luces. We should remember, that heraldry was now a science of high importance and esteem. NATURE lifting up his *clavis clein*, or shining claws, and suffering him to rest on her knee, crowns him with a radiant diadem of precious stones, and creates him the king of beasts: at the same time she injoins him to exercise justice with mercy, and not to suffer his subjects of the smallest size or degree, to be oppressed by those of superiour strength and dignity. This part of NATURE's charge to the lion, is closed with the following beautiful stroke, which indicates the moral tenderness of the poet's heart.

And lat no bowgle with his busteous [k] hornis
The meik pluch ox [l] oppress for all hys pryd,
Bot in the yok go peciable him besyd [m].

She next crowns the eagle king of fowls; and sharpening his talons like darts of steel, orders him to govern great and small, the wren or the peacock, with an uniform and equal impartiality. I need not point out to my reader the political lessons couched under these commands. NATURE now calls the flowers; and observing the thistle to be surrounded

[g] Fierce.
[h] Encircled.
[i] St. xiv.
[k] Boisterous. Strong.
[l] Plough-ox.
[m] St. xvi.

with

with a bush of spears, and therefore qualified for war, gives him a crown of rubies, and says, "In field go forth and "fend the laif[n]. The poet continues elegantly to picture other parts of the royal arms; in ordering the thistle, who is now king of vegetables, to prefer all herbs, or flowers, of rare virtue, and rich odour: nor ever to permit the nettle to associate with the flour de lys, nor any ignoble weed to be ranked in competition with the lily. In the next stanza, where NATURE directs the thistle to honour the rose above all other flowers, exclusive of the heraldic meaning, our author with much address insinuates to king James the fourth an exhortation to conjugal fidelity, drawn from the high birth, beauty, and amiable accomplishments, of the royal bride the princess Margaret[o].

Nor hald no udir flower in sic denty[p]
As the fresche ROSE, of cullour reid and quhyt;
For gif thou dois[q], hurt is thyne honesty,
Considdering that no flour is so perfyt,
So full of vertew, pleasans, and delyt,
So ful of blissfull angelick bewty,
Imperial birth, honour, and dignite[r].

NATURE then addresses the rose, whom she calls, "O lusty "daughter most benyng," and whose lineage she exalts above that of the lily. This was a preference of Tudor to Valois.

[n] Defend the rest.

[o] Among the pageants exhibited at Edinburgh in honour of the nuptials, she was complimented with the following curious mixture of classical and scriptural history. "Ny to that cross was a scarfawst "[scaffold] made, where was represented "Paris and the three Deesses, with Mer-"cure that gaff hym the apyll of gold for "to gyffe to the most fayre of the Thre, "which he gave to Venus. In the scar-"fawst was also represented the Salutacion "of Gabriell to the Virgyne in saying: "*Ave gratia*, and sens after [next,] the "sollempnizacion of the very maryage "betwix the said Vierge [Virgin] and Jo-"seph." Leland, COLL. iii. APPEND. p. 289. ut supr. Not to mention the great impropriety, which they did not perceive, of applying such a part of scripture.

[p] *Dainty*. Price.

[q] If thou doest.

[r] St. xxi.

She

She crowns the rose with *clarefied* gems, the lustre of which illumines all the land. The rose is hailed queen by the flowers. Last, her praises are sung by the universal chorus of birds, the sound of which awakens the poet from his delightful dream. The fairy scene is vanished, and he calls to the muse to perpetuate in verse the wonders of the splendid vision.

Although much fine invention and sublime fabling are displayed in the allegorical visions of our old poets, yet this mode of composition, by dealing only in imaginary personages, and by excluding real characters and human actions, necessarily fails in that chief source of entertainment which we seek in antient poetry, the representation of antient manners.

Another general observation, immediately resulting from the subject of this poem, may be here added, which illustrates the present and future state of the Scotch poetry. The marriage of a princess of England with a king of Scotland, from the new communication and intercourse opened between the two courts and kingdoms by such a connection, must have greatly contributed to polish the rude manners, and to improve the language, literature, and arts, of Scotland.

The design of Dunbar's GOLDEN TERGE, is to shew the gradual and imperceptible influence of love, when too far indulged, over reason. The discerning reader will observe, that the cast of this poem is tinctured with the morality and imagery of the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, and the FLOURE AND LEAFE, of Chaucer.

The poet walks forth at the dawn of a bright day. The effects of the rising sun on a vernal landscape, with its accompaniments, are thus delineated in the manner of Lydgate, yet with more strength, distinctness, and exuberance of ornament.

Richte

Richte as the ſtarre of day began to ſchyne,
When gone to bed was Veſper and Lucyne,
I raiſe, and by a roſier [s] did me reſt:
Upſprang the golden candle matutyne,
With cleir depurit [t] bemys chryſtallyne,
Glading the mirry fowlis in thair neſt:
Or Phebus was in purpour kaip [u] reveſt,
Upſprang the lark, the hevenis menſtral ſyne [w],
In May intill a morrow mirthfulleſt.

Full angelyk the birdis ſang thair houris,
Within their courtings [x] grene, within thair bouris
Apparrellit quhaite and reid with blumys ſweit:
Ennamelit was the feild with all cullouris,
The perlit droppis ſchuke as in ſilver ſchouris [y],
While al in balme did branche and levis fleit
Depairt from Phebus, did Aurora greit,
Hir chryſtall teiris I ſaw hing on the flouris,
Quhilk he for lufe all drank up with his heit.

For mirth of May, with ſkippis and with hoppis,
The birdis ſang upon the tendir croppis [z],
With curious notes, as Venus' chapell-clarkes:
The roſis reid, now ſpreiding of their knoppis [a],
Were powderit [b] bricht with heavenly beryl-droppis,
Throw bemys reid lemyng as ruby ſparks;
The ſkyis rang with ſchoutyng of the larks,
The purpour hevin owreſkalit in ſilver ſloppis [c]
Owregilt the treis, branchis, levis and barks.

[s] Roſe-tree.
[t] Purified.
[u] Cape. Ere Phebus was dreſſed in his purple robe.
[w] Then.
[x] Curtains.
[y] The pearled drops fell from the trees like ſilver ſhowers.
[z] Branches.
[a] Knobs. Buds.
[b] Beſprinkled. An heraldic term. See OBSERVATIONS on the FAIRY QUEEN, ii. p. 158. ſeq.
[c] Covered with ſtreaks, *ſlips*, of ſilver.

Down thruch the ryſs[d] ane revir ran with ſtremis
So luſtely upoun the lykand[e] lemis,
That all the lake as lamp did leme of licht,
Quhilk ſhaddowit all about with twynklyng glemis[f];
The bewis[g] baithit war in ſecound bemis,
Through the reflex of Phebus viſage bricht
On every ſide the egè raiſe on hicht[h]:
The bank was grene, the ſon was ful of bemis,
The ſtreimeirs cleir as ſtarres in froſtie nicht.

The cryſtall cleir, the ſapheir firmament,
The ruby ſkyies of the reid orient,
Keſt[i] beryl bemis on emerault bewis grene,
The roſy garth[k], depaynt, and redolent,
With purpour, aſure, gold, and gowlis[l] gent,
Arrayit was, by dame Flora the quene,
Sa nobilly, that joy was for to ſene:
The rocke[m], agane the river reſplendent,
As low illuminate all the levis ſchene[n].

[d] Through the buſhes, the trees. Rice, or *Ris*, is properly a long branch. This word is ſtill uſed in the weſt of England. Chaucer, MILLER'S TALE, v. 215. p. 26. Urr. edit.

And thereupon he had a fair ſurplice
As white as is the bloſome on the *rice*.

[See ſupr. vol. i. p. 428.] So in a Scotch poem by Alexander Scott, written 1562. ANTIENT SCOTTISH POEMS, Edinb. 1770. p. 194.

Welcum oure rubent rois [roſe] upon the *rice*.

So alſo Lydgate, in his poem called LONDON LICKPENNY, MSS. Harl. 367.

Hot peſcode own [one] began to crye,
Straberys rype, and *cherryes in the* RYSE.

That is, as he paſſed through London ſtreets, they cried, hot peaſe, ripe ſtrawberries, and cherries on a *bough*, or twig.

[e] Pleaſant.

[f] The water blazed like a lamp, and threw about it ſhadowy gleams of twinkling light.

[g] Boughs.

[h] The high-raiſed edges, or bank.

[i] Caſt.

[k] Garden.

[l] Gules. The heraldic term for red.

[m] The rock, glittering with the reflection of the river, illuminated as with fire all the bright leaves. *Low* is flame.

[n] ST. i. ſeq. Compare Chaucer's Morning, in the KNIGHT'S TALE, v. 1493. p. 12. Urr.

The mery lark, meſſengere of the day,
Salewith in her ſong the morowe gray;
And fyrie Phebus ryſing up ſo bright
That all the orient laughith at the ſight,
And with his ſtremis dryith in the greves
The ſilver dropis hanging in the leves.

It is ſeldom that we find Chaucer indulging his genius to an abſurd exceſs in florid deſcriptions. The ſame cannot be ſaid of Lydgate.

Our

Our author, lulled by the music of the birds, and the murmuring of the water, falls asleep on the flowers, which he calls *Flora's mantill.* In a vision, he sees a ship approach, whose sails are like the *blossom upon the spray*, and whose masts are of gold bright as the *star of day* [o]. She glides swiftly through a christal bay; and lands in the blooming meadows, among the green rushes and reeds, an hundred ladies clad in rich but loose attire. They are cloathed in green kirtles; their golden tresses, tied only with glittering threads, flow to the ground; and their snowy bosoms are unveiled.

Als fresche as flours that in the May upspreids
In kirtills grene, withoutin kell [p] or bands
Their bricht hair hung glittering on the strand
In tresis cleir, wypit [q] with golden threidis;
With pawpys [r] whyt, and middills small as wands [s].

In this brilliant assembly, the poet sees NATURE, *dame* Venus *quene, the fresche* AURORA, May, *lady* Flora *schene*, Juno, Latona, Proserpine, Diana goddess of the chase and *woodis grene, lady* Clio, Minerva, Fortune, and Lucina. These *michty quenes* are crowned with diadems, glittering like the morning-star. They enter a garden. May, the queen of mirthful *months*, is supported between her sisters April and

[o] In our old poetry and the romances, we frequently read of ships superbly decorated. This was taken from real life. Froissart, speaking of the French fleet in 1387, prepared for the invasion of England under the reign of Richard the second, says, that the ships were painted with the arms of the commanders and gilt, with banners, pennons, and standards, of silk: and that the masts were painted from top to bottom, glittering with gold. The ship of lord Guy of Tremoyll was so sumptuously garnished, that the painting and colours cost 2000 French franks, more than 222 pounds of English currency at that time. See Grafton's CHRON. p. 364. At his second expedition into France, in 1417, king Henry the fifth was in a ship, whose sails were of purple silk most richly embroidered with gold. Speed's CHRON. B. ix. p. 636. edit. 1611. Many other instances might be brought from antient miniatures and illuminations.

[p] Caul.

[q] Bound.

[r] Paps.

[s] ST. vii.

June: as ſhe walks up and down the garden, the birds begin to ſing, and NATURE gives her a gorgeous robe adorned with every colour under heaven.

> Thair ſawe I NATURE prefent till [t] her a gown
> Riche to beholde, and noble of renoune,
> Of everie hew that undir the hevin has bene
> Depaint and braid [u] by gud proportioun [v].

The vegetable tribes then do their obeiſance to NATURE, in theſe poliſhed and elegant verſes.

> And every blome on branche, and eik on bank,
> Opnit, and ſpred thair balmy levis dank,
> Full law inclyneand to thair queen full cleir,
> Whom for their noble nuriſſing thay thank [x].

Immediately another court, or groupe, appears. Here Cupid the king preſides:

> — — — a bow in hand ay bent,
> And dreadfull arrowis groundin ſcherp and ſquhair.
> Thair ſawe I Mars the god armipotent
> Awefull and ſtirnè, ſtrong and corpulent.
> Thair ſawe I crabit [y] Saturne, auld and hair [z],
> His look was lyk for to perturb the air.
> Thair was Mercurius, wiſe and eloquent,
> Of retorik that fund [a] the floris fair [b].

Theſe are attended with other pagan divinities, Janus, Priapus, Eolus, Bacchus the *glader of the table*, and Pluto. They are all arrayed in green; and ſinging amorous ditties to the

[t] To her.
[u] Broad.
[v] ST. x.
[x] ST. xi.
[y] Crabbed.
[z] Hoar.
[a] Found.
[b] ST. xiii.

harp

harp and lute, invite the ladies to dance. The poet quits his ambuſh under the trees, and preſſing forward to gain a more perfect view of this tempting ſpectacle, is eſpied by Venus. She bids her *keen archers* arreſt the intruder. Her attendants, a groupe of fair ladies, inſtantly drop their green mantles, and each diſcovers a huge bow. They form themſelves in battle-array, and advance againſt the poet.

And firſt of all, with bow in hand ay bent;
Came dame BEAUTY, richt as ſcho wald me ſchent;
Syne followit all her damoſalls in feir,
With many divers awfull inſtrument [c]:
Into the praiſs FAIR HAVING [d] with her went;
Syne [e] PORTRATOR, PLESANCE, and luſty CHEIR,
Than came RESSOUN, with Schield of gold ſo cleir,
In plait of mail, as Mars armipotent,
Defendit me that noble [f] chevellier [g].

BEAUTY is aſſiſted by *tender* YOUTH with her *virgins ying*, GREEN INNOCENCE, MODESTY, and OBEDIENCE: but their reſiſtance was but feeble againſt the golden target of REASON. WOMANHOOD then leads on PATIENCE, DISCRETION, STEDFASTNESS, BENIGNE LOOK, MYLDE CHEIR, and HONEST BUSINESS.

Bot RESSOUN bare the Terge with ſic conſtance,
Thair ſcharp eſſay might do me no deirance [h],
For all thair praiſs and awfull [i] ordinance [k].

The attack is renewed by DIGNITY, RENOWN, RICHES, NOBILITY, and HONOUR. Theſe, after diſplaying their *high* banner, and ſhooting a cloud of arrows, are ſoon obliged to

[c] Formidable weapons.
[d] Behaviour.
[e] Next.
[f] Warrior.
[g] ST. xvii.
[h] Injury.
[i] Weapons.
[k] ST. xix.

retreat.

retreat. Venus, perceiving the rout, orders DISSEMBLANCE to make an attempt to pierce the Golden Shield. DISSEMBLANCE, or DISSIMULATION, chuſes for her archers, PRESENCE, FAIR CALLING, and CHERISHING. Theſe bring back BEAUTY to the charge. A new and obſtinate conflict enſues.

> Thik was the ſchott of grindin arrowis kene,
> Bot RESSOUN, with the Schield of Gold ſo ſchene,
> Weirly[l] defendit quhoſoeir aſſayit:
> The awfull ſchour he manly did ſuſtene[m].

At length PRESENCE, by whom the poet underſtands that irreſiſtible incentive accruing to the paſſion of love by ſociety, by being often admitted to the company of the beloved object, throws a magical powder into the eyes of REASON; who is ſuddenly deprived of all his powers, and reels like a drunken man. Immediately the poet receives a deadly wound, and is taken priſoner by BEAUTY; who now aſſumes a more engaging air, as the clear eye of REASON is growing dim by intoxication. DISSIMULATION then tries all her arts on the poet: FAIR CALLING ſmiles upon him: CHERISHING ſooths him with ſoft ſpeeches: NEW ACQUAINTANCE embraces him awhile, but ſoon takes her leave, and is never ſeen afterwards. At laſt DANGER delivers him to the cuſtody of GRIEF.

By this time, "God Eolus his bugle blew." The leaves are torn with the blaſt: in a moment the pageant diſappears, and nothing remains but the foreſt, the birds, the banks, and the brook[n]. In the twinkling of an eye they return to the ſhip; and unfurling the ſails, and ſtemming the ſea with a rapid courſe, celebrate their triumph with a diſcharge of ordinance. This was now a new topic for poetical deſcription. The ſmoke riſes to the firmament, and the roar is re-echoed by the rocks, with a ſound as if the rain-bow had been broken.

[l] Warily. [m] St. xxiii. [n] St. xxvi.

And

And as I did awak of this ſwowning[o],
The joyfull fowlis merrily did ſing
For mirth of Phebus tendir bemis ſchene.
Sweit was the vapours, ſoft the morrowing,
Hailſum the vaill[p] depaynt with flours ying,
The air intemperit ſober and amene;
In whit and red was al the erd beſene,
Throw Naturis nobill freſch ennameling
In mirthfull May of every moneth quene[q].

Our author then breaks out into a laboured encomium on Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. This I chuſe to recite at large, as it ſhews the peculiar diſtinction antiently paid to thoſe fathers of verſe; and the high ideas which now prevailed, even in Scotland, of the improvements introduced by their writings into the Britiſh poetry, language, and literature[r].

O reverend CHAUSER, roſe of rhetouris all,
As in our tonge ane flour[s] imperial
That raiſe in Britain ever, quha reidis richt[t],
Tho beiris of makin[u] the triumphs royall,
The freſche enamilit termes celeſtiall:
This mater couth haif illuminit full bricht[w];
Was thou nocht of our Engliſh all the licht,
Surmounting every toung terreſtriall
As far as Mayis morrow dois midnycht.

O moral GOWER, and LYDGATE laureat,
Your ſuggarit[x] tonguis, and[y] lippis aureat,

[o] Dream.
[p] Vale.
[q] ST. xxviii.
[r] Other inſtances occur in the elder Scotch poets. See ſupr. p. 125.
[s] One flower.
[t] Ever roſe, or ſprung, in Britain, whoſo reads right.
[u] Thou beareſt of poets.
[w] This ſubject would have appeared to ſome advantage, had not, &c.
[x] Sugared.
[y] Lips.

Bene-

Bene till our [z] eris cauſe of gret delyte;
Your angelic mouth moſt mellifluate
Our rude language has cleir illumynat,
And has owregilt our ſpeiche, that imperfyte
Stude, or your goldin pennis ſchup to wryt [a],
This yle befoir was bair and diſſolat [b]
Of rhetorik, or luſty freſche [c] indyte [d].

This panegyric, and the poem, is cloſed with an apology, couched in elegant metaphors, for his own comparative humility of ſtyle. He addreſſes the poem, which he calls a *litill quair*.

O know quhat thou of rhetoric has ſpent;
Of hir luſty roſis redolent
Is nane into thy garland ſett on hicht [e].
O ſchame [f] thairfor, and draw thè out of ſicht!
Rude is thy weid [g], deſtitute, bair, and rent,
Weill aucht thou be affeirit of the licht [h]!

Dunbar's DAUNCE has very great merit in the comic ſtyle of painting. It exhibits a groupe of figures touched with the capricious but ſpirited pencil of Callot. On the eve of Lent, a general day of confeſſion, the poet in a dream ſees a diſplay of heaven and hell. Mahomet [i], or the devil, commands a dance to be performed by a ſelect party of fiends; particularly by thoſe, who in the other world had never

[z] To our ears.
[a] Ere your golden pens were ſhaped to write.
[b] Bare and deſolate.
[c] Elegant compoſition.
[d] ST. xxx.
[e] No freſh and fragrant roſes of rhetoric are placed on high in thy garland.
[f] Be aſhamed.
[g] Weed. Dreſs.
[h] ST. xxxi.
[i] Mahon. Sometimes written Mahoun, or Mahound. See Mat. Pariſ. p. 289. ad ann. 1236. And Du Freſne, Lat. Gloſſ. V. MAHUM. The chriſtians in the cruſades were accuſtomed to hear the Saracens ſwear by their prophet Mahomet: which thence became in Europe another name for the devil.

made

made confeſſion to the prieſt, and had conſequently never received abſolution. Immediately the SEVEN DEADLY SINS appear; and preſent a maſk, or mummery, with the neweſt gambols juſt imported from France[k]. The firſt is PRIDE, who properly takes place of all the reſt, as by *that* SIN *fell the angels*. He is deſcribed in the faſhionable and gallant dreſs of thoſe times: in a bonnet and gown, his hair thrown back, his cap awry, and his gown affectedly flowing to his feet in large folds.

Let ſe, quoth he[l], now quha beginis?
With that the fowll Deadly Sinnis
Begouth to leip attanis[m].
And firſt of all in dance was PRYD,
With hair wyld bak, bonet on ſyde,
Lyk to make vaiſtie wanis;
And round about him as a quheill[n],
Hang all in rumpillis[o] to the heill,
His kethat[p] for the nanis[q].
Many proud trumpour[r] with him trippit,
Throw ſkaldan[s] fyr ay as they ſkippit
They girnd with hyddous[t] granis[v].

Several *holy harlots* follow, attended by monks, who make great ſport for the devils[w].

[k] The original is *garmountis*. In the Memoir, cited above, concerning the progreſs of the princeſs Margaret into Scotland, we have the following paſſage. "The "lord of Northumberland made his *devoir*, "at the departynge, of *gambades* and *lepps*, "[leaps,] as did likewiſe the lord Scrop "the father, and many others that retorned "agayne, in *takyng ther congie*." p. 281. [See Notes, ſupr. p. 253.]

[l] Mahomet.

[m] Began to dance at once.

[n] Wheel.

[o] Rumples.

[p] Caſaque, Caſſock.

[q] Nonce. Deſignedly.

[r] Deceiver. See Spenſer's SIR TROMPART. Or perhaps an empty fellow, a rattle. Or Trompour may be *trumpeter*, as in Chaucer's KNIGHT'S TALE, v. 2673. See Chaucer's CANTERBURY TALES, with the NOTES of the very judicious and ingenious editor. Lond. 1775. vol. iv. p. 231.

[s] Scalding.

[t] They grinned hideouſly.

[v] St. ii.

[w] St. iii.

Heilie Harlottis in hawtain wyis [x],
Come in with mony ſindrie gyis [y],
But yet luche nevir [z] Mahoun:
Quhill prieſtis cum with bair ſchevin [a] nekks,
That all the feynds lewche [b], and maid gekks [c],
Black-belly, and *Bawſy-brown*.

Black-belly and Bawſy-brown are the names of popular ſpirits in Scotland. The latter is perhaps our ROBIN GOOD-FELLOW, known in Scotland by the name of BROWNIE.

ANGER is drawn with great force, and his accompaniments are boldly feigned. His hand is always upon his knife, and he is followed, in pairs, by boaſters, threateners, and quarrelſome perſons, all armed for battle, and perpetually wounding one another [d].

Than YRE come in with ſturt [e] and ſtryfe;
His hand was ay upon his knyfe,
He brandeiſt lyk a beir:
Boſtaris, braggariſts, and barganeris,
Efter hym paſſit in pairis,
All bodin in feir of weir [f]:
In jakkis, ſtryppis, and bonnettis of ſteil [g],
Thair leggis wer cheyned to the heill [h],
Frawart was thair affeir [i];

[x] Haughty guiſe.
[y] Gambols.
[z] Never laughed.
[a] While prieſts came with bare-ſhaven.
[b] Laughed.
[c] Signs of deriſion.
[d] ST. iv.
[e] Diſturbance. Affray.
[f] Literally, "All arrayed in feature of war." *Bodin*, and *feir* of *war*, are in the Scotch ſtatute-book. Sir David Lyndeſay thus ſpeaks of the ſtate of Scotland during the minority of James the fifth. COMPLAYNT OF THE PAPYNGO. SIGNAT. B. iii. edit. ut infr.

Oppreſſioun did ſa loud his bougill blaw,
That none durſt ride but into *feir of weir*.

That is, *without being armed for battle*.
[g] In ſhort jackets, plates, or ſlips, and bonnets of ſteel. Short coats of mail and helmets.
[h] Either, chained together. Or, their legs armed with iron, perhaps iron net-work, down to the heel.
[i] Their buſineſs was untoward. Or elſe, their look *froward*, fierce. *Feir* is feature.

Sum

Sum upon uder with brands beft [k],
Sum jagit utheris to the heft [l]
With knyvis that ſcheirp coud ſcheir [m].

ENVY is equal to the reſt. Under this SIN our author takes occaſion to lament, with an honeſt indignation, that the courts of princes ſhould ſtill give admittance and encouragement to the whiſperers of idle and injurious reports [n].

Next in the dance followit INVY,
Fild full of feid [o] and fellony,
Hid malyce and diſpyte;
For pryvie haterit [p] that tratour trymlit [q],
Him followit mony freik diſſymlit [r],
With feynit wordis quhyte.
And flattereris into mens facis,
And back-byttaris [s] of ſundry racis,
To ley [t] that had delyte.
With rownaris [u] of fals leſingis [w]:
Allace! that courtis of noble kingis
Of tham can nevir be quyte [x]!

AVARICE is uſhered in by a troop of extortioners, and other miſcreants, patroniſed by the magician Warloch, or the demon of the covetous; who vomit on each other torrents of melted gold, blazing like wild-fire: and as they are emptied at every diſcharge, the devils repleniſh their throats with freſh ſupplies of the ſame liquefied metal [y].

[k] Some ſtruck others, their companions, with ſwords.
[l] Wounded others to the quick. To the haft.
[m] Cut ſharp.
[n] ST. v.
[o] Enmity.
[p] Hatred.
[q] Trembled.
[r] Diſſembling gallant.
[s] Backbiters.
[t] Lye.
[u] Rounders, whiſperers. To *round in the ear*, or ſimply to *round*, was to whiſper in the ear.
[w] Falſities.
[x] Free.
[y] ST. vi.

SLOTH does not join the dance till he is called twice: and his companions are so slow of motion, that they cannot keep up with the rest, unless they are roused from their lethargy by being sometimes warmed with a glimpse of hell-fire [z].

Syne SWIRNES, at the seccound bidding,
Come lyk a sow out of a midding [a],
Full slepy was his grunyie [b].
Mony sweir bumbard belly-huddroun [c],
Mony slute daw and slepy duddroun [d],
Him servit ay with sounyie [e].
He drew tham forth intill a chenyie [f],
And Belliall, with a brydill reynie [g],
Evir lascht on the lunyie [h].
In daunce thay wer so slow of feit
Thay gaif tham in the fyre a heit
And maid tham quicker of conyie [i].

LUST enters, neighing like a horse [k], and is led by IDLENESS. When his associates mingle in the dance, their visages burn red like the turkis-stone [l]. The remainder of the stanza, although highly characteristical, is too obscene to be transcribed. But this gave no offence. Their manners were too indelicate to be shocked at any indecency. I do not mean that these manners had lost their delicacy, but that they had not yet acquired the sensibility arising from civilisation. In one of the Scotch interludes of this age, written by a fashionable court-poet, among other ridiculous obscenities, the trying on of a Spanish padlock in public makes a part of theatrical representation.

[z] ST. vii.
[a] Dunghill.
[b] Snout. Visage.
[c] Lazy, drunken sloven.
[d] Slothful, idle, spectre.
[e] Attended on him with care.
[f] Into a chain.
[g] A bridle-rein. Thong of leather.
[h] Lashed them on the loins.
[i] Apprehension.
[k] "Berand like a bagit horse." The French *baguette* need not be explained.
[l] ST. viii.

GLUTTONY

GLUTTONY brings up the rear; whose insatiable rout are incessantly calling out for meat and drink, and although they are drenched by the devils with draughts of melted lead, they still ask for more.

Than the fowll monster GLUTTONY,
Of wame [m] unsasiable and gredy,
To daunce syn did him dress:
Him followit mony fowll drunckhart,
With can and collop, cop [n] and quart,
In surfett and excess.
Full many a waistless wally-drag [o],
With waimis [p] unweildable did furth wag,
In creische [q] that did incress:
Drink, ay thay cryit with mony a gaip [r],
The feynds gave them hait leid to lap [s]
Thair lovery [t] was na less [u].

At this infernal dance no minstrels plaid. No GLEEMAN, or minstrel, ever went to hell; except one who committed murder, and was admitted to an inheritance in hell *by brief of richt*, that is, *per breve de recto* [w]. This circumstance seems an allusion to some real fact.

The concluding stanza is entirely a satire on the highlanders. Dunbar, as I have already observed, was born in Lothian, a county of the Saxons. The mutual antipathy between the Scottish Saxons and the Highlanders was excessive, and is not yet quite eradicated. Mahoun, or Mahomet, having a desire to see a highland pageant, a fiend is commissioned to fetch Macfadyan; an unmeaning name, chosen for its harshness. As soon as the infernal messenger begins

[m] Womb. Belly.
[n] Cup.
[o] Out-cast.
[p] Wombs. Bellies.
[q] Fat.
[r] Gape.
[s] Hot lead to drink, to lap.
[t] Desire. Appetite.
[u] ST. ix.
[w] ST. x.

to publiſh his ſummons, he gathers about him a prodigious crowd of *Erſche men*; who ſoon took up great room in hell. Theſe loquacious *termagants* began to chatter like rooks and ravens, in their own barbarous language: and the devil is ſo ſtunned with their horrid yell, that he throws them down to his deepeſt abyſs, and ſmothers them with ſmoke.

Than cryd Mahoun for a heleand padyane,
Syn ran a feynd to fetch Makfadayne
Far northwart in a nuke [x]:
Be he the correnoth had done ſchout [y],
Erſche men ſo gadderit him about,
In hell grit rume thay tuke:
Thae turmagantis [z] with tag and tatter
Full loud in Erſche begout to clatter,
And rowp [a] lyk revin and ruke.
The devil ſa devit [b] wes with thair yell
That in the deepeſt pot of hell
He ſmorit them with ſmoke [c].

I have been prolix in my citations and explanations of this poem, becauſe I am of opinion, that the imagination of

[x] Nook.

[y] As ſoon as he had made the cry of diſtreſs, what the French call *a l'aide*. Some ſuppoſe, that the *correnoth*, or *corynoch*, is a highland tune. In MAK-GREGOR'S TESTAMENT, [MS. infr. citat.] the author ſpeaks of being out-lawed by the CORRINOCH, v. 51.

The loud CORRINOCH then did me exile,
Throw Lorne, Argyle, Monteith, and Braidalbane, &c.

That is, The *Hue and Cry*. I preſume, what this writer, in another place, calls the KING'S-HORN, is the ſame thing, v. 382.

Quhen I have beine aſt at the KINGIS HORNE.

[z] Perhaps the poet does not mean the common idea annexed to *termagant*. The context ſeems to ſhew, that he alludes to a ſpecies of wild-fowl, well known in the highlands, and called in the Scotch ſtatute-book *termigant*. Thus he compares the highlanders to a flock of their country birds. For many illuſtrations of this poem, I am obliged to the learned and elegant editor of ANTIENT SCOTTISH POEMS, lately publiſhed from Lord Hyndford's manuſcript: and to whom I recommend a taſk, for which he is well qualified, The Hiſtory of Scotch Poetry.

[a] Chattered hoarſely.

[b] Deafened.

[c] ST. xi.

Dunbar

Dunbar is not leſs ſuited to ſatirical than to ſublime allegory: and that he is the firſt poet who has appeared with any degree of ſpirit in this way of writing ſince Pierce Plowman. His THISTLE AND ROSE, and GOLDEN TERGE, are generally and juſtly mentioned as his capital works: but the natural complexion of his genius is of the moral and didactic caſt. The meaſure of this poem is partly that of Sir THOPAS in Chaucer: and hence we may gather by the way, that Sir THOPAS was antiently viewed in the light of a ludicrous compoſition. It is certain that the pageants and interludes of Dunbar's age muſt have quickened his invention to form thoſe groteſque groupes. The exhibition of MORALITIES was now in high vogue among the Scotch. A Morality was played at the marriage of James the fourth and the princeſs Margaret[d]. Mummeries, which they call GYSARTS, compoſed of moral perſonifications, are ſtill known in Scotland: and even till the beginning of this century, eſpecially among the feſtivities of Chriſtmas, itinerant maſkers were admitted into the houſes of the Scotch nobility.

[d] MEMOIR, ut ſupr. p. 300.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

ANother of the diſtinguiſhed luminaries, that marked the reſtoration of letters in Scotland at the commencement of the ſixteenth century, not only by a general eminence in elegant erudition, but by a cultivation of the vernacular poetry of his country, is Gawen Douglaſs. He was deſcended from a noble family, and born in the year 1475[e]. According to the practice of that age, eſpecially in Scotland, his education perhaps commenced in a grammar-ſchool of one of the monaſteries: there is undoubted proof, that it was finiſhed at the univerſity of Paris. It is probable, as he was intended for the ſacred function, that he was ſent to Paris for the purpoſe of ſtudying the canon law: in conſequence of a decree promulged by James the firſt, which tended in ſome degree to reform the illiteracy of the clergy, as it injoined, that no eccleſiaſtic of Scotland ſhould be preferred to a prebend of any value without a competent ſkill in that ſcience[f]. Among other high promotions in the church, which his very ſingular accompliſhments obtained, he was provoſt of the collegiate church of ſaint Giles at Edinburgh, abbot of the opulent convent of Abberbrothrock, and biſhop of Dunkeld. He appears alſo to have been nominated by the queen regent to the archbiſhoprick, either of Glaſgow, or of ſaint Andrew's: but the appointment was repudiated by the pope[g]. In the year 1513, to avoid the perſecutions of the duke of Albany, he fled from Scotland into England, and was moſt graciouſly received by king Henry the eighth; who, in conſideration of his literary merit, al-

[e] Hume, Hist. Dougl. p. 219.
[f] Leſl. Reb. Gest. Scot. Lib. ix.
[g] Thynne, Continuat. Hist. Scot. 455.

lowed

lowed him a liberal pension[h]. In England he contracted a friendship with Polydore Virgil, one of the classical scholars of Henry's court[i]. He died of the plague in London, and was buried in the Savoy church, in the year 1521[k].

In his early years he translated Ovid's ART OF LOVE, the favorite Latin system of the science of gallantry, into Scottish metre, which is now lost[l]. In the year 1513, and in the space of sixteen months[m], he translated into Scotch heroics the Eneid of Virgil, with the additional thirteenth book by Mapheus Vegius, at the request of his noble patron Henry earl of Sinclair[n]. But it was projected so early as the year 1501. For in one of his poems written that year[o], he promises to Venus a translation of Virgil, in attonement for a ballad he had published against her court: and when the work was finished, he tells Lord Sinclair, that he had now made his peace with Venus, by translating the poem which celebrated the actions of her son Eneas[p]. No metrical version of a classic had yet appeared in English; except of Boethius, who scarcely deserves that appellation. Virgil was hitherto commonly known, only by Caxton's romance on the subject of the Eneid; which, our author says, no more resembles Virgil, than the devil is like saint Austin[q].

This translation is executed with equal spirit and fidelity: and is a proof, that the lowland Scotch and English languages were now nearly the same. I mean the style of com-

[h] Hollinsh. SCOT. 307.—iii. 872.

[i] Bale, xiv. 58.

[k] Weever, FUN. MON. p. 446. And Stillingfl. ORIG. BRIT. p. 54.

[l] See edit. Edinb. fol. 1710. p. 483. In the EPISTLE, or EPILOGUE, to Lord Sinclair. I believe the editor's name is ROBERT FREEBAIRN, a Scotchman. This translation was first printed at London, 1553. 4to. bl. lett.

[m] Lesl. REB. GEST. SCOT. lib. ix. p. 379. Rom. 1675.

[n] EPILOGUE, ut supr.

[o] The PALICE OF HONOUR, ad calcem.

[p] EPIL. ut supr.

[q] PROLOGUE to the Translation, p. 5. The manuscript notes written in the margin of a copy of the old quarto edition of this translation, by Patrick Junius, which bishop Nicolson (HIST. LIBR. p. 99.) declares to be excellent, are of no consequence, Bibl. Bodl. ARCHIV. SELD. B. 54. 4to. The same may be said of Junius's Index of obsolete words in this translation, Cod. MSS. Jun. 114. (5225.) See also Mus. Ashmol. *Diverse Scotch words*, &c. COD. ASHM. 846. 13.

 position;

position; more especially in the glaring affectation of anglicising Latin words. The several books are introduced with metrical prologues, which are often highly poetical; and shew that Douglas's proper walk was original poetry. In the prologue to the sixth book, he wishes for the Sybill's golden bough, to enable him to follow his master Virgil through the dark and dangerous labyrinth of the infernal regions [r]. But the most conspicuous of these prologues is a description of May. The greater part of which I will insert [s].

As fresche Aurore, to mychty Tithone spous,
Ischit [t] of her saffron bed, and euyr [u] hous,
In crammesy [v] clad and granite violate,
With sanguyne cape, the selvage [x] purpurate;
Unschet [y] the wyndois of hir large hall,
Spred all with rosis, and full of balme royall.
And eik the hevinly portis cristallyne
Upwarpis brade, the warlde till illumyne.
The twynkling stremouris [z] of the orient
Sched purpour sprayngis with gold and asure ment [a].
Eous the stede, with ruby hammys rede,
Abouf the seyis liftis furth his hede
Of culloure sore, and somedele broun as bery,
For to alichtin and glad our emispery;
The flambe out brastin at the neis thirlis.—
Quhil schortlie, with the blesand [b] torche of day,
Abulzeit [c] in his lemand [d] fresche array,
Furth of his palice ryall ischit Phebus,
With golden croun and visage glorious,

[r] In the Prologue to the eighth book, the alliterative manner of Pierce Plowman is adopted.
[s] Pag. 400.
[t] Issued.
[u] Ivory.
[v] Crimson.
[x] Edge.
[y] Unshut, i. e. opened.
[z] Streamers.
[a] Streaks mingled with, &c.
[b] Blazing.
[c] Fr. Habillè. Cloathed.
[d] Luminous.

Crisp

Crisp haris [e], bricht as chrissolite or thopas;
For quhais hew [f] mycht nane behold his face:
The firie sparkis brasting from his ene,
To purge the air, and gilt the tender grene.—
The auriat phanis [g] of his trone soverane
With glitterand glance overspred the octiane [h];
The largè fludis, lemand all of licht,
Bot with ane blenk [i] of his supernal sicht,
For to behald, it was ane glore to se
The stabillyt [k] wyndis, and the calmyt se;
The soft sessoun [l], the firmament serene;
The loune illuminate are [m], and firth [n] amene:
The silver-scalit fyschis on the grete [o],
Ouer thowrt [p] clere stremes sprinkilland [q] for the hete,
With fynnys schinand broune as synopare [r],
And chesal talis [s], stourand here and there [t]:
The new cullour, alichting [u] all the landis,
Forgane the stanryis schene [w], and beriall strandis:
Quhil the reflex of the diurnal bemes
The bene bonkis [x] kest ful of variant glemes:
And lustie Flora did her blomes sprede
Under the fete of Phebus fulzeart [y] stede,
The swardit soyll enbrode with selkouth hewis [z],
Wod and forest obumbrate with bewis [a],

[e] Curled locks.
[f] Whose excessive brightness.
[g] Fans, or vanes, of gold.
[h] Ocean.
[i] Only with one glance.
[k] Settled, calmed.
[l] Season.
[m] Air without wind, &c.
[n] Frith.
[o] Sand, gravel.
[p] Athwart, across, through.
[q] Gliding swiftly, with a tremulous motion, or vibration, of their tails.
[r] Cinnabar.
[s] Tails shaped like chissels.
[t] Swimming swiftly, darting hastily.
[u] Illuminating.
[w] Over, upon, over-against, the bright gravel, or small stones, thrown out on the banks of rivers. Hence, the strands were all of beryl.
[x] Pleasant banks.
[y] Brilliant, glittering.
[z] Bladed with grass, and embroidered with strange colours.
[a] Boughs.

Quhais blysful branchis, porturate[b] on the ground,
With schaddois schene schew rocchis rubicund:
Towris, turrettis, kirnallis[c], and pynnakillis hie,
Of kirkis, castellis, and ilk faire citie,
Stude payntit, every fane, phioll[d], and stage[e],
Apoun the playn grounde by thaire awn umbrage[f].
Of Eolus north blastis havand[g] no drede,
The sulze spred hir brad bosum on brede[h].—
The cornis croppis, and the bere new-brerde[i],
With gladsum garment revesting the erde[k].—
The variant vesture of the venust vale
Schrowdis the scherand fur[l], and every fale[m]
Ouerfrett[n] with fulzeis[o], and fyguris ful dyuers,
The pray[p] bysprent with spryngand sproutis dyspers,
For callour humours on the dewy nycht,
Rendryng sum place the gyrs pylis thare licht,
Als fer as catal the lang somerys day
Had in thare pasture ete and gnyp away:
And blysful blossomys in the blomyt zard
Submittis thare hedys in the zoung sonnys safgard:
Iue leius[q] rank ouerspred the barmkyn[r] wall,
The blomit hauthorne cled his pykis all,

[b] Portrayed, painted, reflected.
[c] Battlements.
[d] Round tower.
[e] Story.
[f] Their own shadow.
[g] Having.
[h] The soil, the country, spread abroad her expansive bosom.
[i] New-sprung barley.
[k] Earth.
[l] Furrow.
[m] Turf.
[n] It is evident our author intends to describe two distinct things, viz. corn-fields, and meadows or pasture-lands: the former in the three first lines; *the varyant vesture*, &c, is plainly arable, and the *fulzeis and fyguris full dyuers*, are the various leaves and flowers of the weeds growing among the corn, and making a piece of embroidery. And here the description of corn-fields ends: and that of pasture-lands begins at, *The pray bysprent*, &c. *Pray*, not as the printed glossary says, *corruptedly for spray*, but formed, through the French, from the Lat. *Pratum*, and *Spryngand Sproutis*, rising springs, from the Ital. *spruzzare*, *spruzzolare*, *aspergere*.
[o] Leaves.
[p] Mead.
[q] Ivy-leaves.
[r] Rampart.

Furth

Furth of freſche burgeouns [s] the wyne grapis [t] zing
Endlang the trazileys [u] dyd on twiſtis hing,
The loukit [w] buttouns on the gemyt treis
Ouerſpredand leuis of naturis tapeſtryis.
Soft greſy verdoure eftir balmy ſchouris,
On curland ſtalkis ſmyland to thare flowris:
Behaldand thame ſa mony divers hew
Sum piers [x], ſum pale, ſum burnet, and ſum blew,
Sum gres, ſum gowlis, ſum purpure, ſum ſanguane,
Blanchit or broun, fauch zallow mony ane,
Sum heuinly colourit in celeſtial gre,
Sum [y] watty hewit as the haw wally [z] ſe;
And ſum departe in freklis rede and quhyte,
Sum bricht as gold with aureate leuis lyte.
The daſy did on [a] brede hir crownel ſmale,
And euery flour unlappit in the dale,
In battil gers [b] burgeouns, the banwart wyld,
The clauir, catcluke, and the cammomylde;
The flourdelyce furth ſprede his heuynly hew,
Floure damas, and columbe blak and blew,
Sere downis ſmal on dentilioun [c] ſprang,
The zoung grene [d] blomit ſtrabery leus amang,
Gimp jereflouris [e] thareon leuis unſchet,
Freſche prymrois, and the pourpour violet,
The rois knoppis, tetand furth thare hede,
Gan chyp, and kyth thare vernale lippis rede,
Cryſp ſkarlet leuis ſum ſcheddand baith at attanis,
Keſt [f] fragrant ſmel amyd fra goldin granis [g],

[s] Sprigs.
[t] Young.
[u] Trelliſſes. Eſpaliers for vines.
[w] Locked. Encloſed. Gemmed.
[x] Red.
[y] Watchet.
[z] Blue and wavy.
[a] Unbraid.
[b] Graſs embattelled.
[c] Dandelion.
[d] Young weeds.
[e] Gilliflowers. Gariophilum, Lat. Καρυόφυλλον. Gr. The Scotch word is nearer the original. Probably the poet wrote *thare awin*. See ver. 72. *thare awin umbrage*.
[f] It is obſervable, that our Poet never once mentions the ſcent of flowers till

Heuinlie lyllyis, with lokkerand toppis quhyte,
Opynnit and schew thare creistis redemyte [h],
The balmy vapour from thare sylkyn croppis
Distilland halesum sugurat hony droppis,
And sylver schakeris [i] gan fra leuis hing,
With chrystal sprayngis on the verdure zing:
The plane pouderit with semelie seitis sound,
Bedyit ful of dewy peirlys round;
So that ilk burgeon, syon, herbe, or floure,
Wox all enbalmit of the fresche liquour,
And baithit hait did in dulce humouris flete,
Quhareof the beis wrocht thare hony swete.—
Swannis [k] souchis throw out the respand [l] redis,
Ouer all the lochis [m] and the fludis gray,
Sersand by kynd ane place quhare they suld lay;
Phebus rede foule his curale creist can stere,
Oft strekand furth his hekkil crawand clere
Amyd the wortis, and the rutis gent,
Pickland hys mete in alayis quhare he went,
His wyffis Toppa and Partolet hym by,
As bird al tyme that hantis bygamy;

till he comes to the rose, and never at all the scent of any particular flower, except the rose, not even of the lily; for I take it, the words, *from thare sylkyn croppis*, are meant to describe the flowers in general; and *the balmy vapour* to be the same with the *fresche liquour*, and *the dulce humouris quhareof the beis wrocht thare hony swete*, an exhalation distinct from that which causes the scent. Afterwards *redolent odour*, is general; for he certainly means to close his description of the vegetable world, by one universal cloud of fragrance from all nature.

[g] Seeds.

[h] *Redeemed.* Released, opened. The glossary says, Decked, Beautiful, from *Redimitus*, Lat.

[i] Shakers.

[k] That Milton had his eye upon this passage is plain, from his describing the swan, the cock, and peacock, in this order, and with several of the attributes that our author has given them. See PARAD. L. vii. 438. seq.

—— The SWAN with arched neck
Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
Her state with oary feet; yet oft they quit
The dank, and rising on stiff pennons, tower
The mid aereal sky: Others on ground
Walk'd firm: the crested COCK, whose clarion sounds
The silent hours, and th' OTHER, whose gay train
Adorns him, color'd with the florid hue
Of rainbows and starry eyes.——

[l] Rustling.

[m] Lakes.

The

The payntit pownе[n] payſand with plumys gym,
Keſt up his tale ane proud pleſand quhile rym [o],
Iſchrowdit in his fedderane bricht and ſchene,
Schapand the prent of Argois hundreth ene;
Amang the bronys [p] of the olyue twiſtis,
Sere ſmale floulis, wirkand crafty neſtis,
Endlang the hedgeis thik, and on rank akis [q]
Ilk bird reioſand with thare mirthful makis:
In corneris and clere feneſteris of glas
Full beſely Arachne weuand was,
To knyt hyr nettis and hyr wobbis ſle,
Tharewith to cauch the litil mige [r] or fle:
Under the bewis bene in lufely valis,
Within fermance and parkis clois of palis,
The buſtuous bukkis rakis furth on raw,
Heirdis of hertis throw the thyck wod ſchaw,
The zoung fownys followand the dun days [s],
Kiddis ſkippand throw ronnys eftir rais [t],
In leſuris [u] and on leyis litill lammes
Full tait and trig ſocht bletand to thare dammes.
On ſalt ſtremes wolk Dorida and Thetis,
By rynnand ſtrandis, nymphs and naiades,
Sic as we clepe wenſchis and damyſſellis,
In gerſy grauis wanderand by ſpring wellis,
Of blomed branchis and flouris quhyte and rede
Plettand their luſty chaplettis for thare hede:
Sum ſang ring ſangis, ledis, and roundis,
With vocis ſchil, quhil all the dale reſoundis.—
Dame naturis menſtralis on that uthyr parte,
Thare blifsful bay intonyng euery arte,

n. Peacock.
o. Wheel-rim.
p. Branches.
q. Oaks.
r. Gnat.
s. Does.
t. Roes.
u. Leaſowes.

To

To bete thare amouris of thare nychtis bale,
The merle, the mauys, and the nychtingale,
With mirry notis myrthfully furth brist,
Enforsing thaym quha micht do clink it best:
The kowschot[w] croudis and pykkis on the ryse,
The stirling changis diuers steuynnys nyse[x],
The sparrow chirmis in the wallis clyft,
Goldspink and lintquhite fordynnand the lyft[y],
The gukkow galis[z], and so quhitteris the quale,
Quhil ryveris reirdit[a], schawis, and euery dale,
And tendir twistis trymblit on the treis,
For birdis sang, and bemyng of the beis,
In werblis dulce of heuinlie armonyis,
The larkis loude releischand[b] in the skyis,
Louis thare lege[c] with tonys curious;
Bayth to dame Natur, and the fresche Venus,
Rendring hie laudis in thare obseruance,
Quhais suggourit throttis[d] made glade hartis dance,
And al smal foulis singis on the spray;
Welcum the lord of licht, and lampe of day,
Welcum fosterare of tendir herbis grene,
Welcum quhikkynnar of flurist flouris schene,
Welcum support of euery rute and vane,
Welcum confort of al kind frute and grane,
Welcum the birdis beild[e] apoun the brere,
Welcum maister and reulare of the zere,
Welcum welefare of husbandis at the plewis[f],
Welcum reparare of woddis, treis, and bewis,

[w] Dove.
[x] Fine tunes.
[y] Firmament.
[z] Cries. So Chaucer of the nightingale. COUR. L. v. 1357.
But DOMINE LABIA gan he crie and GALE.
So the Friar is said to *gale*, WIFE OF B. PROL. v. 832.
[a] Resounded.
[b] Mounting.
[c] Praised their Lady NATURE.
[d] Sugared Throats.
[e] Who build.
[f] Ploughs.

Welcum

Welcum depaynter of the blomyt medis,
Welcum the lyffe of euery thing that ſpredis,
Welcum ſtorare [s] of all kynd beſtial,
Welcum be thy bricht bemes gladand al.

The poetical beauties of this ſpecimen will be reliſhed by every reader who is fond of lively touches of fancy, and rural imagery. But the verſes will have another merit with thoſe critics who love to contemplate the progreſs of compoſition, and to mark the original workings of genuine nature; as they are the effuſion of a mind not overlaid by the deſcriptions of other poets, but operating, by its own force and bias, in the delineation of a vernal landſcape, on ſuch objects as really occurred. On this account, they deſerve to be better underſtood: and I have therefore tranſlated them into plain modern Engliſh proſe. In the mean time, this experiment will ſerve to prove their native excellence. Diveſted of poetic numbers and expreſſion, they ſtill retain their poetry; and, to uſe the compariſon of an elegant writer on a like occaſion, appear like Ulyſſes, ſtill a king and conqueror, although diſguiſed like a peaſant, and lodged in the cottage of the herdſman Eumaeus.

" Freſh Aurora, the wife of Tithonus, iſſued from her " ſaffron bed, and ivory houſe. She was cloathed in a robe " of crimſon and violet-colour; the cape vermilion, and the " border purple: ſhe opened the windows of her ample " hall, overſpread with roſes, and filled with balm, or nard. " At the ſame time, the cryſtal gates of heaven were thrown " open, to illumine the world. The glittering ſtreamers of " the orient diffuſed purple ſtreaks mingled with gold and " azure.—The ſteeds of the ſun, in red harneſs of rubies, " of colour brown as the berry, lifted their heads above the " ſea, to glad our hemiſphere: the flames burſt from their

[s] Reſtorer.

" noſtrils: — While ſhortly, apparelled in his luminous
" array, Phebus, bearing the blazing torch of day, iſſued
" from his royal palace; with a golden crown, glorious
" viſage, curled locks bright as the chryſolite or topaz, and
" with a radiance intolerable.—The fiery ſparks, burſting
" from his eyes, purged the air, and gilded the new ver-
" dure.—The golden vanes of his throne covered the ocean
" with a glittering glance, and the broad waters were all in
" a blaze, at the firſt glimpſe of his appearance. It was
" glorious to ſee the winds appeaſed, the ſea becalmed, the
" ſoft ſeaſon, the ſerene firmament, the ſtill air, and the
" beauty of the watery ſcene. The ſilver-ſcaled fiſhes, on
" the gravel, gliding haſtily, as it were from the heat or ſun,
" through clear ſtreams, with fins ſhining brown as cinna-
" bar, and chiſſel-tails, darted here and there. The new
" luſtre, enlightening all the land, beamed on the ſmall
" pebbles on the ſides of rivers, and on the ſtrands, which
" looked like beryl: while the reflection of the rays played
" on the banks in variegated gleams; and Flora threw forth
" her blooms under the feet of the ſun's brilliant horſes.
" The bladed ſoil was embroidered with various hues. Both
" wood and foreſt were darkened with boughs; which, re-
" flected from the ground, gave a ſhadowy luſtre to the red
" rocks. Towers, turrets, battlements, and high pinnacles,
" of churches, caſtles, and every fair city, ſeemed to be
" painted; and, together with every baſtion and ſtory, ex-
" preſſed their own ſhape on the plains. The glebe, fearleſs
" of the northern blaſts, ſpread her broad boſom. — The
" corn-crops, and the new-ſprung barley, recloathed the
" earth with a gladſome garment. — The variegated veſture
" of the valley covered the cloven furrow; and the barley-
" lands were diverſified with flowery weeds. The meadow
" was beſprinkled with rivulets: and the freſh moiſture of
" the dewy night reſtored the herbage which the cattle had
" cropped in the day. The bloſſoms in the blowing garden

" truſted

" trusted their heads to the protection of the young sun. " Rank ivy-leaves overspread the wall of the rampart. The " blooming hawthorn cloathed all his thorns in flowers. The " budding clusters of the tender grapes hung end-long, by " their tendrils, from the trellises. The gems of the trees " unlocking, expanded themselves into the foliage of Na- " ture's tapestry. There was a soft verdure after balmy " showers. The flowers smiled in various colours on the " bending stalks. Some red, &c. Others, watchet, like the " blue and wavy sea; speckled with red and white; or, " bright as gold. The daisy unbraided her little coronet. " The grass stood embattelled, with banewort, &c. The " seeded down flew from the dandelion. Young weeds ap- " peared among the leaves of the strawberries. Gay gilli- " flowers, &c. The rose buds, putting forth, offered their " *red vernal lips* to be kissed; and diffused fragrance from the " crisp scarlet that surrounded their golden seeds. Lilies, " with white curling tops, shewed their crests open. The " odorous vapour moistened the silver webs that hung " from the leaves. The plain was powdered with round " dewy pearls. From every bud, scyon, herb, and flower, " bathed in liquid fragrance, the bee sucked sweet honey.— " The swans clamoured amid the rustling reeds; and search- " ed all the lakes and gray rivers where to build their nests. " The red bird of the sun lifted his coral crest, crowing " clear among the plants and *rutis gent*, picking his food " from every path, and attended by his wives Toppa and " Partlet. The painted peacock with gaudy plumes, un- " folded his tail like a bright wheel, inshrouded in his " shining feathers, resembling the marks of the hundred " eyes of Argus. Among the boughs of the twisted olive, " the small birds framed their artful nests, or along the " thick hedges, or rejoiced with their merry mates on the " tall oaks. In the secret nook, or in the clear windows of " glass, the spider full busily wove her fly net, to ensnare

" the little gnat or fly. Under the boughs that ſcreen the " valley, or within the pale-incloſed park, the nimble deer " trooped in ranks, the harts wandered through the thick " woody ſhaws, and the young fawns followed the dap- " pled does. Kids ſkipped through the briers after the roes; " and in the paſtures and leas, the lambs, *full tight and trig*, " bleated to their dams. Doris and Thetis walked on the " ſalt ocean; and Nymphs and Naiads, wandering by ſpring- " wells in the graſſy groves, plaited luſty chaplets for their " hair, of blooming branches, or of flowers red and white. " They ſung, and danced, &c.—Meantime, dame Nature's " minſtrels raiſe their amorous notes, the ring-dove coos " and pitches on the tall copſe, the ſtarling whiſtles her " varied deſcant, the ſparrow chirps in the clefted wall; the " goldfinch and linnet filled the ſkies, the cuckow cried, the " quail twittered; while rivers, ſhaws, and every dale re- " ſounded; and the tender branches trembled on the trees, " at the ſong of the birds, and the buzzing of the bees, &c."

This Landſcape may be finely contraſted with a deſcription of WINTER, from the Prologue to the ſeventh book[h], a part of which I will give in literal proſe.

" The fern withered on the miry fallows: the brown " moors aſſumed a barren moſſy hue: banks, ſides of hills, " and bottoms, grew white and bare: the cattle looked " hoary from the dank weather: the wind made the red " weed waver on the dike: From crags and the foreheads of " the yellow rocks hung great icicles, in length like a ſpear: " the ſoil was duſky and gray, bereft of flowers, herbs, and " graſs: in every holt and foreſt, the woods were ſtripped " of their array. Boreas blew his bugle horn ſo loud, that " the ſolitary deer withdrew to the dales: the ſmall birds " flocked to the thick briers, ſhunning the tempeſtuous " blaſt, and changing their loud notes to chirping: the cata-

[h] P. 200. fol. edit.

" racts

" racts roared, and every linden-tree whiſtled and *brayed* to " the ſounding of the wind. The poor labourers *went wet* " *and weary, draggled in the fen.* The ſheep and ſhepherds " lurked under the hanging banks, or wild broom.—Warm " from the chimney-ſide, and refreſhed with generous cheer, " I ſtole to my bed, and laid down to ſleep; when I ſaw the " moon, ſhed through the windows her twinkling glances, " and watery light: I heard the horned bird, the night- " owl, ſhrieking horribly with crooked bill from her cavern: " I heard the wild-geeſe, with ſcreaming cries, fly over the " city through the ſilent night. I was ſoon lulled aſleep; " till the cock clapping his wings crowed thrice, and the " day peeped. I waked and ſaw the moon diſappear, and " heard the jack-daws cackle on the roof of the houſe. The " cranes, prognoſticating tempeſts, in a firm phalanx, " pierced the air with voices ſounding like a trumpet. The " kite, perched on an old tree, faſt by my chamber, cried " lamentably, a ſign of the dawning day. I roſe, and half- " opening my window, perceived the morning, livid, wan, " and hoary; the air overwhelmed with vapour and cloud; " the ground ſtiff, gray, and rough; the branches rattling; " the ſides of the hills looking black and hard with the " driving blaſts; the dew-drops congealed on the ſtubble " and rind of trees; the ſharp hail-ſtones, deadly-cold, *hop-* " *ping* on the thatch and the neighbouring cauſeway, &c."

Bale, whoſe titles of Engliſh books are often obſcured by being put into Latin, recites among Gawin Douglaſs's poetical works, his *Narrationes aureæ*, and *Comœdiæ aliquot ſacræ*[i]. Of his NARRATIONES AUREÆ, our author ſeems to ſpeak in the EPILOGUE to VIRGIL, addreſſed to his patron lord Sinclair[k].

I have alſo a ſtrange command [comment] compyld,
To expone ſtrange hyſtoryes and termes wild.

[i] xiv. 58. [k] Ut ſupr. p. 483.

Perhaps

Perhaps these tales were the fictions of antient mythology. Whether the COMOEDIÆ were sacred interludes, or MYSTERIES, for the stage, or only sacred narratives, I cannot determine. Another of his original poems is the PALICE OF HONOUR, a moral vision, written in the year 1501, planned on the design of the TABLET of Cebes, and imitated in the elegant Latin dialogue *De Tranquillitate Animi* of his countryman Florence Wilson, or Florentius Volusenus [l]. It was first printed at London, in 1553 [m]. The object of this allegory, is to shew the instability and insufficiency of worldly pomp; and to prove, that a constant and undeviating habit of virtue is the only way to true Honour and Happiness, who reside in a magnificent palace, situated on the summit of a high and inaccessible mountain. The allegory is illustrated by a variety of examples of illustrious personages; not only of those, who by a regular perseverance in honourable deeds gained admittance into this splendid habitation, but of those, who were excluded from it, by debasing the dignity of their eminent stations with a vicious and unmanly behaviour. It is addressed, as an apologue for the conduct of a king, to James the fourth; is adorned with many pleasing incidents and adventures, and abounds with genius and learning.

[l] Lugd. apud Seb. Gryph. 1543. 4to.

[m] In quarto. Again, Edinb. 1579. 4to. "When pale Aurora with face lamentable." Douglass also wrote a small Latin History of Scotland. See also a DIALOGUE concerning a theological subject to be debated between, *duos famatos viros*, G. Douglas provost of saint Giles, and master David Cranstoun bachelour of divinity, prefixed to John Major's COMMENTARII *in prim. Sentent.* Paris. 1519. fol.

SECT.

SECT. XIV.

WITH Dunbar and Douglaſs I join Sir David Lyndeſay, although perhaps in ſtrictneſs he ſhould not be placed ſo early as the cloſe of the fifteenth century. He appears to have been employed in ſeveral offices about the perſon of James the fifth, from the infancy of that monarch, by whom he was much beloved; and at length, on account of his ſingular ſkill in heraldry, a ſcience then in high eſtimation and among the moſt polite accompliſhments, he was knighted and appointed Lion king of arms of the kingdom of Scotland. Notwithſtanding theſe ſituations, he was an excellent ſcholar [n].

Lyndeſay's principal performances are The DREME, and The MONARCHIE. In the addreſs to James the fifth, prefixed to the DREME, he thus, with much tenderneſs and elegance, ſpeaks of the attention he paid to his majeſty when a child.

> When thou wes young, I bare thee in myne arme
> Full tenderlie, till thow begouth to gang [o];
> And in thy bed oft lappit thee full warme
> With lute in hand, ſyne [p] ſweitlie to thee ſang.

He adds, that he often entertained the young prince with various dances and geſticulations, and by dreſſing himſelf in feigned characters, as in an interlude [q]. A new proof that theatrical diverſions were now common in Scotland.

[n] See the WARKIS OF THE FAMOUS AND WORTHIE KNIGHT SCHIR DAVID LYNDESAY of the Mount, &c. Newly correctit and vindicate from the former errouris, &c. Pr. by Johne Scott, A. D. 1568. 4to. They have been often printed. I believe the laſt edition is at Edinburgh, 1709. 12mo.

[o] Began to walk.

[p] Then.

[q] So alſo his COMPLAYNT *to the Kingis Grace*. SIGNAT. E. iii.

—— As

Sumtyme in danſing feirelie I flang,
And ſumtyme playand fairſis [r] on the flure:
* * * * * * * * *

And ſumtyme lyke ane feind [s] transfigurate,
And ſumtyme lyke the grieſlie gaiſt of Gy [t],
In divers formis oftymes disfigurate,
And ſumtyme diſſagiſt full pleſandlie [u].

In the PROLOGUE to the DREME, our author diſcovers ſtrong talents for high deſcription and rich imagery. In a

—— As ane chapman bures his pak,
I bure thy grace upon my bak;
And ſometimes ſtridlingis on my nek,
Danſand with many bend and bek.——
And ay quhen thow come from the ſcule,
Than I behuſit to play the ſule.—
I wol thou luffit me better than
Nor now ſome wyſe dois hir gude man.

[r] Playing farces, frolics.
[s] In the ſhape of a fiend.

[t] The grieſly ghoſt of Guy earl of Warwick.
[u] Diſguiſed, maſked, to make ſport. SIGNAT. D. i. He adds, what illuſtrates the text, above.

So ſen thy birth I have continuallie
Ben occupyit, and ay to thy pleſour,
And ſumtyme Sewar, Coppar, and Carvour.

That is, ſewer, and cupper or butler. He then calls himſelf the king's *ſecreit Theſaurar*, and *chief Cubicular*. Afterwards he enumerates ſome of his own works.

I have at lenth the ſtoreis done diſcryve
Of Hector, Arthur, and gentill Julius,
Of Alexander, and worthy Pompeius.

Of Jaſon and Medea, all at lenth,
Of Hercules the actis honorable,
And of Sampſon the ſupernaturall ſtrength,
And of leil luffaris [lovers] ſtories amiable;
And oftimes have I ſeinzeit mony fable,
Of Troilus the ſorrow and the joy,
And ſieges all of Tire, Thebes, and Troy.
The prophecyis of Rymour, Beid, and Marling,
And of mony other pleſand hiſtories,
Of the reid Etin, and the gyir catling.

That is, the prophecies of Thomas Rymour, venerable Bede, and Merlin. [See ſupr. vol. i. p. 74. 75. ſeq. And MSS. Aſhm. 337. 6.] Thomas the RIMOUR, or Thomas Leirmouth of Erceldoun, ſeems to have wrote a poem on Sir Triſtram. Rob. BRUNNE ſays this ſtory would exceed all others,

If men yt ſayd as made THOMAS.

That is, "If men recited it according to "the original compoſition of Thomas Er-"celdoun, or the RIMOUR." See Langtoft's CHRON. Append. Pref. p. 100. vol. i. edit. Hearne. Oxon. 1725. 8vo. He flouriſhed about 1280. I do not underſtand, The *reid Etin*, and the *gyir catling*: but *gyir* is a maſke or maſquerade. Many of Lyndeſay's Interludes are among Lord Hyndford's manuſcripts of Scotch poetry, and are exceedingly obſcene. One of Lyndeſay's MORALITIES, called, ANE SATYRE OF THE THREE ESTAITS *in commendation of vertew and vytuperation of vyce*, was printed at Edinburgh, 1602. This piece, which is intirely in rhyme, and conſiſts of a variety of meaſures, muſt have taken up four hours in the repreſentation.

morning

morning of the month of January, the poet quits the copſe and the bank, now deſtitute of verdure and flowers, and walks towards the ſea-beach. The dawn of day is expreſſed by a beautiful and brilliant metaphor.

> By this, fair Titan with his lemis licht
> Oer all the land had ſpred his banner bricht.

In his walk, muſing on the deſolations of the winter, and the diſtance of ſpring, he meets Flora diſguiſed in a ſable robe [w].

> I met dame Flora in dule weid diſſgyſit [x],
> Quhilk into May was dulce and delectabill,
> With ſtalwart [y] ſtorms hir ſweitneſs war ſuppriſt,
> Her hevinlie hewis war turnid into ſabill,
> Quhilk umquihle [z] war to luffaris amiabill.
> Fled from the froſt the tender flouris I ſaw
> Under dame NATURIS mantill lurking law [a].

The birds are then repreſented, flocking round NATURE, complaining of the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and calling for the genial warmth of ſummer. The expoſtulation of the lark with Aurora, the ſun, and the months, is conceived and conducted in the true ſpirit of poetry.

> " Allace, AURORE, the ſyllie lark gan cry,
> " Quhare has thou left thy balmy liquour ſweit,
> " That us rejoyſit, mounting in the ſkye?
> " Thy ſylver dropps are turnit into ſleit!
> " O fair Phebus, where is thy holſum heit?
> * * * * * * * * *

[w] SIGNAT. D. ii.
[x] Diſguiſed in a dark garment.
[y] Violent.
[z] Once, one while.
[a] Low.

" Quhair art thou, MAY, with JUNE thy sister schene,
" Weill bordourit with dasyis of delyte?
" And gentill JULIE, with thy mantill grene
" Enamilit with rosis reid and quhyte?

The poet ascends the cliffs on the sea-shore, and entering a cavern, *high in the crags*, sits down to *register in rhyme some mery mater of antiquitie*. He compares the fluctuation of the sea with the instability of human affairs; and at length, being comfortably shrouded from the falling sleet by the closeness of his cavern, is lulled asleep by the whistling of the winds among the rocks, and the beating of the tide. He then has the following vision.

He sees a lady of great beauty, and benignity of aspect; who says, she comes to sooth his melancholy by shewing him some new spectacles. Her name is REMEMBRANCE. Instantaneously she carries him into the center of the earth. Hell is here laid open [b]; which is filled with popes, cardinals, abbots, archbishops in their pontifical attire, and ecclesiastics of every degree. In explaining the causes of their punishments, a long satire on the clergy ensues. With these are joined *bishop* Caiphas, *bishop* Annas, the traitor Judas, Mahomet, Chorah, Dathan, and Abiram. Among the tyrants, or unjust kings, are Nero, Pharaoh, and Herod. Pontius Pilate is hung up by the heels. He sees also many duchesses and countesses, who suffer for pride and adultery. She then gives the poet a view of purgatory [c].

[b] It was a part of the old mundane system, that hell was placed in the centre of the earth. So a fragment, cited by Hearne, GLOSSARY Rob. Glouc. ii. 583.

Ryght so is hell-pitt, as clerkes telles,
Amyde the erthe and no where elles.

So also an old French tract, LIMAIGE DU MONDE, or *Image of the world*, " Saches " que en la terre est enfer, car enfer ne " pourrait estre en si noble lieu comme est " l'air, &c." ch. viii.

[c] See above, p. 197. seq. I have there mentioned a Vision of Hell, under the title of OWAYNE MILES. One Gilbertus Ludensis, a monk sent by king Stephen into Ireland, where he founded a monastery, with an Irish knight called OEN, wrote *De* OENI *Visione in Purgatorio*. See Wendover, apud Mat. Paris, sub ann. 1153.

Reg.

A litle above that dolorous dungeon,
We enterit in ane countre full of cair;
Quhare that we saw mony one legioun
Gretand and grouland with mony ruthfull rair[d].
Quhat place is this, quod I, of blis so bair?
Scho answerit and said, Purgatorie,
Qhuilk purgis saulis or they cum to glorie[e].

After some theological reasonings on the absurdity of this intermediate state, and having viewed the dungeon of unbaptized babes, and the limbus of the souls of men who died before Christ, which is placed in a vault above the region of torment, they reascend through the bowels of the earth. In passing, they survey the secret riches of the earth, mines of gold, silver, and precious stones. They mount, through the ocean, which is supposed to environ the earth: then travel through the air, and next through the fire. Having passed the three elements, they bend towards heaven, but first visit the seven planets[f]. They enter the sphere of the moon, who is elegantly styled,

Reg. Stephan. According to Ware, Gilbertus flourished in the year 1152. SCRIPTOR. HIBERN. p. 111. Among the manuscripts of Magdalene college in Oxford, are the VISIONES of Tundal, or Tungal, a knight of Ireland. "Cum anima mea "corpus exueret." MSS. Coll. Magd. 53. It is printed in Tinmouth's SANCTILOGIUM. And in the SPECULUM HISTORIALE of Vincentius Bellovacensis, lib. xxvii. cap. 98. He is called Fundalus in a manuscript of this piece, Bibl. Bodl. NE. B. 3. 16. He lived in the year 1149. Ware, ut supr. p. 55. I believe this piece is in the Cotton library, under the name of TUNDALE, MS. CALIG. A. 12. f. 17. See what is said in Froissart, of the visions of a cave in Ireland, called saint Patrick's Purgatory. tom. ii. c. 200. Berners's Transl.

[d] Roar.

[e] SIGNAT. D. iii.

[f] The planetary system was thus divided. i. The Primum Mobile, or first motion. ii. The cristalline heaven, in which were placed the fixed stars. iii. The twelve signs of the zodiac. iv. The spheres or circles of the planets in this order: viz. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury, and lastly the moon, which they placed in the centre of universal nature. Again, they supposed the earth to be surrounded by three elementary spheres, fire, air, and water. Milton, in his Elegy on the DEATH OF A FAIR INFANT, makes a very poetical use of the notion of a *primum mobile*, where he supposes that the soul of the child hovers

——— Above that high FIRST MOVING SPHERE,
Or in th' Elysian fields, &c.

ST. vi. v. 39. See PARAD. L. iii. 483.

Quene of the ſea, and beautie of the nicht.

The ſun is then deſcribed, with great force.

Than paſt we to the ſpheir of Phebus bricht,
That luſty lamp and lanterne of the hevin;
And glader of the ſterris with his licht;
And principal of all the planets ſevin,
And ſate in myddis of thame all full evin:
As roy[g] royall rolling in his ſphair
Full pleſandlie into his goldin chair.—

For to diſcryve his diademe royall,
Bordourit about with ſtonis ſchyning bricht,
His goldin car, or throne imperiall,
The four ſtedis that drawith it full richt, &c[h].

They now arrive at that part of heaven which is called the CHRYSTALLINE[i], and are admitted to the *Empyreal*, or heaven of heavens. Here they view the throne of God, ſurrounded by the nine orders of angels, ſinging with ineffable harmony[k]. Next the throne is the Virgin Mary, the queen of

[g] To be pronounced diſſyllabically.

[h] SIGNAT. E. i.

[i] Moſt of this philoſophy is immediately borrowed from the firſt chapters of the Nuremburgh Chronicle, a celebrated book when Lyndeſay wrote, printed in the year 1493. It is there ſaid, that of the waters above the firmament which were frozen like cryſtal, God made the cryſtalline heaven, &c. fol. iv. This idea is taken from GENESIS, i. 4. See alſo ſaint Paul, EPIST. COR. ii. xii. 2. The ſame ſyſtem is in Taſſo, where the archangel Michael deſcends from heaven, GIER. LIB. C. ix. ſt. 60. ſeq. And in Milton, PARAD. L. iii. 481.

They paſs the planets ſeven, and paſs the fixed,
And that cryſtallin ſphere, &c.

[k] Becauſe the ſcriptures have mentioned ſeveral degrees of angels, Dionyſius the Areopagite, and others, have divided them into nine orders; and thoſe they have reduced into three hierarchies. This was a tempting ſubject for the refining genius of the ſchool-divines: and accordingly we find in Thomas Aquinas a diſquiſition, *De ordinatione Angelorum ſecundum Hierarchias et Ordines*. QUÆST. cviii. The ſyſtem, which perhaps makes a better figure in poetry than in philoſophy, has been adopted by many poets who did not outlive the influence of the old ſcholaſtic ſophiſtry. See Dante, PARAD. C. xxviii. Taſſo mentions, among *La grande oſte del ciel*,

TRE FOLTE SQUADRE, et ogni ſquadra inſtrutta
In TRE ORDINI gira, &c.

GIER.

queens, "well cumpanyit with ladyis of delyte." An exterior circle is formed by patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, apostles, conquerors in the three battles of the world, of the flesh, and of the devil, martyrs, confessors, and *doctours in divinitie*, under the command of saint Peter, who is represented as their lieutenant-general [1].

Milton, who feigns the same visionary route with very different ideas, has these admirable verses, written in his nineteenth year, yet marked with that characteristical great manner, which distinguishes the poetry of his maturer age. He is addressing his native language.

Yet I had rather, if I were to chuse,
Thy service in some graver subject use;
Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound:

GIER. LIB. xviii. 96. And Spenser speaks of the angels singing in their TRINALL TRIPLICITIES. FAIR. QU. i. xii. 39. And again, in his Hymne of HEAVENLY LOVE. See also Sannazarius, DE PART. VIRGIN. iii. 241. Milton perhaps is the last poet who has used this popular theory. PARAD. L. v. 748.

Regions they pass'd, and mighty regencies
Of Seraphim, and Potentates, and Thrones,
In their TRIPLE DEGREES.——

And it gives great dignity to his arrangement of the celestial army. See ibid. supr. 583.

—— Th' empyreal host
Of angels, by imperial summons call'd,
Innumerable before th' Almighty's throne,
Forthwith from all the ends of heaven appear'd,
Under their HEIRARCHIES in ORDERS bright.——
Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanc'd,
Standards and gonfalons, twixt van and rear
Stream in the air, and for distinction serve
Of HIERARCHIES, of ORDERS, and DEGREES.

Such splendid and sublime imagery has Milton's genius raised on the problems of Thomas Aquinas! See also ibid. v. 600. Hence a passage in his Hymn on THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY is to be illustrated. ST. xiii. v. 131.

And with your ninefold harmony
Make up full concert to the angelike symphony.

That is, the symphony of the nine orders of angels was to be answered by the ninefold music of the spheres. One Thomas Haywood, a most voluminous dramatic poet in the reign of James the first, wrote a long poem with large notes on this subject, called THE HIERARCHIE OF ANGELS, printed in folio, at London, 1635. See also Jonson's ELEGIE ON MY MUSE, in the UNDERWOOD. p. 260. edit. fol. Lond. 1640.

[1] Ibid.

Such

Such, where the deep-transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles; and at Heaven's door
Look in, and see each blissfull deitie
How he before the thunderous throne doth lie,
Listening to what unshorn Apollo sings
To th' touch of golden wires, while Hebe brings
Immortal nectar to her kingly sire.
Then passing through the sphears of watchfull fire,
And mistie regions of wide air next under,
And hills of snow, and lofts of piled thunder,
May tell at length how green-eyed Neptune raves,
In heaven's defiance mustering all his waves [m].

REMEMBRANCE and the poet, leaving heaven, now contemplate the earth, which is divided into three parts. To have mentioned America, recently discovered, would have been heresy in the science of cosmography; as that quarter of the globe did not occur in Pliny and Ptolemy [n]. The most famous cities are here enumerated. The poet next desires a view of Paradise; that glorious *garth*, or garden, of every flower. It is represented as elevated in the middle region of the air, in a climate of perpetual serenity [o]. From a *fair* fountain, springing in the midst of this ambrosial garden, descend four rivers, which water all the east. It is inclosed with walls of fire, and guarded by an angel.

[m] At a VACATION EXERCISE, &c. Newton's MILT. ii. p. 11.

[n] For the benefit of those who are making researches in antient cosmography, I observe that the map of England, mentioned by Harrison and Hearne, and belonging to Merton college library, appears to have existed at least so early as the year 1512. For in that year, it was lent to the dean of Wells, William Cosyn, with a caution of forty shillings. Registr. Vet. Coll. Mert. fol. 218. b. See its restitution, ibid. fol. 219. b.

[o] "Paradisus tantæ est altitudinis, quod "est inaccessibilis secundum Bedam; et "tam altus, quod etheream regionem per-"tingat, &c." CHRON. NUR. ut supr. f. viii. b.

The

The cuntre clofit is about full richt,
With wallis hie of hote and birnyng fyre,
And ftraitly kepit by an angell bricht[p].

From Paradife a very rapid tranfition is made to Scotland. Here the poet takes occafion to lament, that in a country fo fertile, and filled with inhabitants fo ingenious and active, univerfal poverty, and every national diforder, fhould abound. It is very probable, that the poem was written folely with a view of introducing this complaint. After an enquiry into the caufes of thefe infelicities, which are referred to political mifmanagement, and the defective adminiftration of juftice, the COMMONWEALTH OF SCOTLAND appears, whofe figure is thus delineated.

We faw a bufteous berne[q] cum oer the bent[r],
But[s] hors on fute, als faft as he micht go;
Quhofe rayment was all raggit, rewin[t], and rent,
With vifage leyne, as he had faftit Lent:
And fordwart faft his wayis he did advance,
With ane richt melancholious countenance:

With fcrip on hip, and pyikftaff in his hand,
As he had bene purpofit to pas fra hame.
Quod I, gude man, I wald fane underftand,
Geve that ye pleifit[u], to wit[v] quhat wer your name?
Quod he, my fone, of that I think greit fchame,
Bot fen thow wald of my name have ane feill,
Forfwith they call me[x] *Johne the Commoun weill*[y].

[p] SIGNAT. E. iii.
[q] Boifterous fellow.
[r] Coarfe grafs.
[s] Without.
[t] Riven.
[u] If you pleafe.
[v] Know.
[x] JOHN, for what reafon I know not, is a name of ridicule and contempt in moft modern languages.
[y] SIGNAT. F. i.

The

The reply of SYR COMMONWEALTH to our poet's queſtion, is a long and general ſatire on the corrupt ſtate of Scotland. The ſpiritual plelates, he ſays, have ſent away Devotion to the mendicant friars: and are more fond of deſcribing the diſhes at a feaſt, than of explaining the nature of their own eſtabliſhment.

Senſual Pleaſure has baniſhed Chaſtity.

Liberality, Loyalty, and Knightly Valour, are fled,

And Cowardice with lords is laureate.

From this ſketch of Scotland, here given by Lyndeſay, under the reign of James the fifth, who acted as a viceroy to France, a Scotch hiſtorian might collect many ſtriking features of the ſtate of his country during that intereſting period, drawn from the life.

The poet then ſuppoſes, that REMEMBRANCE conducts him back to the cave on the ſea-ſhore, in which he fell aſleep. He is awakened by a ſhip firing a broadſide[z]. He returns home, and entering his oratory, commits his viſion to verſe. To this is added an exhortation of ten ſtanzas to king James the fifth: in which he gives his majeſty advice, and cenſures his numerous inſtances of miſconduct, with incredible boldneſs and aſperity. Moſt of the addreſſes to James the fifth, by the Scotch poets, are ſatires inſtead of panegyrics.

[z] They ſpared not the powder nor the *ſtones*.

A proof that ſtones were now uſed inſtead of leaden bullets. At firſt they ſhot darts, or *carrieaux*, *i. e.* quarrels, from great guns. Afterwards ſtones, which they called *gun-ſtones*. In the BRUT OF ENGLAND, it is ſaid, that when Henry the fifth, before Hareflete, received a taunting meſſage from the Dauphine of France, and a ton of tennis-balls by way of contempt, "he "anoone lette make tenes balles for the "*Dolfin* [Henry's ſhip] in all the haſte "that they myght, and they were great "GONNESTONES for the *Dolfin* to playe "with alle." But this game at tennis was too rough for the beſieged, when Henry "playede at the tenes with his harde GON-"NESTONES, &c." See Strutt's CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE ENGLISH, vol. ii. p. 32. Lond. 1775.

I have

I have not at present either leisure or inclination, to enter into a minute enquiry, how far our author is indebted in his DREME to Tully's DREAM OF SCIPIO, and the HELL, PURGATORY, and HEAVEN, of Dante[a].

Lyndesay's poem, called the MONARCHIE, is an account of the most famous monarchies that have flourished in the world: but, like all the Gothic prose-histories, or chronicles, on the same favorite subject, it begins with the creation of the world, and ends with the day of judgment[b]. There is much learning in this poem. It is a dialogue between EXPERIENCE and a courtier. This mode of conducting a narrative by means of an imaginary mystagogue, is adopted from Boethius. A descriptive prologue, consisting of octave stanzas, opens the poem, in which the poet enters a delightful park[c]. The sun clad in his embroidered mantle, brighter than gold or precious stones, extinguishes the *horned queen of night*, who hides her visage in a *misty veil*. Immediately Flora began to expand,

— — hir tapistry
Wrocht by dame NATURE queynt and curiouslie,
Depaynt with many hundreth hevinlie hewis.

[a] In the Medicean library at Florence, and the Ambrosian at Milan, there is a long manuscript Italian poem, in three books, divided into one hundred chapters, written by Matteo Palmeri, a learned Florentine, about the year 1450. It is in imitation of Dante, in the *terza rima*, and entitled CITTA DI VITA, or *The City of Life*. The subject is, the peregrination of the soul, freed from the shackles of the body, through various ideal places and situations, till at length it arrives in the city of heaven. This poem was publicly burnt at Cortona, because the author adopted Origen's heresy concerning a third class of angels, who for their sins were destined to animate human bodies. See Trithem. c. 797. Julius Niger, SCRIPTOR. FLORENT. p. 404.

[b] In a manuscript at Lambeth [332.] this poem is said to have been begun Jun. 11, 1556. This is a great mistake. It was printed Hafn. 1552. 4to.

[c] SIGNAT. i. B. A park is a favorite scene of action in our old poets. See Chaucer's COMPL. BL. KN. v. 39.

Toward a park enclosid with a wall, &c.

And in other places. Parks were antiently the constant appendage of almost every considerable manerial house. The old patent-rolls are full of licences for imparcations, which do not now exist.

Meanwhile, Eolus and Neptune restrain their fury, that no rude sounds might mar the melody of the birds which echoed among the rocks [e].

In the park our poet, under the character of a courtier, meets EXPERIENCE, reposing under the shade of a holly. This pourtrait is touched with uncommon elegance and expression.

Into that park I saw appeir
One agit man, quhilk drew me neir;
Quhose berd was weil thre quarters lang,
His hair doun oer his schulders hang,
The qhylke as ony snawe was whyte,
Quhome to beholde I thocht delyte.
His habit angellyke of hew,
Of colour lyke the sapheir blew:
Under an holyne he reposit.—
To sit down he requestit me
Under the schaddow of that tre,
To saif me from the sonnis heit,
Amanges the flouris soft and sweit [f].

[e] Instead of Parnassus he chuses mount Calvary, and his Helicon is the stream which flowed from our Saviour's side on the cross, when he was wounded by Longinus, that is LONGIAS. This is a fictitious personage in Nicodemus's Gospel. I have mentioned him before. Being blind, he was restored to sight by wiping his eyes with his hands which were bloody. See more of him in Chaucer's LAMENTAT. MARY MAGD. v. 176. In the Gothic pictures of the Crucifixion, he is represented on horseback, piercing our Saviour's side: and in Xavier's Persic History of Christ, he is called a horseman. This notion arose from his using a spear, or lance: and that weapon, λογχη, undoubtedly gave rise to his ideal name of Longias, or Longinus. He is afterwards supposed to have been a bishop of Cesarea, and to have suffered martyrdom. See Tillemont. MEMOR. HIST. ECCLESIAST. tom. i. pp. 81. 251. And Fabric. APOCR. NOV. TESTAM. tom. i. p. 261. In the old Greek tragedy of CHRIST SUFFERING, the CONVERTED CENTURION is expresly mentioned, but not by this name. Almost all that relates to this person, who could not escape the fictions of the monks, has been collected by J. Ch. Wolfius, CUR. PHILOL. ET CRIT. IN S. EVANGEL. tom. i. p. 414. ii. 984. edit. Basil. 1741. 4to. See also Hoffman. LEXIC. UNIVERSAL. CONTINUAT. in Voc. tom. i. p. 1036. col. 2. Basil. 1683. fol.

[f] SIGNAT. B. i.

In

In the midſt of an edifying converſation concerning the fall of man and the origin of human miſery, our author, before he proceeds to his main ſubject, thinks it neceſſary to deliver a formal apology for writing in the vulgar tongue. He declares that his intention is to inſtruct and to be underſtood, and that he writes to the people[s]. Moſes, he ſays, did not give the Judaic law on mount Sinai in Greek or Latin. Ariſtotle and Plato did not communicate their philoſophy in Dutch or Italian. Virgil and Cicero did not write in Chaldee or Hebrew. Saint Jerom, it is true, tranſlated the bible into Latin, his own natural language; but had ſaint Jerom been born in Argyleſhire, he would have tranſlated it into Erſe. King David wrote the pſalter in Hebrew, becauſe he was a Jew. Hence he very ſenſibly takes occaſion to recommend the propriety and neceſſity of publiſhing the ſcriptures and the miſſal, and of compoſing all books intended for common uſe, in the reſpective vernacular language of every country. This objection being anſwered, which ſhews the ideas of the times, our author thus deſcribes the creation of the world and of Adam.

Quhen god had made the hevinnis bricht,
The ſone, and mone, for to gyf licht,
The ſtarry hevin, and criſtalline;
And, by his ſapience divine,
The planeits, in their circles round
Quhirlyng about with merie ſound:—
He clad the erth with herbs and treis;
All kynd of fiſchis in the ſeis,
All kynd of beſt he did prepair,
With foulis fleting in the air.—

[s] Quharefore to colyearis, carteris, and to cukis,
To *Jok* and Thome, my ryme ſall be derectit.
SIGNAT. C. i.

When hevin, and erth, and thare contents,
Were endit, with thare ornaments,
Than, laſt of all, the lord began
Of moſt vile erth to make the man:
Not of the lillie or the roſe,
Nor cyper-tre, as I ſuppoſe,
Nether of gold, nor precious ſtonis,
Of earth he made fleſche, blude, and bonis;
To that intent he made him thus,
That man ſhuld nocht be glorious,
And in himſelf no thinge ſhulde ſe
But matter of humilite [h].

Some of theſe nervous, terſe, and poliſhed lines, need only to be reduced to modern and Engliſh orthography, to pleaſe a reader accuſtomed ſolely to reliſh the tone of our preſent verſification.

To theſe may be added the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and Solomon's temple.

Prince Titus with his chivalrie
With ſound of trumpe triumphantlie,
He enterit in that greit citie, &c.
Thare was nocht elis but tak and ſlay,
For thence might no man win his way [i].
The ſtramis of blude ran tharuch the ſtreit,
Of deid folk tramplit under feit;
Auld wydowis in the preis were ſmorit [k],
Young virgins ſchamefullie deſtorit.
The tempill greit of Solamone,
With mony a curious carvit ſtone,
With perfyt pinnakles on hicht,
Quhilks wer richt bewtifull and wicht [l],

[h] Signat. C. iii.
[i] Eſcape.
[k] Smothered.
[l] White.

Quharein

Quharein riche jowells did abound,
Thay ruſcheit[m] rudely to the ground;
And ſet, in tyll their furious ire[n],
Sanctum Sanctorum into fire[o].

The appearance of Chriſt coming to judgement is poetically painted, and in a ſtyle of correctneſs and harmony, of which few ſpecimens were now ſeen.

As fire flaucht haſtily glanſing[p],
Diſcend ſhall the moſt hevinly king;
As Phebus in the orient
Lichinis[q] in haiſt to occident,
So pleſandlie he ſhall appeir
Among the hevinlie cloudis cleir.—
The angellis of the ordours nyne
Inviron ſhall his throne divyne.—
In his preſence thare ſalbe borne
The ſignis[r] of cros, and croun of thorne,
Pillar, nailis, ſcurgis, and ſpeir,
With everilk thing that did hym deir[s],
The tyme of his grym paſſioun:
And, for our conſolatioun,
Appeir ſall, in his hands and feit,
And in his ſyde the print compleit
Of his fyve woundis precious
Schyning lyke rubies radious.

When Chriſt is ſeated at the tribunal of judging the world, he adds,

[m] *ſ.* Raſed.
[n] In their rage.
[o] SIGNAT. L. iii.
[p] A meteor quickly glancing along.
[q] Lightens.
[r] Repreſentations.
[s] Diſmay. Torment.

Thare

Thare ſall ane angell blawe a blaſt
Quhilk ſall make all the warld agaſt [t].

Among the monarchies, our author deſcribes the papal ſee: whoſe innovations, impoſtures, and errors, he attacks with much good ſenſe, ſolid argument, and ſatirical humour; and whoſe imperceptible increaſe, from ſimple and humble beginnings to an enormity of ſpiritual tyranny, he traces through a gradation of various corruptions and abuſes, with great penetration, and knowledge of hiſtory [u].

Among antient peculiar cuſtoms now loſt, he mentions a ſuperſtitious idol annually carried about the ſtreets of Edinburgh.

Of Edingburgh the great idolatrie,
And manifeſt abominatioun!
On thare feiſt day, all creature may ſee,
Thay beir ane ald ſtok-image [w] throw the toun,
With talbrone [x], trumpet, ſhalme, and clarioun,
Quhilk has bene uſit mony one yeir bigone,
With prieſtis, and freris, into proceſſioun,
Siclyke [y] as Bal was borne through Babilon [z].

He alſo ſpeaks of the people flocking to be cured of various infirmities, to the *auld rude*, or croſs, of Kerrail [a].

[t] SIGNAT. P. iii.
[u] SIGNAT. M. iii.
[w] An old image made of a ſtock of wood.
[x] Tabor.
[y] So as.
[z] SIGNAT. H. iii.
[a] SIGNAT. H. i. For alluſions of this kind the following ſtanza may be cited, which I do not entirely underſtand. SIGNAT. H. iii.

This was the practiek of ſum pilgrimage,
Quhen ſillokis into Fyſe began to ſen
With Jok and Thome than tuke thai thair voyage
In Angus to the field chapel of Dron:
Than Kittock thare alſ eadye as ane Con,
Without regard other to ſyn or ſchame,
Gave Lowrie leif at laſer to loup on,
Far better had bene till have biddin at hame.

I will here take occaſion to explain two lines, SIGNAT. I. iii.

Nor yit the fair madin of France
Danter of Inglith ordinance.

That is Joan of Arc, who ſo often *daunted* or defeated the Engliſh army. To this heroine, and to Pentheſilea, he compares Semiramis.

Our

Our poet's principal vouchers and authorities in the MONARCHIE, are Livy, Valerius Maximus, Josephus, Diodorus Siculus, Avicen the Arabic physician, Orosius, saint Jerom, Polydore Virgil, Cario's chronicle, the FASCICULUS TEMPORUM, and the CHRONICA CHRONICARUM. The FASCICULUS TEMPORUM is a Latin chronicle, written at the close of the fifteenth century by Wernerus Rolewinck, a Westphalian, and a Carthusian monk of Cologne; a most venerable volume, closed with this colophon. "FASCICULUS TEMPO-"RUM, a Carthusiense compilatum in formam cronicis figu-"ratum usque in annum 1478, a me Nicolao Gatz de Seltz-"tat impressum[b]." The CHRONICA CRONICARUM or CHRONICON MUNDI, written by Hartmannus Schedelius, a physician at Nuremburgh, and from which our author evidently took his philosophy in his DREME, was printed at Nuremburgh in 1493[c]. This was a most popular compilation, and is at present a great curiosity to those who are fond of history in the Gothic style, consisting of wonders conveyed in the black letter and wooden cuts. Cario's chronicle is a much more rational and elegant work: it was originally composed, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, by Ludovicus Cario, an eminent mathematician, and improved or written anew by Melancthon. Of Orosius, a wretched but admired christian historian, who compiled in Latin a series of universal annals from the creation to the fifth century, he cites a translation.

> The translatour of Orosius
> In his cronicle wryttis thus[d].

I know of no English translation of Orosius, unless the Anglo-saxon version by king Alfred, and which would per-

[b] See it also among SCRIPTOR. GERMAN. per J. Pistorium, tom. i. p. 580.

[c] Again, ibid. by Joh. Schensperger. 1497. fol.

[d] SIGNAT. F. ii.

haps

haps have been much more difficult to Lyndesay than the Latin original, may be called such: yet Orosius was early translated into French[e] and Italian[f]. For the story of Alexander the Great, our author seems to refer to Adam Davie's poem on that subject, written in the reign of Edward the second[g]: a work, which I never remember to have seen cited before, and of which, although deserving to be printed, only two public manuscripts now remain, the one in the library of Lincoln's inn, and the other in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

Alexander the conqueror,
Geve thou at lenth wald reid his ring[h],
And of his cruell conquessing,
In INGLIS TUNGE IN HIS GREAT BUKE,
At lenth his LYFE thare thow may luke[i].

He acquaints us, yet not from his own knowledge, but on the testimony of other writers, that Homer and Hesiod were the inventors in Greece, of poetry, medicine, music, and astronomy[k].

EXPERIENCE departs from the poet, and the dialogue is ended, at the approach of the evening; which is described with these circumstances.

Behald, quhow Phebus downwart dois discend,
Toward his palice in the occident!—

[e] By Philip Le Noir, Paris. 1526. fol.
[f] By Benaccivoli, Ven. 1528. 4to.
[g] See supr. vol. i. p. 220.
[h] If thou at length would read his reign.
[i] SIGNAT. K. iii. He also cites Lucan for Alexander, SIGNAT. L. i. For an account of the riches of pope John, he quotes Palmerius. SIGNAT. N. i. This must have been Mattheus Palmerius abovementioned, author of the CITTA DI VITA, who wrote a general chronicle from the fifth century to his own times, entitled DE TEMPORIBUS, and, I believe, first printed at Milan, 1475. fol. Afterwards reprinted with improvements and continuations. Particularly at Venice, 1483. 4to. And by Grynæus at the end of Eusebius, fol. 1570.
[k] SIGNAT. K. iii.

The

The dew now donkis[l] the rosis redolent:
The mariguldis, that all day wer rejoysit
Of Phebus heit, now craftily ar closit[m].—
The cornecraick in the croft, I heir hir cry;
The bat, the howlatt[n], feebill of thare eis,
For thare pastyme, now in the evinning flies.
The nichtingaill with myrthfull melody
Her naturall notis, peirsit throuch the sky[o].

Many other passages in Lyndesay's poems deserve attention. Magdalene of France, married to James the fifth of Scotland[p], did not live to see the magnificent preparations made for her public entry into Edinburgh. In a poem, called the DEITH OF QUENE MAGDALENE, our author, by a most striking and lively prosopopeia, an expostulation with DEATH, describes the whole order of the procession. I will give a few of the stanzas.

THEIEF, saw thou not the greit preparativis
Of Edinburgh, the nobill famous toun?
Thow sawe the peple labouring for thare livis,
To make tryumph with trumpe and clarioun!—
* * * * * * * * *

Thow sawe makand[q] rycht costly scaffolding,
Depayntyt weill with golde and asure fyne,
Reddie preparit for the upsetting,
With fountanis flowing water cleir and wyne:
Disagysit[r] folkis, lyke creaturis divyne,

[l] Moistens.
[m] Are closed.
[n] Owlet. Owl.
[o] SIGNAT. R.
[p] Not inelegantly, he compares James making frequent and dangerous voyages into France to address the princess, to Leander swimming through the Hellespont to Hero.
[q] Making.
[r] Men, *actors* disguised.

On ilk ſcaffold to play ane ſundrie ſtorie [s]:
Bot all in greitting [t] turnit thow that glorie.

Thow ſaw mony ane luſtie freſche galland
Weill ordourit for reſaiving of thair quene,
Ilk craftiſman with bent bowe in his hand,
Ful galzeartlie in ſchort clothing of grene, &c.—
* * * * * * * * * *

Syne next in ordour paſſing throw the toun,
Thou ſuld have herd the din of inſtrumentis,
Of tabrone, trumpet, ſchalme, and clarioun,
With reird [u] reboundand throw the elementis;
The heraulds with thare awfull veſtimentis,
With maſeris [v] upon ather of thare handis,
To rewle the prois, with burneiſt ſilver wandis.

Thow ſhuld have hard [x] the ornate oratouris,
Makand hir hienes ſalutatioun,
Boith of the clergy toun and counſalouris,
With mony notable narratioun.
Thow ſuld have ſene her coronation,
In the fair abbay of the holie rude,
In preſence of ane myrthfull multitude.

Sic banketting, ſic awfull tournamentis
On hors and fute, that tyme quhilk ſuld have bene,
Sic chapell royall with ſic inſtrumentis,
And craftie muſick, &c [y].— —

Excluſive of this artificial and very poetical mode of introducing a deſcription of theſe ſplendid ſpectacles, inſtead

[s] Plays and pageants acted on moveable ſcaffolds.
[t] To grief.
[u] Sound.
[v] Maces.
[x] Heard.
[y] SIGNAT. K. iii.

of

of ſaying plainly that the queen's death prevented the ſuperb ceremonies which would have attended her coronation, theſe ſtanzas have another merit, that of tranſmitting the ideas of the times in the exhibition of a royal entertainment [z].

Our author's COMPLAYNT contains a curious picture, like that in his DREME, of the miſerable policy by which Scotland was governed under James the fifth. But he diverſifies and enlivens the ſubject, by ſuppoſing the public felicity which would take place, if all corrupt miniſters and evil counſellors were removed from the throne. This is deſcribed by ſtriking and pictureſque perſonifications.

Juſtice holds her ſwerd on hie,
With her ballance of equitie.—
Dame Prudence has the by the heid,
And Temperance dois thy brydill leid.
I ſee dame Force mak aſſiſtance,
Beirand thy targe of aſſurance:
And luſty lady Chaſtitie
Has banniſchit Senſualitie.
Dame Riches takes on the ſic cure,
I pray God that ſhe long indure!
That Poverte dar nocht be ſene
Into thy hous, for baith her ene:
But fra thy grace fled mony mylis
Amangis the hunteris in the ylis [a].

[z] The curious reader may compare "The "ordynaunce of the entre of quene Iſabell "into the towne of Paris," in Froiſſart. Berners's Tranſl. tom. ii. c. clvii. f. 172. b.

[a] SIGNAT. G. i.

[b] I here take occaſion to explain the two following lines.

Als Jhone Makray, the kingis fule,
Gat dowbyll garmountis agane the zule.

That is, "The king's fool got two ſuits "of apparel, or garments doubly thick, "to wear at Chriſtmas." SIGNAT. G. i. Zule is Chriſtmas. So James the firſt, in his declaration at an aſſembly of the Scotch Kirk at Edinburgh, in 1590, "The "church of Geneva keep *Paſche* and "YULE," that is, *Eaſter* and CHRISTMAS. Calderwood's HIST. CH. SCOT. p. 256. Our author, in The COMPLAYNT OF THE PAPYNGO, ſays that his bird ſung well enough to be a minſtrel at Chriſtmas. SIGNAT. A. iii.

Scho micht have bene ane menſtrall at the *zule*.

 Thus

I know not whether it be worth obſerving, that playing at cards is mentioned in this poem, among the diverſions, or games, of the court.

Thar was no play but CARTIS and dice[c].

And it is mentioned as an accompliſhment in the character of a biſhop.

Bot geve thay can play at the CAIRTIS[d].

Thus, in the year 1503, James the fourth of Scotland, at an interview with the princeſs Margaret in the caſtle of Newbattle, finds her playing at cards. "The kynge came "prively to the ſaid caſtell, and entred within the chammer "[chamber] with a ſmall cumpany, whare he founde the "quene *playing at the* CARDES[e]."

Thus Robert of Brunne, in his chronicle, ſpeaking of King Arthur keeping Chriſtmas at York.

On ȝole day mad he feſt
With many barons of his geſte.

See Hearne's ROB. GLOUC. vol. ii. p. 678. And Leland's ITIN. vol. ii. p. 116. In the north of England, Chriſtmas to this day is called *ule*, *yule*, or *youle*. Blount ſays, "in the northern parts they have an "old cuſtom, after ſermon or ſervice on "Chriſtmas-day; the people will, even "in the churches, cry *ule*, *ule*, as a token "of rejoycing, and the common ſort run "about the ſtreets ſinging,

"ULE, ULE, ULE,
"Three puddings in a pule,
"Crack nuts, and cry ULE."

DICTION. Voc. ULE. In Saxon the word is ȝehul, ȝehol, or ȝeol. In the Welch rubric every ſaint's day is the *Wyl*, or *Gwl*, of that ſaint: either from a Britiſh word ſignifying *watching*, or from the Latin *Vigilia*, Vigil, taken in a more extended ſenſe. In Wales *wylian* or *gwylian* hadolig, ſignifies the *Chriſtmas* holidays, where *wyla* or *gwylian* is the plural of *wyl* or *gwyl*.

I alſo take this opportunity of obſerving, that the court of the Roman pontiff was exhilarated by a fool. The pope's fool was in England in 1230, and received forty ſhillings of king Henry the third, *de dono regis*. MSS. James, xxviii. p. 190.

[c] SIGNAT. F. iii.

[d] SIGNAT. G. i.

[e] Leland. COLL. APPEND. iii. p. 284. ut ſupr. In our author's TRAGEDIE of CARDINAL BETOUN, a ſoliloquy ſpoken by the cardinal, he is made to declare, that he played with the king for three thouſand crowns of gold in one night, at *cartis* and dice. SIGNAT. I. ii. They are alſo mentioned in an old anonymous Scotch poem, *Of* COVETICE. ANC. SC. P. ut ſupr. p. 168. ſt. iii.

Halking, hunting, and ſwift horſe rynning,
Are changit all in wrangus wynning;
Thar is no play bot *cartis* and dyce.

Where, by the way, horſe-racing is conſidered among the liberal ſports, ſuch as hawking,

Prophesies of apparent impossibilities were common in Scotland: such as the removal of one place to another. Under this popular prophetic formulary, may be ranked the prediction in Shakespeare's MACBETH, where the APPARITION says, that Birnam-wood shall go to Dunsinane. In the same strain, peculiar to his country, says our author,

> Quhen the Bas and the isle of May
> Beis set upon the mount Sinay,
> Quhen the Lowmound besyde Falkland
> Beis liftit to Northumberland.

But he happily avails himself of the form, to introduce a stroke of satire.

> Quhen Kirkman zairnis[f] no dignite,
> Nor wyffis no soveranite[g].

The minority of James the fifth was dissipated in pleasures, and his education most industriously neglected. He

hawking, and hunting; and not as a species of gaming. See also, IBID. p. 146. st. v.

Cards are mentioned in a statute of Henry the seventh, xi. Hen. vii. cap. ii. That is, in 1496. Du Cange cites two Greek writers, who mention card-playing as one of the games of modern Greece, at least before the year 1498. GLOSS. GR. tom. ii. V. XAPTIA. p. 1734. It seems highly probable, that the Arabians, so famous for their ingenuity, more especially in whatever related to numbers and calculation, were the inventors of cards, which they communicated to the Constantinopolitan Greeks. Carpentier says, that cards, or *folia lusoria*, are prohibited in the STATUTA CRIMIN. Saonæ. cap. xxx. p. 61. But the age of these statutes has not occured to me. SUPPLEM. LAT. GLOSS. Du Cange, V. CARTÆ. tom. i. p. 842.

Benedictus Abbas has preserved a very curious edict, which shews the state of gaming in the christian army, commanded by Richard the first king of England, and Philip of France, during the crusade in the year 1190. No person in the army is permitted to play at any sort of game for money, except Knights and Clergymen; who in one whole day and night shall not, each, lose more than twenty shillings: on pain of forfeiting one hundred shillings, to the archbishops of the army. The two kings may play for what they please: but their attendants, not for more than twenty shillings. Otherwise, they are to be whipped naked through the army for three days, &c. VIT. RIC. i. p. 610. edit. Hearn. tom. ii. King Richard is described playing at chess in this expedition. MSS. Harl. 4690.

> And kyng Rychard stode and playe
> Att the chesse in hys galleye.

[f] Earn. Gain.

[g] Ibid. SIGNAT. H. i.

was

was flattered, not instructed, by his preceptors. His unguarded youth was artfully exposed to the most alluring temptations[h]. It was in this reign, that the nobility of Scotland began to frequent the court; which soon became the theatre of all those idle amusements which were calculated to solicit the attention of a young king. All these abuses are painted in this poem with an honest unreserved indignation. It must not in the mean time be forgotten, that James possessed eminent abilities, and a love of literature: nor is it beside our present purpose to observe, that he was the author of the celebrated ballad called CHRIST'S KIRK ON THE GREEN[i].

The COMPLAYNT OF THE PAPINGO is a piece of the like tendency. In the Prologue, there is a curious and critical catalogue of the Scotch poets who flourished about the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. As the names and works of many of them seem to be totally forgotten, and as it may contribute to throw some new lights on the neglected history of the Scotch poetry, I shall not scruple to give the passage at large, with a few illustrations. Our author declares, that the poets of his own age dare not aspire to the praise of the three English poets, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. He then, under the same idea, makes a transition to the most distinguished poets, who formerly flourished in Scotland.

[h] Even his governors and preceptors threw these temptations in his way: a circumstance touched with some humour by our author. Ibid. SIGNAT. G.

Thare was few of that garnisoun
That lernit hym ane gude lessoun.——
Quod one, The devill stik me with ane knyfe,
Bot, Schir, I knaw ane maid in Fyfe,
Ane of the luftiest wantoun lassis!
Hald thy tunge brother, quod ane uther,
I knaw ane faires be fyftene futher.
Schir, whan ye pleis to Linlithquow pas,
Thare sall ye se ane luftie las.
Now *tritill tratill trow low*,
Quod the third man, thow dois bot mow;
Quhen his grace cummis to faire Stirling
Thare sal he se ane dayis darling.
Schir quod the fourth, tak my counsell,
And go all to the hie bordell,
Thare may we loup at liberte
Withoutin any gravite, &c.

Compare Buchanan, HIST. lib. xiv. ad fin.

[i] Printed at Oxford, by Edm. Gibson, 1691. 4to. with Notes. He died in 1452.

Or

Or quho can now the workis contrefait[k]
Of KENNEDIE[l], with termis aureait?
Or of DUNBAR, quha language had at large,
As may be ſene intyll his GOLDIN TARGE[m]?

QUINTYN[n], MERSER[o], ROWL[p], HENDERSON[q], HAY[r], and HOLLAND[s],
Thocht thay be deid, thair libellis bene livand[t],
Quhilk to reheirs makis redaris to rejoiſe.
Allace for one quhilk lamp was of this land,
Of eloquence the flowand balmy ſtrand[u],
And in our Inglis rhetorick the roſe,
As of rubeis the carbuncle bene choſe,

[k] Imitate.

[l] I ſuppoſe Walter Kennedie, who wrote a poem in Scottiſh metre, whether printed I know not, on the Paſſion of Chriſt. MSS. Coll. Greſham, 286. Some of Kennedie's poems are in MSS. Hyndford. The *Flyting* between Dunbar and Kennedy is in the EVERGREEN. See Dunbar, ut ſupr. p. 77. And ibid. p. 274. And Kennedy's PRAIS OF AGE, ibid. p. 189. He exceeds his cotemporary Dunbar in ſmoothneſs of verſification.

[m] The poem examined above, p. 264.

[n] He flouriſhed about the year 1320. He was driven from Scotland under the devaſtations of Edward the firſt, and took refuge at Paris. He wrote a poem, called the *Complaint of the Miſeries of his Country*, printed at Paris, 1511. Dempſt. xv. 1034.

[o] Merſer is celebrated by Dunbar, LAMENT FOR THE DETH OF THE MAKKARIS, or POETS. See ANC. SCOTTISH POEMS, ut ſupr. p. 77.

That did in luve ſo lyſly wryte,
So ſchort, ſo quick, of ſentens hie.

See, in that Collection, his PERRELL IN PARAMOURS. p. 156.

[p] Dunbar mentions Rowll of Aberdeen, and Rowll of Corſtorphine, "twa bettir "fallowis did no man ſie." Ibid. p. 77. In Lord Hyndford's Manuſcript [p. 104. 2.] a poem is mentioned, called ROWLL'S CURSING. ibid. p. 272. There is an alluſion in this piece to pope Alexander the ſixth, who preſided from 1492 to 1503.

[q] Perhaps Robert Henriſon. See Dunbar, ubi ſupr. p. 77. And ibid. p. 98. ſeq. In MSS. Harl. are, "The morall "fabillis of Eſope compylit be Maiſter "Robert Henryſount ſcholmaiſter of Dum-"ferling, 1571." 3865. 1. He was moſt probably a teacher of the youth in the Benedictine convent at Dunfermline. See many of his poems, which are of a grave moral turn, in the elegant Scottiſh Miſcellany juſt cited.

[r] I know not if he means Archibald Hay, who wrote a panegyric on Cardinal Beaton, printed at Paris, 1540. 4to. He alſo tranſlated the HECUBA of Euripides from Greek into Latin. MSS. HATTON. But I have ſeen none of his Scotch poetry.

[s] See Dunbar, ut ſupr. p. 77. His poem, called the HOWLATT, is in the Manuſcripts of Lord Hyndford, and Lord Auchinleck. In this are deſcribed, the "Kyndis of inſtrumentis, the ſportaris, "[juglers] the Iriſh bard, and the fule." It was written before the year 1455.

[t] Living.

[u] Stream.

And

And as Phebus dois Cynthie precell;
So GAWIN DOWGLAS, bischop of Dunkell,

Had, quhen he was into this land on lyve,
Above vulgar poetis prorogatyve,
Both in practick and speculatioun.
I say no more: gude redaris may discryve
His worthy workis, in noumer mo than fyve.
And speciallie the trew translatioun
Of Virgill, quhilk bene consolatioun
To cunnyng men to knawe his greit ingyne,
As weill in science naturall as devyne.

And in the court bene present in their dayis,
That ballatis brevis[w] lustally and layis,
Quhilkis to our princis daylie thay do present.
Qho can say more than schir JAMES INGLIS sayis
In ballatis, farsis, and in plesand playis[x]?
Bot CULTROSE has his pen maid impotent,
Kid in cunnyng[y] and practick richt prudent.
And STEWART quhilk desireth one statlie style
Full ornate workis daylis dois compyle.

STEWART of Lorne will carp richt curiouslie[z],
GALBRAITH, KYNLOICH[a], quhen thay tham lyst applie
Into that art, ar craftie of ingyne.

[w] Write.

[x] I know nothing of Sir James Inglis, or of his ballads, farces, and pleasant plays. But one John Inglish was master of a company of players, as we have before seen, at the marriage of James the fourth. Here is a proof, however, that theatrical representations were now in high repute in the court of Scotland.

[y] Yet in knowing.

[z] See some of his satirical poetry, ANC. Sc. P. p. 151.

[a] These two poets are converted into one, under the name of GABRIELL KINLYCK, in an edition of some of Lyndesay's works *first turned and made perfect Englishe*, printed at London by Thomas Purfoote, A. D. 1581. p. 105. This edition often omits whole stanzas; and has the most arbitrary and licentious misrepresentations of the text, always for the worse. The editor, or *translator*, did not understand the Scottish language; and is, besides, a wretched writer of English. But the attempt sufficiently exposes itself.

Bot

Bot now of late is ſtart up haiſtelie,
One cunnyng clarke, quhilk wrytith craftelie:
One plant of poets callit BALLENDYNE [b];
Quhoſe ornate workis my wit can nocht defyne:
Get he into the court auctorite,
He will precell Quintyn and Kennedie [c].

The Scotch, from that philoſophical and ſpeculative caſt which characteriſes their national genius, were more zealous and early friends to a reformation of religion than their neighbours in England. The pomp and elegance of the catholic worſhip made no impreſſion on a people, whoſe devotion ſought only for ſolid edification; and who had no notion that the interpoſition of the ſenſes could with any propriety be admitted to cooperate in an exerciſe of ſuch a nature, which appealed to reaſon alone, and ſeemed to exclude all aids of the imagination. It was natural that ſuch a people, in their ſyſtem of ſpiritual refinement, ſhould warmly prefer the ſevere and rigid plan of Calvin: and it is from this principle, that we find moſt of their writers, at the reſtoration of learning, taking all occaſions of cenſuring

[b] I preſume this is John Balantyn, or Ballenden, archdeacon of Murray, canon of Roſſe, and clerk of the regiſter in the minority of James the fifth and his ſucceſſour. He was a doctor of the Sorbonne at Paris. G. Con, *De duplici ſtatu religionis apud Scotos*, lib. ii. p. 167. At the command of James the fifth, he tranſlated the ſeventeen books of Hector Boethius's HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. Edinb. by T. Davidſon, 1536. fol. The preface is in verſe, "Thow marcyal buke pas to the "nobyll prince." Prefixed is the COSMOGRAPHY of Boethius's Hiſtory, which Mackenzie calls, A *Deſcription of Albany*, ii. 596. Before it is a Prologue, a viſion in verſe, in which VIRTUE and PLEASURE addreſs the king, after the manner of a dialogue. He wrote an addition of one hundred years to Boethius's hiſtory: but this does not appear in the Edinburgh edition: alſo *Epiſtles to James the fifth*, and *On the Life of Pythagoras*. Many of his poems are extant. The author of the article BALLENDEN, in the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, written more than thirty ago, ſays, that "in the large collection of "Scottiſh poems, made by Mr. Carmi-"chael, there were ſome of our author's "on various ſubjects; and Mr. Laurence "Dundaſs had ſeveral, whether in manu-"ſcript or printed, I cannot ſay." vol. i. p. 461. His ſtyle has many galliciſms. He ſeems to have been a young man, when this compliment was paid him by Lyndeſay. He died at Rome, 1550. Dempſt. ii. 197. Bale, xiv. 65. Mackenz. ii. 595. ſeq.

[c] SIGNAT. K.

the abſurdities of popery with an unuſual degree of abhorrence and aſperity.

In the courſe of the poem before us, an allegory on the corruptions of the church is introduced, not deſtitute of invention, humour, and elegance: but founded on one of the weak theories of Wickliffe, who not conſidering religion as reduced to a civil eſtabliſhment, and becauſe Chriſt and his apoſtles were poor, imagined that ſecular poſſeſſions were inconſiſtent with the ſimplicity of the goſpel.

In the primitive and pure ages of chriſtianity, the poet ſuppoſes, that the Church married Poverty, whoſe children were Chaſtity and Devotion. The emperour Conſtantine ſoon afterwards divorced this ſober and decent couple; and without obtaining or aſking a diſpenſation, married the Church with great ſolemnity to Property. Pope Silveſter ratified the marriage: and Devotion retired to a hermitage. They had two daughters, Riches and Senſuality; who were very beautiful, and ſoon attracted ſuch great and univerſal regard, that they acquired the chief aſcendancy in all ſpiritual affairs. Such was the influence of Senſuality in particular, that Chaſtity, the daughter of the Church by Poverty, was exiled: ſhe tried, but in vain, to gain protection in Italy and France. Her ſucceſs was equally bad in England. She ſtrove to take refuge in the court of Scotland: but they drove her from the court to the clergy. The biſhops were alarmed at her appearance, and proteſted they would harbour no rebel to the See of Rome. They ſent her to the nuns, who received her in form, with proceſſions and other honours. But news being immediately diſpatched to Senſuality and Riches, of her friendly reception among the nuns, ſhe was again compelled to turn fugitive. She next fled to the mendicant friers, who declared they could not take charge of ladies. At laſt ſhe was found ſecreted in the nunnery of the Burrowmoor near Edinburgh, where ſhe had met her mother Poverty and her ſiſter Devotion. Senſuality attempts to beſiege this

this religious houſe, but without effect. The pious ſiſters were armed at all points, and kept an irreſiſtible piece of artillery, called *Domine cuſtodi nos.*

Within quhoſe ſchot, thare dar no enemies
Approche their places for dread of dyntis dour [d];
Boith nicht and day thay work lyke beſie beis [e],
For thar defence reddie to ſtand in ſtour:
And keip ſic watchis on their utter tour,
That dame Senſuall with ſeige dar not aſſaile,
Nor cum within the ſchot of thare artaile [f].

I know not whether this chaſte ſiſterhood had the delicacy to obſerve ſtrictly the injunctions preſcribed to a ſociety of nuns in England; who, to preſerve a cool habit, were ordered to be regularly blooded three times every year, but not by a ſecular perſon, and the prieſts who performed the operation were never ſuffered to be ſtrangers [g].

I muſt not diſmiſs this poem, without pointing out a beautiful valediction to the royal palace of Snowdon; which is not only highly ſentimental and expreſſive of poetical feelings, but ſtrongly impreſſes on the mind an image of the romantic magnificence of antient times, ſo remote from the ſtate of modern manners.

Adew fair Snawdoune, with thy touris hie,
Thy chapell royall, park, and tabill rounde [h]!
May, June, and July, wald I dwell in the,
War I one man, to heir the birdis ſound
Quhilk doth againe thy royal roche rebound [i]!

[d] Hard dints.
[e] Buſy bees.
[f] Artillery. SIGNAT. C. ii.
[g] MSS. JAMES. xxvi. p. 32. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.
[h] Round table. Tournaments.
[i] SIGNAT. B. iii.

Our author's poem, To the *Kingis grace in contemptioun of ſyde taillis*, that is, a cenſure on the affectation of long trains worn by the ladies, has more humour than decency [k]. He allows a tail to the queen, but thinks it an affront to the royal dignity and prerogative that,

> Every lady of the land
> Should have hir taill ſo ſyde trailland [l].—
> Quhare ever thay go it may be ſene
> How kirk and calſay they ſuepe clene [m].—
> Kittok that clekkit was yeſtrene [n],
> The morne wyll counterfute the quene.
> Ane mureland [o] Mag that milkid the zowis
> Claggit [p] with clay above the howis,
> In barn, nor byir, ſcho woll nocht byde
> Without her kyrtill taill beſyde.—
> They waiſt more claith [cloth] within few yeiris
> Than wald claith fyftie ſcore of freris [q].

In a ſtatute of James the ſecond of Scotland [r], about the year 1460, it was ordered, that no woman ſhould come to church or to market with her face *muſſaled*, that is muzzled, or covered. Notwithſtanding this ſeaſonable interpoſition of the legiſlature, the ladies of Scotland continued *muzzled* during three reigns [s]. The enormous excreſcence of female

[k] Compare a manuſcript poem of Occleve, *Of Pride and waſt clothing of Lordis men which is axens her aſtate*. MSS. LAUD. K. 78. f. 67. b. Bibl. Bodl. His chief complaint is againſt pendent ſleeves, ſweeping the ground, which with their fur amount to more than twenty pounds.

[l] SIGNAT. L. ii.

[m] Cauſey. Street. Path.

[n] Kitty that was born yeſterday.

[o] Moor-land.

[p] Clogged.

[q] SIGNAT. L. iii. He commends the ladies of Italy for their decency in this article.

[r] ACT. 70.

[s] As appears from a paſſage in the poem before us.

> Bot in the kirk and market placis
> I think thay ſuld nocht hide thair facis.—

He therefore adviſes the king to iſſue a proclamation,

> Both throw the land, and Borrowſtonis,
> To ſchaw thare face, and cut thare gownis.

He adds, that this is quite contrary to the mode of the French ladies.

> Hails ane Frence lady quhen ye pleis,
> Scho wyll diſcover mouth and neis.

tails

tails was prohibited in the ſame ſtatute, " That na woman " wear tails unfit in length." The legitimate length of theſe tails is not, however, determined in this ſtatute; a circumſtance which we may collect from a mandate iſſued by a papal legate in Germany, in the fourteenth century. " It is " decreed, that the apparel of women, which ought to be " conſiſtent with modeſty, but now, through their fooliſh- " neſs, is degenerated into wantonneſs and extravagance, " more particularly the immoderate length of their petti- " coats, with which they ſweep the ground, be reſtrained to " a moderate faſhion, agreeably to the decency of the ſex, " under pain of the ſentence of excommunication[t]." The orthodoxy of petticoats is not preciſely aſcertained in this ſalutary edict: but as it excommunicates thoſe female tails, which, in our author's phraſe, *keep the kirk and cauſey clean*, and allows ſuch a moderate ſtandard to the petticoat, as is compatible with female delicacy, it may be concluded, that, the ladies who covered their feet were looked upon as very laudable conformiſts: an inch or two leſs would have been avowed immodeſty; an inch or two more an affectation bordering upon hereſy[u]. What good effects followed from this eccleſiaſtical cenſure, I do not find: it is, however, evident, that the Scottiſh act of parliament againſt *long tails* was as little obſerved, as that againſt *muzzling*. Probably the force of the poet's ſatire effected a more ſpeedy reformation of ſuch abuſes, than the menaces of the church, or the laws of the land. But theſe capricious vanities were not confined to Scotland alone. In England, as we are informed by ſeveral antiquaries, the women of quality firſt wore trains in the reign of Richard the ſecond: a novelty which induced a well

[t] " Velamina etiam muliérum, quæ ad " *verecundiam deſignandam* eis ſunt con- " ceſſa, ſed nunc, per inſipientiam earum, " in laſciviam et luxuriam excreverunt, et " *immoderata longitudo ſuperpelliceorum*, " *quibus pulverem trahunt*, ad moderatum " uſum, ſicut *decet verecundiam ſexus*, per " excommunicationis ſententiam cohibe- " antur." Ludewig, Reliq. Diplom. tom. ii. p. 441.

[u] See Notes to Anc. Sc. Poems, ut ſupr. p. 256.

meaning

meaning divine, of those times, to write a tract *Contra caudas dominarum*, against the Tails of the Ladies [w]. Whether or no this remonstrance operated so far, as to occasion the contrary extreme, and even to have been the distant cause of producing the short petticoats of the present age, I cannot say. As an apology, however, for the English ladies, in adopting this fashion, we should in justice remember, as was the case of the Scotch, that it was countenanced by Anne, Richard's queen: a lady not less enterprising than successful in her attacks on established forms; and whose authority and example were so powerful, as to abolish, even in defiance of France, the safe, commodious, and natural mode of riding on horseback, hitherto practiced by the women of England, and to introduce side-saddles [x].

An anonymous Scotch poem has lately been communicated to me, belonging to this period: of which, as it was never printed, and as it contains capital touches of satirical humour, not inferior to those of Dunbar and Lyndesay, I am tempted to transcribe a few stanzas [y]. It appears to have been written soon after the death of James the fifth [z]. The poet mentions the death of James the fourth, who was killed in the battle of Flodden-field, fought in the year 1513 [a]. It is entitled DUNCANE LAIDER, or MARGREGOR'S TESTAMENT [b]. The Scotch poets were fond of conveying invective, under the form of an assumed character writing a will [c]. In the poem before us, the writer exposes the ruinous

[w] See Collectanea Historica, ex DIETION. MS. Thomæ Gascoigne. Apud Hearne's W. HEMINGFORD, p. 512.

[x] Chaucer represents his WIFE OF BATH as riding with a pair of spurs. PROL. v. 475. p. 5. Urr.

And on her feete a paire of spurris sharpe.

[y] For the use of this manuscript I am obliged to the ingenious Mr. Pennant; whose valuable publications are familiar to every reader of taste and science.

[z] V. 162.

[a] V. 78.

[b] "Copied, says my manuscript, at Taymouth, in September 1769. From a Manuscript in the library there, ending August 20th, 1490." The latter date certainly cannot refer to the time when this poem was written.

[c] See *The Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy*. ANC. SC. POEMS, ut supr. p. 35.

policy,

policy, and the general corruption of public manners, prevailing in Scotland, under the personage of the STRONG MAN [d], that is, tyranny or oppression. Yet there are some circumstances which seem to point out a particular feudal lord, famous for his exactions and insolence, and who at length was outlawed. Our testator introduces himself to the reader's acquaintance, by describing his own character and way of life, in the following expressive allegories.

My maister houshold was heich [e] Oppressioun,
Reif [f] my stewart, that cairit of na wrang [g];
Murthure, Slauchtir [h], aye of ane professioun,
My cubicularis [i] has bene thir yearis lang:
Recept, that oft tuik in mony ane fang [k],
Was porter to the yettis [l], to oppin wyde;
And Covatice was chamberlane at all tyde [m].

Conspiracie, Invy, and False Report,
Were my prime counsalouris, leve [n] and deare;
Then Robberie, the peepill to extort,
And common Thift [o] tuke on tham sa the steir [p],
That Treuth in my presince durst not appeir,
For Falsheid had him ay at mortal feid [q],
And Thift brocht Lautie finallie to deid [r].

Oppressioun clikit Gude Reule [s] be the hair,
And suddainlie in ane preesoun [t] him flang;
And Crueltie cast Pitie our the stair [u],

[d] Viz. LAIDER.
[e] Named. *Hight.*
[f] Robbery.
[g] Took many a booty.
[h] Murder, Slaughter.
[i] The pages of my bed-chamber. Called, in Scotland, *Chamber-lads.*
[k] That scrupled to do no wrong.
[l] Gates. *Yates, Yattis.*
[m] All times.
[n] Beloved.
[o] Theft.
[p] Steer. Steerage. The management.
[q] Enmity. Hatred.
[r] Brought Loyalty to death.
[s] Caught Good Rule. Read *cleikit*, clecked. CLEIK is crooked iron, *Uncus.*
[t] Threw him into prison.
[u] Over the stairs.

Quhill

Quhill Innocence was murthurit in that thrang[w].
Than Falsheid said, he maid my house richt strang,
And furnist weill with meikill wrangus geir[x],
And bad me neither god nor man to feir[y].

At length, in consequence of repeated enormities and violations of justice, Duncane supposes himself to be imprisoned, and about to suffer the extreme sentence of the law. He therefore very providently makes his last will, which contains the following witty bequests.

To my CURAT Negligence I resigne,
Thairwith his parochinaris[z] to teche;
Ane ather gift I leif him als condigne[a],
Slouth and Ignorance sendill[b] for to preche:
The saullis he committis for to bleiche[c]
In purgatorie, quhill[d] thaie be waschin clene,
Pure religion thairbie to sustene.

To the VICAR I leif Diligence and Care
To tak the upmost claith and the kirk kow[e],
Mair nor[f] to put the corps in sepulture:
Have pouir wad six gryis and ane sow[g],
He will have ane to fill his bellie fowe[h]:

[w] Murthered in the croud.
[x] Furnished it well with much ill-gotten wealth.
[y] V. 15. seq.
[z] Parishioners.
[a] As good.
[b] Seldom.
[c] To be bleached. Whitened, or purified.
[d] Till they be washed clean.
[e] Part of the pall, taken as a fee at funerals. The *Kirk-kow*, or cow, is an ecclesiastical perquisite which I do not understand.
[f] More than.
[g] If the poor have six pigs and one sow.
[h] His belly full. BELLY was not yet proscribed as a coarse indelicate word. It often occurs in our Translation of the Bible: and is used, somewhat singularly, in a chapter-act of Westminster-abbey, so late as the year 1628. The prebendaries vindicate themselves from the imputation of having reported, that their dean, bishop Williams, repaired the abbey, "out of "the diet, and BELLIES of the preben-"daries, and revenues of our said church, "and not out of his own revenues, &c." Widmore's WESTMINST. ABBEY, p. 213. Append. NUM. xii. Lond. 1751. Here, as

His thocht is mair upon the paſche fynis,
Nor the ſaullis in purgatorie that pynis [i].

Oppreſſioun the PERSONE I leif untill [k],
Pouir mens corne to hald upon the rig [l],
Quhill he get the teynd alhail at his will [m]:
Suppois the barins thair bread ſuld go thig [n],
His purpois is na kirkis for to big [o];
Sa fair an barne-tyme [p] god has him ſendin,
This ſeven years the queir will ly unmendin [q].

I leif unto the DEAN Dignite, bot faill [r],
With Greit Attendence quilk he ſall not miſs,
Fra adulteraris [to] tack the buttock-maill [s];
Gif ane man to ane madin gif ane kiſs [t],
Get he not geir, thai ſall not come to bliſs [u]:
His winnyng [w] is maiſt throw fornicatioun,
Spending it ſhur with ſiclike [x] occupatioun.

as we now think, a periphraſis, at leaſt another term, was obvious. How ſhocking, or rather ridiculous, would this expreſſion appear in a modern inſtrument, ſigned by a body of clergy!

[i] He thinks more of his Eaſter-offerings, than of the ſouls in purgatory. Paſche is *paſchal*. PAIS, Eaſter.

[k] I leave Oppreſſion to the PARSON, the proprietor of the great, or rectorial, tythes.

[l] To keep the corn of the poor in the *rig*, or rick.

[m] Until he get the tythe all at his will.

[n] Suppoſe the children ſhould beg their bread. *Barins*, or Bearns.

[o] To build no churches.

[p] So fair a harveſt.

[q] The choir, or chancel, which, as the rector, he is obliged to keep in repair. The more tythe he receives, the leſs willing he is to return a due proportion of it to the church.

[r] Without doubt.

[s] A fine for adultery. MAILIS is duties, rents. MAILE-MEN, MAILLERIS, perſons who pay rent. Male is Saxon for tribute or tax. Whence Maalman, Saxon, for one paying tribute. See Spelman and Dufreſne, in VV.

[t] If a man give a maid one kiſs. Chaucer ſays of his SOMPNOUR, or Apparitor, PROL. Urr. p. 6. v. 651.

He would ſuffer for a quart of wine
A good fellow to have his concubine.

See the FREERES TALE, where theſe abuſes are expoſed with much humour. Urr. edit. p. 87.

[u] If he does not get his fine, they will not be ſaved. GEIR is properly goods, chattels.

[w] His profits, in the ſpiritual court.

[x] Surely in the ſame manner.

I leif unto the PRIOURE, for his part,
Gluttony, him and his monkis to feid,
With far better will to drink ane quart [y],
Nor an the bible ane chaptoure [z] to reid;
Yit ar thai wyis and subtile into deid [a],
Fenzeis thame pouir [b], and has gret sufficence,
And takith wolth away with gret patience.

I leif the ABBOT Pride and Arrogance,
With trappit mules in the court to ryde [c],
Not in the closter to make residence;
It is na honoure thair for him to byde [d],
But ever for ane bischoprik provyde [e]:
For weill ye wat ane pouir benefice,
Of ten thousand markis [f] may not him suffice.

To the BISCHOP his Free will I allege [g],
Becaus thair [is] na man him [dares] to blame;
Fra secular men he will him replege [h],

[y] An English gallon.
[z] To read one chapter.
[a] Unto death.
[b] Feign themselves poor.
[c] To ride on a mule with rich trappings. Cavendish says, that when cardinal Wolsey went embassador to France, he rode through London with more than tweaty sumptermules. He adds, that Wolsey "rode very "sumptuouslie like a cardinal, on a mule; "with his spare-mule, and his spare-horse, "covered with crimson velvett, and gilt "stirrops, &c." MEM. OF CARD. WOLSEY. edit. Lond. 1708. 8vo. p. 57. When he meets the king of France near Amiens, he mounts another mule, more superbly caparisoned. Ibid. p. 69. See also p. 192. [See a manuscript of this Life, MSS. LAUD. i. 66. MSS. ARCH. B. 44. Bibl. Bodl.] The same writer, one of the cardinal's domestics, says that he constantly rode to Westminster-hall, "on a mule "trapped in crimson velvett with a saddle "of the same." Ibid. p. 29. 30. In the Computus of Maxtoke priory, in Warwickshire, for the year 1446, this article of expenditure occurs, "Pro pabulo duarum "mularum cum harnesiis domini PRIORIS "hoc anno." Again in the same year, "Pro freno deaurato, cum sella et panno "blodii coloris, mulæ PRIORIS." MS. penes me supr. citat. Wiccliffe describes a WORDLY PRIEST, "with fair hors and "jolly, and gay saddles and bridles ring-"ing by the way, and himself in costly "clothes and pelure." Lewis's WICCL. p. 121.
[d] Continue.
[e] Look out for a bishoprick.
[f] Marcs.
[g] Give, Assign.
[h] He will order tryal in his *own* court. It is therefore unsafe to attack him.

And

And weill ye wat the pape is fur fra hame[i]:
To preich the gospell he thinkis schame,
(Supposis sum tym it was his professioun,)
Rather nor for to sit upon the sessioun[k].

I leif my Flatterie, and Fals Dissembling,
Unto the FRERIS, thai sa weill can fleitche[l],
With mair profit throwe ane marriage-making
Nor all the lentrane[m] in the kirk to preiche[n].
Thai gloiss[o] the scripture, ever quhen thai teache,
Moer in intent the auditouris to pleiss,
Nor the trew worde of god for to appeiss[p].

Thir[q] gifts that dame Nature has me lent
I have disponit[r] heir, as ye may see:
It nevir was, nor yit is, my intent,
That trew kirkmen get acht belongis to me[s]:
But that haulis[t] Huredome and Harlottrie,
Gluttony, Invy, Covatice, and Pryde,
My executouris I mak tham at this tyde.

Adew all friends, quhill[u] after that we meit,
I cannot tell yow quhair, nor in quhat place;
But as the lord dispousis for my spreit,

[i] You well know the pope is at a great distance.

[k] He had rather sit in parliament.

[l] Fawn.

[m] Or, Lentron. Lent.

[n] Who get more by making one match, than by preaching a whole Lent. The mendicants gained an establishment in families, and were consulted and gave their advice in all cases. Chaucer's FRERE

Had mad full manie a marriage
Of yong women, &c. PROL. v. 212.

[o] Expound.

[p] Explain. The mendicants not only perverted the plainest texts of scripture to cover their own fraudulent purposes, but often amused their hearers with legends and religious romances. Wiccliffe, the grand antagonist of these orders, says that, "Capped [graduated] friers that been "cleped [called] masters of divinitie, have "their chamber and service as lords and "kings, and senden out idiots full of "covetise to preche, not the gospel, but "chronicles, fables, and lesinges, to plese "the peple, and to robbe them." Lewis's LIFE OF WICCL. p. 21. xiii.

[q] These.

[r] Disposed. Bequeathed.

[s] A true churchman, a christian on the reformed plan, shall never get any thing belonging to me.

[t] Whole.

[u] Till.

Quher is the well of mercie and of grace,
That I may [ſtand] befoirr his godlie face:
Unto the devill I leif my ſynnis[w] all,
Fra him thai came, to him agane thei fall[x].

Some readers may perhaps be of opinion, that Makgregor was one of thoſe Scottiſh lairds, who lived profeſſedly by rapine and pillage: a practice greatly facilitated, and even ſupported, by the feudal ſyſtem. Of this ſort was Edom o' Gordon, whoſe attack on the caſtle of Dunſe is recorded by the Scotch minſtrels, in a pathetic ballad, which begins thus.

It fell about the Martinmas,
Qhen the wind blew ſchril and cauld,
Said Edom o' Gordon to his men,
We maun draw to a hauld:

And quhat a hauld ſall we draw to,
My mirry men and me?
We wul gae to the houſe o' the Rhodes,
To ſee that fair ladie[y].

Other parts of Europe, from the ſame ſituations in life, afford inſtances of the ſame practice. Froiſſart has left a long narrative of an eminent robber, one Amergot Marcell; who became at length ſo formidable and powerful, as to claim a place in the hiſtory of France. About the year 1380, he had occupied a ſtrong caſtle for the ſpace of ten years, in the province of Auvergne, in which he lived with the ſplendor and dominion of a petty ſovereign; having amaſſed, by pillaging the neighbouring country, one hundred thouſand franes. His depredations brought in an annual revenue of twenty thouſand floreins. Afterwards he

[w] Sins. [x] V. 309. ſeq. [y] Percy's BALL. i. 100.

is

is tempted imprudently to ſell his caſtle to one of the generals of the king for a conſiderable ſum. Froiſſart introduces Marcell, after having ſold his fortreſs, uttering the following lamentation, which ſtrongly paints his ſyſtem of depredation, the feudal anarchy, and the trade and travelling of thoſe days. " What a joy was it when we rode forthe at adventure, " and ſomtyme found by the way a ryche priour, or mar- " chaunt, or a route of mulettes, of Montpellyer, of Nar- " bone, of Lymons, of Fongans, of Tholous, or of Car- " caſſone, laden with clothe of Bruſſelles, or peltre ware " comynge from the fayres, or laden with ſpycery from " Bruges, from Damas, or from Alyſaunder! What- " ſoever we met, all was ours, or els raunſomed at our " pleaſures. Dayly we gate newe money; and the vyl- " laynes of Auvergne and of Lymoſyn dayly provyded, and " brought to our caſtell, whete mele, breed [bread] ready " baken, otes for our horſes and lytter, good wynes, beffes, " and fatte mottons, pullayne, and wylde foule. We were " ever furnyſhed, as though we had been kings. Whan we " rode forthe, all the country trembled for feare. All was " oures, goynge or comynge. Howe toke we Carlaſte, I " and the Bourge of Companye! and I and Perot of Bernoys " toke Caluſet. How dyd we ſcale with lytell ayde the " ſtronge caſtell of Marquell pertayninge to the erle Dol- " phyn! I kept it not paſt fyve dayes, but I receyved for " it, on a fayre table, fyve thouſand frankes; and forgave " one thouſand, for the love of the erle Dolphyn's chyldren. " By my faithe, this was a fayre and goodlie life! &c[z]."

But on the whole I am inclined to think, that our teſtator Makgregor, although a robber, was a perſonage of high rank, whoſe power and authority were ſuch, as to require this indirect and artificial mode of abuſe. For the ſame reaſon, I believe the name to be fictitious.

[z] See tom. ii. c. 170. f. 115. a. And tom. i. c. 149. f. 73. See alſo, ib. c. 440. £ 313. b. Berners's Tranſl.

I take

I take this opportunity of obſerving, that the old Scotch poet Blind Harry belongs to this period; and, at the ſame time, of correcting the miſtake, which, in conformity to the common opinion, and on the evidence of Dempſter and Mackenzie, I have committed, in placing him towards the cloſe of the fourteenth century[a]. John Major the Scotch hiſtorian, who was born about the year 1470, remembered Blind Harry to have been living, and to have publiſhed a poem on the achievements of Sir William Wallace, when he was a boy. He adds, that he cannot vouch for the credibility of thoſe tales which the bards were accuſtomed to ſing for hire in the caſtles of the nobility[b]. I will give his own words. "Integrum librum Gulielmi Wallacei Henricus, a nativitate "luminibus captus, meæ infantiæ tempore cudit: et quæ "vulgo dicebantur carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, "conſcripſit. Ego autem talibus ſcriptis ſolum in parte "fidem impertior; quippe qui HISTORIARUM RECITATIONE "CORAM PRINCIPIBUS victum et veſtitum, quo dignus erat, "nactus eſt[c]." And that, in this poem, Blind Harry has intermixed much fable with true hiſtory, will appear from ſome proofs collected by ſir David Dalrymple, in his judicious and accurate annals of Scotland, lately publiſhed[d].

I cannot return to the Engliſh poets without a hint, that a well-executed hiſtory of the Scotch poetry from the thirteenth century, would be a valuable acceſſion to the general literary hiſtory of Britain. The ſubject is pregnant with much curious and inſtructive information, is highly deſerving of a minute and regular reſearch, has never yet been uniformly examined in its full extent, and the materials are both acceſſible and ample. Even the bare lives of the vernacular poets of Scot-

[a] See ſupr. vol. i. p. 321. Dempſter ſays he lived in 1361.

[b] The poem as now extant has probably been reformed and moderniſed.

[c] HIST. MAGN. BRITAN. L. iv. c. xv. f. 74. a. edit. Aſcenſ. 1521. 4to. Compare Hollinſh. SCOT. ii. p. 414. And Mack. tom. i. 423. Dempſt. lib. viii. p. 349.

[d] See p. 245. edit. 1776. 4to.

land

land have never yet been written with tolerable care; and at present are only known from the meagre outlines of Dempster and Mackenzie. The Scotch appear to have had an early propensity to theatrical representations; and it is probable, that in the prosecution of such a design, among several other interesting and unexpected discoveries, many anecdotes, conducing to illustrate the rise and progress of our ancient drama, might be drawn from obscurity.

SECT.

SECT. XV.

MOST of the poems of John Skelton were written in the reign of king Henry the eighth. But as he was laureated at Oxford about the year 1489[e], I consider him as belonging to the fifteenth century.

Skelton, having studied in both our universities, was promoted to the rectory of Diss in Norfolk[f]. But for his buffooneries in the pulpit, and his satirical ballads against the

[e] See supr. p. 130.

[f] At least before the year 1507. For at the end of his TRENTALE *for old John Clarke*, there is this colophon. "Auctore "Skelton rectore de Dis. Finis, &c. A- "pud Trumpinton, script. per Curatum "ejusdem quinto die Jan. A. D. 1507." See the PITHY PLEASAUNT AND PROFITABLE WORKES OF MAISTER SKELTON, reprinted at London, 1736, 12mo. pag. 272. He was ordained both deacon and priest in the year 1498. On the title of the monastery de Graciis near the tower of London. REGISTR. Savage. Episc. Lond. There is a poem by Skelton on the death of king Edward the fourth, who died A. D. 1483. WORKES, ut supr. p. 100. This is taken into the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES.

Skelton's poems were first printed at London, 1512. 8vo. A more complete edition by Thomas Marshe appeared in 1568. 12mo. From which the modern edition, in 1736, was copied. Many pieces of this collection have appeared separately. We have also, CERTAINE BOKES OF SKELTON. For W. Bonham, 1547. 12mo. Again, viz. Five of his poems, for John Day, 1583. 12mo. Another collection for A. Scolocker, 1582. 12mo. Another of two pieces, without date, for A. Kytson. Another, viz. MERIE TALES, for T. Colwell, 1575. 12mo. MAGNIFICENCE, *a goodly Interlude and a mery devysed and made by mayster Skelton, poet laureate, late deceased*, was printed by Rastell, in 1533. 4to. This is not in any collection of his poems. He mentions it in his CROWNE OF LAWRELL, p. 47. "And of MAGNIFICENCE, a notable "mater, &c." Pinson also printed a piece of Skelton, not in any collection, "How "yong scholars now a days emboldened in "the fly blowne blast of the moche vayne "glorious, &c." Without date, 4to. There are also, not in his Works, *Epitaph of Jasper duke of Bedford*, Lond. 4to. And, *Miseries of England under Henry seventh*, Lond. 4to. See two of his Epitaphs in Camden's EPITAPHIA REGUM, &c. Lond. 1600. 4to. See a distich in Hollinsh. iii. 878. And Stanzas presented to Henry the seventh, in 1488, at Windsor, in Ashmole's ORD. GART. chap. xxi. SECT. vii. p. 594. A great number of Skelton's pieces remain unprinted. See MSS. Harl. 367. 36. fol. 101. seq.—2252. 51. fol. 134. seq. MSS. Reg. 18 D. 4 5. MSS. C. C. C. Cambr. G. ix. MSS. Cotton. VITELL. E. x. 28. And MSS. Cathedr. Linc. In the CROWNE OF LAWRELL, Skelton recites many of his own pieces. p. 47. seq. The *soverayne Interlude of Virtue*. The *Rosiar*. *Prince Arthur's creacion*. Of *Perfidia*. *Dialogues of Ymaginacion*. The *comedy of Achadamios*. *Tullis familiars*, that is, a translation of Tully's Familiar Epistles. Of *good Advisement*. The *Recule against Gaguine*.

mendicants[g], he was severely censured, and perhaps suspended by Nykke his diocesan, a rigid bishop of Norwich, from exercising the duties of the sacerdotal function. Wood says, he was also punished by the bishop for "having "been guilty *of certain crimes*, As MOST POETS are[h]." But these persecutions only served to quicken his ludicrous disposition, and to exasperate the acrimony of his satire. As his sermons could be no longer a vehicle for his abuse, he vented his ridicule in rhyming libels. At length, daring to attack the dignity of cardinal Wolsey, he was closely pursued by the officers of that powerful minister; and, taking shelter in the sanctuary of Westminster abbey, was kindly

Gaguine. See p. 47. 162. The *Popingay*. *A noble pamphelet of soveraintie*. The Play of *Magnificence*, abovementioned. *Maiers of Myrth to maistres Margery*. The *Peregrination of Mannes Lyfe*, from the French, perhaps of Guillaume, prior of Chalis. [See supr. p. 120.] But it should be observed, that Pynson printed *Peregrinatio humani generis*, 1508. 4to. The *triumphes of the redde rose*, containing many stories long *unremembered*. *Speculum principis*, a manual written while he was *creauncer*, or tutor, to Henry the eighth, when a boy. The *Tunnyng of Elinour Rummyng*. See p. 123. *Colin Clout*. See p. 179. *John Yve*. *Joforth Jacke*. Verses to *maistres Anne*. Epitaph of *one Adam a knave*. See p. 271. The *balade of the mustarde tarte*. The fate of *Philip Sparrowe*. See p. 215. The *grounting of the swyne*. The *mournyng of the mapely rote*. A *prayer to Moyse's hornes*. The *paiants* [pageaunts] *played in joyous garde*, that is, in king Arthur's castle, so called in the romance of MORTE ARTHUR. The *fenestrall* [window] *of castell Angel*. The *recule of Rosamundes bowre*. *How dame Minerva first found the olive-tre*. The *myller and his joly mate*, or wife. *Marione clarion*. Of the *Bonhoms of Ashrige* near Berkhamstead, where is the *sauge royall of Christ's blode*, that is, the *real* blood of Christ. He professes to have received many favours from this monastery. The *nacion of foles*. The *boke of three fooles* is printed in his works, p. 260. *Apollo that whirled up his chare*. The *mayden of Kent*. Of *lovers testaments*. Of *Jollas and Phillis*. The *boke of honorouse astate*: Of *royall demenaunce*: *How to sle synne*: *How to speke well*. *How to dye when ye will*. A *translation of Diodorus Siculus*, *cute of freshe Latin*, that is, of Poggius Florentinus, containing six books. MS. C. C. C. Camb. viii. 5. Poggius's version was first printed at Venice, 1476. Caxton in his Preface to Virgil's ENEIDOS, says that Skelton "translated diverse other "workes out of Latyn into Englysh," beside Tully's Epistles, and Diodorus Siculus. Bale mentions his *Invectiva* on William Lily the grammarian. I know nothing more of this, than that it was answered by Lily in *Apologia ad Job. Scheltonum*. Pr. "Siccine vipereo pergis me, &c." The piece of Skelton most frequently printed was, I believe, his ELINOUR RUMMYNG, or Rumpkin. The last of the old editions is, in 1624. 4to. In the title page, is the picture of our genial hostess, a deformed old woman, holding a pot of ale, with this inscription.

When Skelton wore the lawrel crown
My ale put all the alewives down.

See Davies's CRITICAL HISTORY OF PAMPHLETS, p. 28. 86.

[g] See WORKS, p. 200. 202. &c.

[h] ATH. OXON. i. 22. seq.

entertained and protected by abbot Islip[i], to the day of his death. He died, and was buried in the neighbouring church of saint Margaret, in the year 1529.

Skelton was patronised by Henry Algernoon Percy, the fifth earl of Northumberland, who deserves particular notice here; as he loved literature at a time when many of the nobility of England could hardly read or write their names, and was the general patron of such genius as his age produced. He encouraged Skelton, almost the only professed poet of the reign of Henry the seventh, to write an elegy on the death of his father, which is yet extant. But still stronger proofs of his literary turn, especially of his singular passion for poetry, may be collected from a very splendid manuscript, which formerly belonged to this very distinguished peer, and is at present preserved in the British Museum[k]. It contains a large collection of English poems, elegantly engrossed on vellum, and superbly illuminated, which had been thus sumptuously transcribed for his use. The pieces are chiefly those of Lydgate, after which follow the aforesaid Elegy of Skelton, and some smaller compositions. Among the latter are a metrical history of the family of Percy, presented to him by one of his own chaplains; and a prolix series of poetical inscriptions, which he caused to be written on the walls and ceilings of the principal apartments of his castles of Lekinfield and Wressil[l]. His

[i] His Latin epitaph or elegy on the Death of Henry the seventh, is addressed to Islip, A. D. 1512. p. 285.

[k] MSS. Reg. 18 D. 11.

[l] See supr. p. 126. And MSS. C. C. C. Cant. 168. Three of the apartments in Wressill Castle, now destroyed, were adorned with POETICAL INSCRIPTIONS. These are called in the manuscript abovementioned, "PROVERBES in the LODGINGS in WRESSILL."

1. "The proverbes in the sydis of the "innere chamber at Wressill." This is a poem of twenty-four stanzas, each containing seven lines: beginning thus,

"When it is tyme of coste and greate expens,
"Beware of waste and spende by measure:
"Who that outrageously makithe his dispens,
"Causythe his goodes not long to endure, &c.

2. "The counsell of Aristotill, whiche "he gayse to Alexander, kynge of Massy-"dony; whiche are wrytyn in the syde of "the Utter Chamber above the house in the "Garden at Wresyll." This is in distichs of thirty-eight lines; beginning thus,

Punyshe

cultivation of the arts of external elegance appears, from the ſtately ſepulchral monuments which he erected in the minſter, or collegiate church, of Beverly in Yorkſhire, to the memory of his father and mother; which are executed in

" Punyſhe moderatly and diſcretly correcte,
" As well to mercy as to juſtice havynge a reſpecte, &c.

3. " The proverbis in the ſyde of th' Utter " Chamber above of the hous in the gar- " dying at Wreſyll." A poem of thirty ſtanzas, chiefly of four lines, viz.

" Remorde thyne ey inwardly,
" Fyx not thy mynde on Fortune, that delythe dyverſly, &c.

The following apartments in Lekinfield had poetical inſcriptions: as mentioned in the ſaid manuſcript. " PROVERBS in the " LODGINGS at LEKINGFIELD."

1. " The proverbis of the garett over " the Bayne at Lekyngfelde." This is a dialogue in 32 ſtanzas, of four lines, between " the Parte Senſatyve," and " the " Part Intellectyve;" containing a poetical compariſon between ſenſual and intellectual pleaſures.

2. " The proverbis in the garet at the " new lodge in the parke of Lekingfelde." This is a poem of 32 ſtanzas, of four lines, being a diſcant on Harmony, as alſo on the manner of Singing, and playing on moſt of the inſtruments then uſed: i.e. the Harps, Claricordes, Lute, Virgynall, Clariſymballis, Clarion, Shawme, Orgayne, Recorder. The following ſtanza relates to the SHAWME, and ſhews it to have been uſed for the Baſs, as the RECORDER was for the Meane or Tenor.

" A SHAWME makithe a ſweete ſounde for he tunithe BASSE,
" It mountithe not to hy, but kepithe rule and ſpace.
" Yet yf it be blowne with a too vehement wynde,
" It makithe it to miſgoverne out of his kynde.

3. " The proverbis in the rooffe of the " hyeſt chawmbre in the gardinge at Lekingfelde." If we ſuppoſe this to be the room mentioned by Leland, where the Genealogy was kept; the following jingling reflections on the family motto (in thirty diſtichs) will not appear quite ſo miſplaced;

" *Eſperaunce en Dyeu*,
" Truſte in hym he is moſt trewe.

" *En Dieu eſperance*,
" In hym put thyne affiance.

" *Eſperaunce* in the worlde? nay;
" The worlde varieth every day.

" *Eſperaunce* in riches? nay, not ſo,
" Riches ſlidithe and ſone will go.

" *Eſperaunce* in exaltacion of honoure?
" Nay, it widderithe . . . lyke a floure.

" *Eſperaunce* in bloode and highe lynage?
" At moſte nede, bot eſy avauntage.

The concluding diſtich is,

" *Eſperaunce en Dieu*, in hym is all;
" Be thou contente and thou art above Fortune's fall."

4. " The proverbis in the rouſe of my " Lorde Percy cloſett at Lekyngfelde." A poetical dialogue, containing inſtructions for youth, in 142 lines.

5. " The proverbis in the rouſe of my Lordis library at Lekyngefelde." Twenty-three ſtanzas of four lines, from which take the following ſpecimen:

" To every tale geve thou no credens.
" Prove the cauſe, or thou give ſentens.
" Agayn the right make no dyffens,
" So haſt thou a clene conſciens."

6. " The counſell of Ariſtotell, whiche " he gave to Alexander kinge of Mace- " dony; in the ſyde of the garet of the " gardynge in Lekynfelde." This conſiſts of nine ſtanzas, of eight lines: Take the laſt ſtanza but one:

" Puniſhe moderatly, and diſcretly correct,
" As well to mercy, as to juſtice havynge a reſpect;

the richest style of the florid Gothic architecture, and remain to this day, the conspicuous and striking evidences of his taste and magnificence. In the year 1520, he founded an annual stipend of ten marcs for three years, for a preceptor, or professor, to teach grammar and philosophy in the monastery of Alnewick, contiguous to another of his magnificent castles [m]. A further instance of his attention to letters and studious employments, occurs in his HOUSHOLD-BOOK, dated 1512, yet remaining, in which the LIBRARIES of this earl and of his lady are specified [n]: and in the same curious monument of antient manners it is ordered, that one of his chaplains should be a MAKER OF INTERLUDES [o]. With so much boldness did this liberal nobleman abandon the example of his brother peers, whose principal occupations were hawking and tilting; and who despised learning, as an ignoble and petty accomplishment, fit only for the purposes of laborious and indigent ecclesiastics. Nor was he totally given up to the pursuits of leisure and peace: he was, in the

"So shall ye have meryte for the punyshment,
"And cause the offender to be sory and penitent.

"If ye be movede with anger or hastynes,
"Pause in youre mynde and your yre repress:
"Defer vengeance unto your anger asswagede be;
"So shyll ye mynyster justice, and do dewe equyte."

This castle is also demolished. One of the ornaments of the apartments of the old castles in France, was to write the walls all over with amorous SONNETS.

[m] From the Receiver's accompts of the earl's estates in Com. Northumb. A. xv. Henr. viii. A. D. 1527. "SOLUCIONES "DENARIORUM per WARRANTUM DOMINI. Et in denariis per dominum "receptorem doctori Makerell Abbati monasterii de Alnewyk solutis, de exitibus "hujus anni, pro solucione vadii unius "PEDAGOGI, sive Magistri, existentis "infra Abbathiam predictam, et docentis "ac legentis GRAMMATICAM et PHILOSOPHIAM canonicis et fratribus monasterii predicti, ad x marcas per annum, "pro termino iij annorum, virtute unius "warranti, cujus data est apud Wressill "xx^mo die Septembris anno xij Regis predicti, signo manuali ipsius Comitis signati, et penes ipsum Abbatem remanentis, ultra vj lib. xiij s. iv d. sibi allocatas anno xiij Henr. viij^vi, et vj lib. "xiij s. iiij d. similiter sibi allocatas in anno "xiiij ejusdem Regis ut per ii acquietancias inde confectas, et penes Auditorem "remanentes." From EVIDENCES of the PERCY FAMILY, at Sion-house. C. iii. Num. 5. 6. Communicated by doctor Percy.

[n] Pag. 44. P. Cop.

[o] Pag. 378. I am indebted to the usual kindness of Dr. Percy for all the notices relating to this earl. See his Preface to the HOUSHOLD BOOK, pag. xxi. seq.

year

year 1497, one of the leaders who commanded at the battle of Blackheath against lord Audley and his partisans; and was often engaged, from his early years, in other public services of trust and honour. But Skelton hardly deserved such a patronage[p].

It is in vain to apologise for the coarseness, obscenity, and scurrility of Skelton, by saying that his poetry is tinctured with the manners of his age. Skelton would have been a writer without decorum at any period. The manners of Chaucer's age were undoubtedly more rough and unpolished than those of the reign of Henry the seventh. Yet Chaucer, a poet abounding in humour, and often employed in describing the vices and follies of the world, writes with a degree of delicacy, when compared with Skelton. That Skelton's manner is gross and illiberal, was the opinion of his cotemporaries; at least of those critics who lived but a few years afterwards, and while his poems yet continued in vogue. Puttenham, the author of the ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, published in the year 1589, speaking of the species of short metre used in the minstrel-romances, for the convenience of being sung to the harp at feasts, and in CAROLS and ROUNDS, "and such other light or lascivious poems which are com-"monly more commodiously uttered by those buffoons or "Vices in playes than by any other person," and in which the sudden return of the rhyme fatigues the ear, immediately subjoins: "Such were the rimes of Skelton, being indeed "but a rude rayling rimer, and all his doings ridiculous; he "used both short distaunces and short measures, pleasing "only the popular care[o]." And Meres, in his PALLADIS

[o] Lib. ii. ch. ix. p. 69.

[p] I am informed by a manuscript note in one of Mr. Oldys's books, that Skelton also wrote a poem called TITUS AND GESIPPUS. This I believe to be a mistake: for I suppose he attributes to Skelton, William Walter's poem on this subject, mentioned above, p. 238. At the same time I take occasion to correct a mistake of my own, concerning that piece; which I have inadvertently called, "a translation from a Latin romance "concerning the siege of Jerusalem." ibid. Titus and Gesippus were famous for their friendship; and their history forms an interesting novel in Boccacio, the substance of

TAMIA, or WIT'S TREASURY, publiſhed in 1598. "Skelton "applied his wit to ſkurilities and ridiculous matters: ſuch "among the Greekes were called *pantomimi*, with us buffoons[q]."

Skelton's characteriſtic vein of humour is capricious and groteſque. If his whimſical extravagancies ever move our laughter, at the ſame time they ſhock our ſenſibility. His feſtive levities are not only vulgar and indelicate, but frequently want truth and propriety. His ſubjects are often as ridiculous as his metre: but he ſometimes debaſes his matter by his verſification. On the whole, his genius ſeems better ſuited to low burleſque, than to liberal and manly ſatire. It is ſuppoſed by Caxton, that he improved our language; but he ſometimes affects obſcurity, and ſometimes adopts the moſt familiar phraſeology of the common people.

He thus deſcribes, in the BOKE OF COLIN CLOUTE, the pompous houſes of the clergy.

of which is this. Geſippus, falling into poverty, thought himſelf deſpiſed by Titus; and thence growing weary of life, gave out that he was guilty of a murther juſt committed. But Titus knowing the true ſtate of the caſe, and deſiring to ſave the life of his friend by loſing his own, charged himſelf with the murther: at which the real murtherer, who ſtood among the croud at the trial, was ſo ſtruck, that he confeſſed the fact. All three are ſaved; and Titus, to repair the broken fortunes of Geſippus, gives him his ſiſter in marriage, with an ample dower. Bocc. DECAM. Nov. viii. GIORN. x. This is a frequent example of conſummate friendſhip in our old poets. In the FAERIE QUEENE, they are placed in the temple of Venus among the celebrated Platonic friends of antiquity, B. iv. c. x. ſt. 27.

Myld Titus and Geſippus without pryde.

See alſo SONGES and SONNETTS written by E. G. At the end of lord Surrey's Works, fol. 114.

O frendſhip flour of flours, O lively ſprite of life,
O ſacred bond of bliſful peace, the ſtalworth ſtaunch of life!
Scipio with Lelius didſt thou conjoin in care:—
GESIPPUS eke with TITE, Damon with Pythias;
And with Menethus ſonne Achill by thee combyned was:
Euryalus and Niſus, &c. &c.

There is a manuſcript of ſome of Skelton's poems in the Cotton library: but the volume is ſo much damaged by fire, that they are almoſt illegible. [Brit. Muſ.] VITELL. E. x. 28.

[q] "Being the ſecond part of WIT'S "COMMONWELTH. By Francis Meres, "maiſter of artes of both univerſities. "London, printed by P. Short, &c. 1598." 12mo. fol. 279. b. The firſt part is, "POLITEUPHNIA, Wit's Common-"wealth, for Nicholas Ling, 1598," 12mo.

Building

Building royally
Their mancyons, curiouſly
With turrettes, and with toures,
With halles, and with boures,
Streching to the ſtarres;
With glaſſe windowes and barres:
Hangyng about the walles
Clothes of golde and palles;
Arras of ryche arraye,
Freſhe as floures in Maye:
With dame Dyana naked;
Howe lyſtye Venus quaked,
And howe Cupide ſhaked
His darte, and bente his bowe,
For to ſhote a crowe
At her tyrly tyrlowe:
And how Paris of Troye
Daunced a *lege de moy*,
Made luſtye ſporte and toye
With dame Helyn the queene:
With ſuche ſtoryes by deen [a],
Their chambres wel be ſeene.
With triumphes of Ceſar, &c.—
Now [b] all the world ſtares
How they ryde in goodly chares,
Conveyed by olyphantes
With lauriat garlantes;
And by unycornes
With their ſemely hornes;
Upon theſe beaſtes riding
Naked boyes ſtriding,
With wanton wenches winkyng,—

[a] By the dozen. [b] This is ſtill a deſcription of tapeſtry.

For

For prelates of eſtate
Their courage to abate;
From wordly wantonnes,
Their chambers thus to dres
With ſuch parfytneſs,
And all ſuch holynes,
How beit they lett down fall
Their churches cathedrall [t].

Theſe lines are in the beſt manner of his petty meaſure: which is made ſtill more diſguſting by the repetition of the rhymes. We ſhould obſerve, that the ſatire is here pointed at the ſubject of theſe tapeſtries. The graver eccleſiaſtics, who did not follow the levities of the world, were contented with religious ſubjects, or ſuch as were merely hiſtorical. Roſſe of Warwick, who wrote about the year 1460, relates, that he ſaw in the abbat's hall at ſaint Alban's abbey a ſuite of arras, containing a long train of incidents belonging to a moſt romantic and pathetic ſtory in the life of the Saxon king Offa, which that hiſtorian recites at large [u].

[t] *The Boke of Colin Clowte*, p. 205. ſeq.

[u] J. Roſſ. WARWIC. HIST. REG. ANGL. edit. Hearne, p. 64. Hugh de Foliot, a canon regular of Picardy, ſo early as the year 1140, cenſures the magnificent houſes of the biſhops, with the ſumptuous paintings, or tapeſtry, of their chambers, chiefly on the Trojan ſtory. "Epiſcopi "domos non impares eccleſiis magnitudine "conſtruunt. Pictos delectantur habere "thalamos: veſtiuntur ibi imagines pre-"tioſis colorum indumentis. — Trojano-"rum geſtis paries, purpura atque auro "veſtitur. — Græcorum exercitui dantur "arma. Hectori clypeus datur auro ſplen-"dens, &c." Bibl. Bodl. MSS. JAMES. ii. p. 203. But I believe the tract is publiſhed in the Works of a cotemporary writer, Hugo de Sancto-Victore. Among the manuſcript EPISTLES of Gilbert de Stone, a canon of Wells, and who flouriſhed about the year 1360, there is a curious paſſage concerning the ſpirit for fox-hunting which antiently prevailed among our biſhops. Reginald Bryan, biſhop of Worceſter, in 1352, thus writes to the biſhop of ſaint David's. "Reverende in Chriſto pater et "domine, premiſſa recommendatione de-"bita tanto patri. Illos optimos canes "venaticos, duodecim ad minus, quibus "*non vidimus meliores*, quos nuper, ſcitis, "veſtra REVERENDA PATERNITAS re-"promiſit, quotidie expectamus. *Lan-"guet namque cor noſtrum*, donec realiter "ad manus noſtras venerit repromiſſum." He then owns his *eagerneſs of expectation* on this occaſion to be ſinful; but obſerves, that it is the fatal conſequence of that deplorable frailty which we all inherit from our mother Eve. He adds, that the foxes, in his manor of Alnechurch, and elſewhere, had killed moſt of his rabbits, many of his capons, and had deſtroyed ſix of his ſwans in one night. "Veniant ergo, "PATER

In the poem, WHY COME YE NOT TO THE COURT, he thus satirises cardinal Wolsey, not without some tincture of humour.

He is set so hye
In his ierarchye [v],
Of frantike frenesy,
And folish fantasy,
That in chambre of stars [x]
Al maters ther he mars,
Clapping his rod on the borde,
No man dare speake a worde;
For he hath al the saying
Without any renaying,
He rolleth in his Recordes:
He saith, "how say ye my lordes?

"PATER REVERENDE, illæ *sex Canicu-* "*lorum copulæ*, et non tardent, &c." He then describes the very exquisite pleasure he shall receive, in hearing his woods echo with the cry of the hounds, and the music of the horns; and in seeing the trophies of the chace affixed to the walls of his palace. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. SUPER. D. 1. ART. 123. —MSS. Cotton. VITELL. E. x. 17. [See MSS. JAMES, xix. p. 139.]

From a want of the notions of common propriety and decorum, it is amazing to see the strange absurdities committed by the clergy of the middle ages, in adopting the laical character. Du Cange says, that the deans of many cathedrals in France entered on the dignities habited in a surplice, girt with a sword, in boots and gilt spurs, and a hawk on the fist. LATIN. GLOSS. V. DECANUS, tom. i. p. 1326. See also ibid. p. 79. And tom. ii. p. 179. seq. Carpentier adds, that the treasurers of some churches, particularly that of Nivernois, claimed the privilege of assisting at mass, on whatever festival they pleased, without the canonical vestments, and carrying a hawk. And the lord of Sassay held some of his lands, by placing a hawk on the high altar of the church of Evreux, while his parish priest celebrated the service, booted and spurred, to the beat of drum, instead of the organ. SUPPL. tom. i. p. 32. Although their ideas of the dignity of the church were so high, yet we find them sometimes conferring the rank and title of secular nobility even on the Saints. Saint James was actually created a BARON at Paris. Thus Froissart, tom. iii. c. 30. "Or eurent ils affection et devotion d'aller "en pelerinage au BARON Saint Jaques." And in Fabl. (tom. ii. p. 182.) cited by Carpentier, ubi supr. p. 469.

Dame, dist il, et je me veu,
A dieu, et au BARON Saint Leu,
Et s' irai au BARON Saint Jaques.

Among the many contradictions of this kind, which entered into the system of these ages, the institution of the Knights templars is not the least extraordinary. It was an establishment of armed monks; who made a vow of living at the same time both as anchorets and soldiers.

[v] Hierarchy.

[x] The star-chamber. So below, p. 151. In the *ster-chamber* he nods and becks.

"Is not my reason good?
"Good!—even good—*Robin-hood!*—
Borne up on every syde
With pompe and with pryde,
With trump up alleluya[7],
For dame Philargyria[8]
Hath so his hart in hold, &c.—
Adew Philosophia!
Adew Theologia!
Welcome dame Simonia[9],
With dame Castimergia[10],
To drynke and for to eate
Swete ipocras, and swete meate[c]:

[7] The pomp in which he celebrates divine service.

[8] Love of money.

[9] Simony.

[10] The true reading is CASTRIMARGIA, or *Gulæ concupiscentia*, Gluttony. From the Greek, Γαστριμαργια, Ingluvies, helluatio. Not an uncommon word in the monkish latinity. Du Cange cites an old Litany of the tenth century, "A Spiritu CASTRIMARGIÆ *Libera nos domine!*" LAT. GLOSS. i. p. 398. Carpentier adds, among other examples, from the statutes of the Cistercian order, 1375, "Item, cum propter detestabile CASTRIMARGIÆ vitium in labyrinthum vitiorum descendatur, &c." SUPPL. tom. i. p. 862.

[c] I have before spoken of Hypocras, or spiced wine. I add here, that the spice, for this mixture, was served, often separately, in what they called a spice-plate. So Froissart, describing a dinner in the castle of Thoulouse, at which the king of France was present. "After dyner, they toke other pastymes in a great chambre, and hereyng of instruments, wherein the erle of Foiz greatly delyted. Than WINE and SPYCES was brought. The erle of Harcourt served the kyng of his SPYCE-PLATE. And sir Gerard de la Pyen served the duke of Burbone. And sir Monaunt of Noailles served the erle of Foiz, &c." This was about the year 1360. CHRON. tom. ii. cap. 164. f. 184. a. Again, ibid. cap. 100. f. 114. a. "The kynge alyghted at his palis [of Westminster] whiche was redie apparelled for him. There the kynge DRANKE and TOKE SPYCES, and his uncles also: and other prelates, lordes, and knyghtes." Lord Berners's TRANSL. In the Computus of Maxtoke priory [MS. supr. citat.] an. 1447, we have this entry, "Item pro vino cretico cum speciebus et confectis datis diversis generosis in die sancti Dionysii quando *Le fole* domini Monfordes erat hic, et faceret jocositates suas in camera orioli." Here, I believe, *vinum creticum* is raisin-wine, or wine made of dried grapes; and the meaning of the whole seems to be this. "Paid for raisin wine with comfits and spices, when sir S. Montford's FOOL was here, and exhibited his merriments in the oriel-chamber." With regard to one part of the entry, we have again, "Item, extra cameram vocatam le *gestis chamber*, erat una lintheamina furata in die sancti Georgii Martiris quando *le fole* de MONFORDES erat hic."

To

To kepe his fleshe chaste,
In Lente, for his repaste
He eateth capons stewed,
Fesaunt and partriche mewed:—
Spareth neyther mayd ne wife,
This is a postel's life [d]!

The poem called the BOUGE OF COURT, or the *Rewards of a Court*, is in the manner of a pageaunt, consisting of seven personifications. Here our author, in adopting the more grave and stately movement of the seven lined stanza [e], has shewn himself not always incapable of exhibiting allegorical imagery with spirit and dignity. But his comic vein predominates.

[d] An apostle's. p. 147. He afterwards insinuates, that the Cardinal had lost an eye by the French disease: and that *Balthasar*, who had cured of the same disorder *Domingo Lomelyn*, one who had won much money of the king at cards and *basarding*, was employed to recover the cardinal's eye. p. 175. In the *Boke of Colin Clout*, he mentions the cardinal's mule, "Wyth "golde all be trapped." p. 188. [See supr. p. 329.]

[e] But in this stanza he sometimes relapses into the absurdities of his favorite style of composition. For instance, in SPEAKE PARROT, p. 97.

Albertus de modo significandi,
And Donatus, be dryven out of schole;
Prisians hed broken now handy dandy,
And *Interdidascalos* is returned for a fole:
Alexander a gander of Menander's pole,
With *da Cansales* is cast out of the gate,
And *da Racionales* dare not shew his pate.

Here, by *da Cansales*, he perhaps means *Concilia*, or the canon law. By *da Racionales* he seems to intend *Logic*. Albertus is the author of the MARGARITA POETICA, a collection of Flores from the classics and other writers, printed at Nurenberg, 1472. fol. For Donatus, see vol. i. p. 281. To which add, that Ingulphus says, in Croyland abbey library, there were many Catones and DONATI, in the year 1091. HIST. CROYL. Ingulph. Script. Vet. i. p. 104. And that no person was admitted into the college of Boissy at Paris, founded in 1358, "nisi DONATUM aut Catonem di-"dicerit." Bul. HIST. UNIV. PARIS. tom. iv. p. 355. INTERDIDASCALOS is the name of an old grammar. Alexander was a schoolmaster at Paris about the year 1290, author of the DOCTRINALE PUERORUM, which for some centuries continued to be the most favorite manual of grammar used in schools, and was first printed at Venice in the year 1473. It is compiled from Priscian and in Leonine verse. See Henr. Gandav. SCRIPTOR. ECCLES. cap. lix. This admired system has been loaded with glosses and lucubrations: but, on the authority of an ecclesiastical synod, it was superseded by the COMMENTARII GRAMMATICI of Despauterius, in 1512. It was printed in England as early as the year 1503, by W. de Worde. [See supr. p. 168.] Barklay, in the SHIP OF FOOLES, mentions Alexander's book, which he calls "The *olde* "DOCTRINALL with his diffuse and un-"perfite brevitie." fol. 53. b.

RYOTT is thus forcibly and humourouſly pictured.

With that came RYOTTE ruſhing al at ones,
A ruſtie galande[f], to ragged and to rente[g];
And on the borde he whirled a paire of bones[h],
Quater treye dews he clattered as he went:
Nowe have at all by ſaint Thomas of Kente[i],
And ever he threwe, and kyſt[k] I wote nere what:
His here was growen thorowe out of his hat.

Than I behylde how he dyſgyſed was;
His hedd was heavy for watchinge over night,
His eyen blered, his face ſhone like a glas;
His gowne ſo ſhorte, that it ne cover myght
His rompe, he went ſo all for ſomer light;
His hoſe was gardyd with a lyſte of grene[l],
Yet at the knee they broken were I ween.

His cote was checkerd with patches rede and blewe,
Of Kyrkbye Kendall[m] was his ſhort demye[n];
And aye he ſange *in fayth decon thou crewe*:
His elbowe bare, he ware his gere ſo nye[o]:
His noſe droppinge, his lippès were full drye:
And by his ſyde his whynarde, and his pouche,
The devyll myght dance therin for any crouche[p].

[f] Galant.
[g] All over tatters and rags.
[h] Dice.
[i] Saint Thomas Becket.
[k] Caſt. He threw I know not what.
[l] There was an affectation of ſmartneſs in the trimming of his hoſe, Yet, &c.
[m] See KENDALL-GREEN, in the Gloſſary to Shakeſpeare. edit. 1771.
[n] Doublet. Jacket.
[o] His coat-ſleeve was ſo ſhort.
[p] Pag. 70. The devil might dance in his purſe without meeting with a ſingle ſixpence. CROUCHE is *Croſs*, a piece of money ſo called, from being marked with the croſs. Hence the old phraſe, *to croſs the hand*, for, *to give money*. In Chaucer's MARCHAUNT'S TALE, when January and May are married, it is ſaid the prieſt "*Crouchid* them, and bad god ſhould "them bleſs." v. 1223. Urr. That is, "He *croſſed* the new-married couple, &c." In the poem before us, RYOTTE ſays, "I "have no coyne nor *croſſe*." p. 72. Carpentier mentions a coin, called in Latin CROSATUS, and in old French CROSAT, from being marked with the Croſs. Hence CROISAGE, Fr. for TRIBUTE. V. CROSATUS.

There is alſo merit in the delineation of DISSIMULATION, in the ſame poem [q]: and it is not unlike Arioſto's manner in imagining theſe allegorical perſonages.

Than in his hode I ſawe there faces tweyne;
That one was lene and lyke a pyned ghoſt,
That other loked as he wolde me have ſlayne:
And to me ward as he gan for to cooſt,
Whan that he was even at me almooſt,
I ſawe a knyfe hid in his one ſleve,
Whereon was wryten this worde MISCHEVE.

And in his other ſleve methought I ſawe
A ſpone of goldè, full of hony ſwete,
To feed a fole, and for to prey a dawe [r], &c.

The ſame may be obſerved of the figure of DISDAYNE.

He looked hawtie, he ſette eche man at nought;
His gawdy garment with ſcornes was al wrought,
With indignacyon lyned was his hode;
He frowned as he wolde ſwere by cockes blode [s].

He bote [t] the lyppe, he loked paſſynge coye;
His face was belymmed, as bees had hym ſtounge:
It was no tyme with hym to jape nor toye,
Envye hath waſted his lyver and his lounge;
Hatred by the herte ſo had hym wrounge,

ZATUS. SUPPL. Du Cange, LAT. GLOSS. tom. i. p. 1208. In Shakeſpeare's TIMON OF ATHENS, Flavius ſays,

More jewels yet! There is no CROSSING him in's humour,
Elſe I ſhould tell him—well—ifaith I ſhould,
When all's ſpent he'd be CROSS'D then if he could.——

[t] Act i. Sc. iv. That is, not *thwarting* him in his humour, but giving him money. Yet a jingle is intended. So in AS YOU LIKE IT, ji. iv. "Yet I ſhould bear no "CROSS if I did bear you; for I think "you have no *money* in your purſe." A CRUZADOE, a Portugueſe coin, occurs in Shakeſpeare.

[q] P. 73.

[r] To catch a ſilly bird.

[s] The Hoſt's oath in Lydgate. See ſupr. p. 73.

[t] Bitt.

That

That he loked pale as aſhes to my ſyghte:
DISDAYNE, I wene, this comberous crab is hyghte.—

Forthwith he made on me a proude aſſawte,
With ſcornfull lokè movyd all in mode [u];
He wente about to take me in a fawte,
He fround, he ſtared, he ſtamped where he ſtoode:
I loked on hym, I wende [v] he had be woode [x]:
He ſet the arme proudly under the ſyde,
And in this wyſe he gan with me chyde [y].

In the CROWNE OF LAWRELL our author attempts the higher poetry: but he cannot long ſupport the tone of ſolemn deſcription. Theſe are ſome of the moſt ornamented and poetical ſtanzas. He is deſcribing a garden belonging to the ſuperb palace of FAME.

In an herber [z] I ſawe brought where I was;
The byrdes on the brere ſange on every ſyde,
With aleys enſandyd about in compas,
The bankes enturfed with ſingular ſolas [a],
Enrailed with roſers [b], and vines engraped;
It was a new comfort of ſorowes eſcaped.

In the middes a cundite, that curiouſly was caſt
With pypes of golde, enguſhing out ſtreames
Of criſtall, the clerenes theſe waters far paſt,
Enſwimminge with roches, barbilles, and breames,
Whoſe ſkales enſilvred again the ſon beames
Engliſterd . . . . . .
. . . . . .

[u] In anger.
[v] Weened. Thought.
[x] Mad.
[y] P. 69.
[z] See ſupr. p. 231.

[a] It was ſurrounded with ſand-walks.
[b] Roſe-trees. See Chaucer's ROM. R. v. 1651. ſeq. And our author, infr. p. 40.
The ruddy *roſary*,
The pretty roſemary, &c.

Where

Where I ſawe growyng a goodly laurell tre,
Enverdured with leave, continually grene;
Above in the top a byrde of Araby,
Men call a Phenix: her wynges bytwene
She bet up a fyre with the ſparkes full kene,
With braunches and bowes of the ſwete olyve,
Whoſe fragraunt flower was chefe preſervative

Ageynſt all infections with rancour enflamed:
* * * * * * * * * *
It paſſed all baumes that ever were named,
Or gummes of Saby, ſo derely that be ſolde:
There blewe in that garden a ſoft piplynge colde,
Enbrething of Zephirus, with his pleaſaunt wynde;
Al frutes and flowers grew there in their kynde.

Dryades there daunſed upon that goodly ſoile,
With the nyne Muſes, Pierides by name;
Phillis and Teſtelis, there treſſes with oyle
Were newly enbibed: And, round about the ſame
Grene tre of laurell, moche ſolacious game
They made, with chaplettes and garlandes grene;
And formoſt of al dame Flora the quene;

Of ſomer ſo formally ſhe foted the daunce:
There Cinthius ſat, twinklyng upon his harpeſtringes:
And Jopas his inſtrument dyd avaunce,
The poemes and ſtories auncyent in bringes
Of Atlas aſtrology, &c[c].— —

Our author ſuppoſes, that in the wall ſurrounding the palace of FAME were a thouſand gates, new and old, for the entrance and egreſs of all nations. One of the gates is

[c] P. 30. ſeq.

called

called ANGLIA, on which ſtood a leopard[d]. There is ſome boldneſs and animation in the figure and attitude of this ferocious animal.

> The buyldyng thereof was paſſing commendable;
> Wheron ſtode a lybbard crowned with gold and ſtones,
> Terrible of countinaunce and paſſing formidable,
> As quickly[e] touched as it were fleſhe and bones,
> As gaſtly that glaris[f], as grimly that grones,
> As fierſly frownyng as he had ben fyghtynge,
> And with firme fote he ſhoke forthe his writynge.

Skelton, in the courſe of his allegory, ſuppoſes that the *poets laureate*, or learned men, of all nations, were aſſembled before Pallas. This groupe ſhews the authors, both antient and modern, then in vogue. Some of them are quaintly characteriſed. They are, firſt,—*Olde* Quintilian, not with his Inſtitutes of eloquence, but with his Declamations: Theocritus, with his *bucolicall relacions*: Heſiod, the *Icononacar*[g]: Homer, *the freſhe hiſtoriar: The prince of eloquence*, Cicero: Salluſt, who wrote both the *hiſtory* of Catiline and Jugurth: Ovid, *enſhryned with the Muſys nyne*: Lucan[h]: Statius, writer

[d] P. 28.
[e] With as much life.
[f] Glares.
[g] I cannot decypher this appellation.
[h] Of the popularity of Lucan in the dark ages, I have given proofs in the SECOND DISSERTATION, vol. i. To which I will here add others. The following paſſage occurs in Lydgate's PROLOGUE to the LYFF AND PASSIOUN *of the bleſſid Martyr ſeynt Albcon* [Alban] *and ſeynt Amphiballus*, written in 1439. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. Num. xxxviii. fol. 1. a. [Never printed.]

> I not aequeyntyd with Muſes of Mars,
> Nor with metris of LUCAN nor Virgile;
> Nor with ſugred diteys of Cichero,
> Nor of Omere to folowe the freſsh ſtyle.

And again, ſpeaking of Julius Cæſar, Lydgate refers to Lucan's PHARSALIA, which he calls the "Records of *Lucan*." ibid. fol. 2. b. Peter de Blois, in writing to a profeſſor at Paris, about the year 1170, ſays, "Priſcianus, et Tullius, *Lucanus*, et Perſius, iſti ſunt dii veſtri." EPISTOL. iv. fol. 3. edit. 1517. fol. Eberhardus Bethunienſis, called GRÆCISTA, a philologiſt who wrote about the year 1130, in a poem on VERSIFICATION, ſays of Philip Gualtier, author of a popular epic poem called ALEXANDREIS, that he *ſhines with the light of* LUCAN. "Lucet Alexander Lucani luce." And of Lucan he obſerves, "Metro *lucidiore* canit." [See ſupr. p. 167. 168.] It is eaſy to conceive why Lucan ſhould have been a favorite in the dark ages.

of

of *Achilleidos:* Perſius, with *problems diffuſe:* Virgil, Juvenal, Livy: Ennius, *who wrote of marciall warre:* Aulus Gellius, that *noble hiſtoriar:* Horace, with his *New Poetry*[i]: *Maiſter* Terence, *the famous comicar*, with Plautus: Seneca, the tragedian: Boethius: Maximian, *with his madde dities how dotyng age wolde jape with young foly*[k]: Boccacio, *with his volumes grete:* Quintus Curtius: Macrobius, who treated of *Scipion's dreame:* Poggius Florentinus, with many a *mad tale*[l]: a friar of France *ſyr* Gaguine, who frowned on me *full angrily*[m]: Plutarch and Petrarch, two *famous clarkes:* Lucilius, Valerius Maximus, Propertius, Piſander[n], and Vincentius Bellovacenſis, who wrote the SPECULUM HISTORIALE. The catalogue is cloſed by Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, who firſt adorned the Engliſh language[o]: in alluſion to which part of their characters, their apparel is ſaid to ſhine

[i] That is, Horace's ART OF POETRY. Vineſauf wrote DE NOVA POETRIA. Horace's ART is frequently mentioned under this title.

[k] His ſix Elegies *De incommodis ſenectutis*. See ſupr. p. 168. Reineſius thinks that Maximinian was the biſhop of Syracuſe, in the ſeventh century: a moſt intimate friend, and the ſecretary, of pope Gregory the Great. EPIST. ad Daum. p. 207. Theſe Elegies contain many things ſuperior to the taſte of that period.

[l] Poggius flouriſhed about the year 1450. By his *mad tales*, Skelton means his FACETIÆ, a ſet of comic ſtories, very licentious and very popular. See Poggius's WORKS by Thomas Aucuparius, fol. Argentorat. 1513. f. 157.—184. The obſcenity contained in theſe compoſitions gave great offence, and fell under the particular cenſure of the learned Laurentius Valla. The objections of Valla, Poggius attempts to obviate; by ſaying, that Valla was a clown, a cynic, and a pedant, without any ideas of wit or elegance: and that the FACETIÆ were univerſally eſteemed in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, England, and all countries that cultivated pure Latinity. Poggius's INVECTIVA. Invect. in Laurent. Vallam, f. 82. b. edit. ut ſupr.

[m] Robert, or Rupert, Gaguin, a German, miniſter general of the Maturines, who died at Paris 1502. His moſt famous work is COMPENDIUM SUPER FRANCORUM GESTIS, from Pharamond to the author's age. He has written, among many other pieces, Latin orations and poems, printed at Paris in 1498. The hiſtory of Skelton's quarrel with him is not known. But he was in England, as ambaſſador from the king of France, in 1490. He was a particular friend of dean Colet.

[n] Our author got the name of Piſander, a Greek poet, from Macrobius, who cites a few of his verſes.

[o] In the *boke of Philip Sparow*, he ſays, *Gower's Engliſhe is old*, but that Chaucer's *Engliſhe is wel allowed:* he adds, that Lydgate writes *after an hyer rate*, and that he has been cenſured for his elevation of phraſe; but acknowledges, "No man can "amend thoſe matters that he hath pend." p. 237. In Raſtall's TERENS, in ENGLISH, printed in the reign of Henry the eighth, theſe three are mentioned in the Prologue, which is in ſtanzas, as the only Engliſh poets. Without date. 4to.

 beyond

beyond the power of deſcription, and their tabards to be ſtudded with diamonds and rubies [p]. That only theſe three Engliſh poets are here mentioned, may be conſidered as a proof, that only theſe three were yet thought to deſerve the name.

No writer is more unequal than Skelton. In the midſt of a page of the moſt wretched ribaldry, we ſometimes are ſurprized with three or four nervous and manly lines, like theſe.

Ryot and Revell be in your court roules,
Mayntenaunce and Miſchefe theſe be men of myght,
Extorcyon is counted with you for a knyght [q].

Skelton's modulation in the octave ſtanza is rough and inharmonious. The following are the ſmootheſt lines in the poem before us; which yet do not equal the liquid melody of Lydgate, whom he here manifeſtly attempts to imitate [r].

Lyke as the larke upon the ſomers daye,
When Titan radiant burniſheth his bemes bright,
Mounteth on hye, with her melodious laye,
Of the ſon ſhyne engladed with the light.

The following little ode deſerves notice; at leaſt as a ſpecimen of the ſtructure and phraſeology of a love-ſonnet about the cloſe of the fifteenth century.

To MAISTRESS MARGARY WENTWORTH,

With margerain [s] gentill,
The flowre of goodly hede [t],
Enbrawdered the mantill
Is of your maydenhede [u].

[p] P. 19. ſeq.
[q] Ibid. p. 15.
[r] P. 26.
[s] *Margelain*, the herb Marjoram. Chaucer. Ass. LAD. 56.
And upon that a potte of MARGELAIN.
[t] Goodliked. Goodneſs.
[u] Virginity.

Plainly

Plainly I can not gloſe [v];
  Ye be, as I devine [x],
The praty primèroſe,
  The goodly columbyne.
With margerain gentill, &c.

Benyne, courteis, and meke,
  With wordès well deviſed;
In you, who lyſt to ſeke,
  Be [y] vertues well compryſed [z].
With margerain gentill,
  The flowre of goodly hede,
Enbrawdered the mantill
  Is of your maydenhede.

For the ſame reaſon this ſtanza in a ſonnet to *Maiſtreſs Margaret Huſſey* deſerves notice.

Mirry Margaret
  As Midſomer flowre,
Gentyll as faucon,
  Or hawke of the towre [a].

As do the following flowery lyrics, in a ſonnet addreſſed to *Maiſtreſs Iſabell Pennel.*

— — Your colowre
Is lyke the daiſy flowre,
After the April ſhowre,

[v] In truth, I cannot flatter or deceive. Or, *gloſe* may be, ſimply to *write*.

[x] As I imagine. So Chaucer, Non. Pr. T. 1381.

I can noon harme of no woman *divine*.

[y] Are.

[z] F. 39.

[a] F. 41. In the king's mews in the tower.

Sterre of the morowe graye!
The blossome on the spraye,
The freshest flowre of Maye!
Madenly demure,
Of womanhede the lure! &c [b].

But Skelton most commonly appears to have mistaken his genius, and to write in a forced character, except when he is indulging his native vein of satire and jocularity, in the short minstrel-metre abovementioned: which he mars by a multiplied repetition of rhymes, arbitrary abbreviations of the verse, cant expressions, hard and sounding words newly-coined, and patches of Latin and French. This anomalous and motley mode of versification is, I believe, supposed to be peculiar to our author [c]. I am not, however, quite certain that it originated with Skelton.

About the year 1512, Martin Coccaie of Mantua, whose true name was Theophilo Folengio, a Benedictine monk of Casino in Italy, wrote a poem entitled PHANTASIÆ MACARONICÆ, divided into twenty-five parts. This is a burlesque Latin poem, in heroic metre, checquered with Italian and Tuscan words, and those of the plebeian character, yet not destitute of prosodical harmony. It is totally satirical, and has some degree of drollery; but the ridicule is too frequently founded on obscene or vulgar ideas. Prefixed is a similar burlesque poem called ZANITONELLA, or the Amours of Tonellus and Zanina [d]: and a piece is subjoined, with the title of MOSCHEA, or the War with the Flies and the Ants. The author died in 1544 [e], but these poems, with

[b] P. 41.

[c] Perhaps formed from Zanni, or Giovanni, a foolish character on the Italian stage. See Riccoboni, THEATR. ITAL. ch. ii. p. 14. seq.

[d] See his Life, Jac. Phil. Thomasin's Elog. Patav. 1644. 4to. p. 71.

[e] I have given specimens. But the following passage in the *Boke of Colin Clout* affords an apposite example at one view. p. 186.

Of suche vagabundus
Speaketh *totus mundus*.
How some syng let abundus, &c.

Cum

the addition of ſome epiſtles and epigrams, in the ſame ſtyle, did not, I believe, appear in print before the year 1554[e]. Coccaie is often cited by Rabelais, a writer of a cogenial caſt[f]. The three laſt books, containing a deſcription of hell, are a parody on part of Dante's INFERNO. In the preface, or APOLOGETICA, our author gives an account of this new ſpecies of poetry, ſince called the MACARONIC, which I muſt give in his own words. " Ars iſta poetica nuncupatur " Ars MACARONICA, a *Macaronibus* derivata: qui *Macarones* " ſunt quoddam pulmentum, farina, caſeo, butyro compa- " ginatum, groſſum, rude, et ruſticanum. Ideo MACA- " RONICA nil niſi groſſedinem, ruditatem, et VOCABULAZZOS, " debet in ſe continere[g]." Vavaſſor obſerves, that Coccaie in Italy, and Antonius de Arena in France, were the two firſt, at leaſt the chief, authors of the ſemi-latin burleſque poetry[h]. As to Antonius de Arena, he was a civilian of Avignon; and wrote, in the year 1519, a Latin poem in elegiac verſes, ridiculouſly interlarded with French words and phraſes. It is addreſſed to his fellow-ſtudents, or, in his own words, " *Ad ſuos compagnones ſtudiantes, qui ſunt de* " *perſona friantes, baſſas danſas, in galanti ſtilo biſognatas, cum* " *guerra Romana, totum ad longum ſine require, et cum guerra* " *Neapolitana, et cum revoluta Genuenſi, et guerra Avenionenſi,* " *et epiſtola ad falotiſſimam garſam pro paſſando lo tempos*[i]." I have gone out of my way, to mention theſe two obſcure writers[k] with ſo much particularity, in order to obſerve,

Cum ipſis et illis
Qui manent in villis,
Eſt uxor vel ancilla,
Welcome Jacke and Gilla,
My pretty Petronilla,
And you wil be ſtilla
You ſhall have your willa:
Of ſuch pater noſter pekes
All the worlde ſpekes.

[e] At Venice, 8vo. Again, 1564. And, 1613. 8vo.

[f] See Liv. iv. c. 13. ii. 1. xi. 3.

[g] See Menag. DICTION. ETYMOL. ORIG. Lang. Franc. edit. 1694. p. 462. V. MACARONS. And Oct. Ferrarius, ORIG. ITALIC.

[h] DICT. LUDR. p. 453.

[i] He wrote alſo DE BELLO MASSILIENSI.

[k] Erythraeus mentions Bernardinus Stephonius as writing in this way. PINACOTH. i. p. 160. See alſo ſome poems in Baudius, which have a mixture of the Greek and Latin languages; and which others have imitated, in German and Latin.

that

that Skelton, their cotemporary, probably copied their manner: at leaſt to ſhew, that this ſingular mode of verſification was at this time faſhionable, not only in England, but alſo in France and Italy. Nor did it ceaſe to be remembered in England, and as a ſpecies of poetry thought to be founded by Skelton, till even ſo late as the cloſe of queen Elizabeth's reign. As appears from the following poem on the SPANISH ARMADA, which is filled with Latin words.

A SKELTONICALL ſalutation,
Or condigne gratulation,
And juſt vexation,
Of the Spaniſh nation;
That in a bravado
Spent many a cruſado,
In ſetting forth the armado
England to envado, &c[1].

But I muſt not here forget, that Dunbar, a Scotch poet of Skelton's own age, already mentioned, wrote in this way. His TESTAMENT OF MAISTER ANDRO KENNEDY, which repreſents the character of an idle diſſolute ſcholar, and ridicules the funeral ceremonies of the Romiſh communion, has

[1] Printed at Oxford by Joſeph Barnes, 1589. 4to. See alſo a doggrel piece of this kind, in imitation of Skelton, introduced into Browne's SHEPHERD'S PIPE, Lond. 1614. 8vo. Perhaps this way of writing is ridiculed by Shakeſpeare, MERRY W. OF WINDS. A. ii. Sc. i. Where Falſtaffe ſays, "I will not ſay, Pity me, 'tis not a ſoldier's phraſe, but I ſay love me: by me

"Thine own true knight, by day or night,
"Or any kind of light, with all his might
"With thee to fight.——"

See alſo the Interlude of *Pyramus and Thiſbe*, in the MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM. Often printed ſeparately in quarto, as a droll for Bartholomew fair, under the title of BOTTOM THE WEAVER. Skelton, however, ſeems to have retained his popularity till late. For the firſt part of T. Heywood's twofold play on the earl of Huntingdon, entitled, "Robert earl of "Huntingdon's downfall, afterwards call-"ed Robin Hood of merry Sherwoode, "with his love to chaſte Matilda the lord "Fitzwater's daughter, afterwards his fair "maid Marian," acted by lord Nottingham's players, and printed in quarto, at London, in 1601, is introduced by JOHN SKELTON, *poet laureat to king Henry the eighth*. The ſecond part, printed with the former, is introduced by FRYAR TUCK, with whom I am leſs acquainted.

almoſt

almoſt every alternate line compoſed of the formularies of a Latin Will, and ſhreds of the breviary, mixed with what the French call *Latin de cuiſine*[l]. There is ſome humour, ariſing from theſe burleſque applications, in the following ſtanzas[m].

In die meæ ſepulturæ,
I will have nane but our awin gang[n],
Et duos ruſticos de rure,
Berand ane barrell on a ſtang[o];
Drinkand and playand cap out, even
Sicut egomet ſolebam;
Singand and greitand with the ſtevin[p],
Potum meum cum fletu miſcebam.

I will no prieſtis for me ſing,
Dies ille, dies iræ[q];
Nar yet no bellis for me ring
Sicut ſemper ſolet fieri;
But a bag-pyp to play a ſpring,
Et unum ale-wiſp *ante me*,
Inſtead of torchis, for to bring,
Quatuor lagenas cerviſiæ
Within the graif to ſett, fit thing,
In modum crucis juxta me,
To fle the feyndis[r], then hardly ſing
De terra plaſmaſti me[s].

[l] See Ant. Scottish Poems, Edinb. 1770. p. 35. And the Notes of the learned and ingenious editor; who ſays, that Dunbar's Derge is a moſt profane parody on the popiſh litanies. p. 243.

[m] St. xiii. xiv.

[n] My own merry companions.

[o] A ſtake.

[p] With that verſe, or ſtanza, in the Pſalms, "I have mingled my drink with "weeping."

[q] A hymn on the reſurrection in the miſſal, ſung at funerals.

[r] Inſtead of a croſs on my grave to keep off the devil.

[s] A verſe in the Pſalms. See other inſtances in Dunbar, ibid. p. 73. In George Bannatyne's manuſcript collection of old Scotch poetry are many examples of this mixture: the impropriety of which was not perhaps perceived by our anceſtors. Ibid. p. 268. See a very ludicrous ſpecimen

We muſt, however, acknowledge, that Skelton, notwithſtanding his ſcurrility, was a claſſical ſcholar; and in that capacity, he was tutor to prince Henry, afterwards king Henry the eighth: at whoſe acceſſion to the throne, he was appointed the royal orator. He is ſtyled by Eraſmus, "Britanni-"carum literarum decus et lumen". His Latin elegiacs are pure, and often unmixed with the monaſtic phraſeology; and they prove, that if his natural propenſity to the ridiculous had not more frequently ſeduced him to follow the whimſies of Walter Mapes and Golias", than to copy the elegancies of Ovid, he would have appeared among the firſt writers of Latin poetry in England at the general reſtoration of literature. Skelton could not avoid acting as a buffoon in any language, or any character.

I cannot quit Skelton, of whom I yet fear too much has been already ſaid, without reſtoring to the public notice a play, or MORALITY, written by him, not recited in any catalogue of his works, or annals of Engliſh typography; and, I believe, at preſent totally unknown to the antiquarians in this ſort of literature. It is, *The* NIGRAMANSIR, a *morall* ENTERLUDE *and a pithie written by Maiſter* SKELTON

men in Harſenet's DETECTION, p. 156. Where he mentions a witch who has learned "of an old wife in a chimnies end *Pax*, "*max*, *fax*, for a ſpell; or can ſay ſir "John of Grantam's curſe for the miller's "eeles that were ſtolne.

"All you that ſtolen the miller's eeles,
"*Laudate dominum de cœlis*,
"And all they that have conſented thereto,
"*Benedicamus domino*."

See a poem on Becket's martyrdom, in Waſſe's BIBL. LITER. Num. i. p. 39. Lond. 1722. 4to. Hither we muſt refer the old Caroll on the BOAR'S HEAD, Hearne's SPICILEG. ad Gul. Neubrig. HIST. vol. iii. p. 740. [See alſo ſupr. vol. i. p. 86.] Some of the metrical hymns in the French FETE DE ANE are in Latin and French. See MERCURE DE FRANCE, Avril. 1725. p. 724. ſuiv.

" See OP. p. 1019. 1021.

" Theſe two writers are often confounded. See the Second DISSERTATION. James ſays, that Golias was not a name adopted by Mapes: but that there was a real writer of that name, a collection of whoſe works he had ſeen. See MSS. [Bibl. Bodl.] JAMES, i. p. 320. Golias and Mapes appear to have been cotemporaries, and of a ſimilar genius. The curious reader will find many extracts from their poetry, which has very great merit in its way, among James's manuſcript collections. The facility of theſe old Latin rhymers is amazing: and they have a degree of humour and elegance far exceeding their age.

laureate

laureate and plaid before the king and other estatys at Woodstoke on Palme Sunday. It was printed by Wynkin de Worde in a thin quarto, in the year 1504[x]. It must have been presented before king Henry the seventh, at the royal manor or palace, at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, now destroyed. The characters are a Necromancer, or conjurer, the devil, a notary public, Simonie[y], and Philargyria[z], or Avarice. It is partly a satire on some abuses in the church; yet not without a due regard to decency, and an apparent respect for the dignity of the audience. The story, or plot, is the tryal of SIMONY and AVARICE: the devil is the judge, and the notary public acts as an assessor or scribe. The prisoners, as we may suppose, are found guilty, and ordered into hell immediately. There is no sort of propriety in calling this play the Necro-

[x] My lamented friend Mr. William Collins, whose ODES will be remembered while any taste for true poetry remains, shewed me this piece at Chichester, not many months before his death: and he pointed it out as a very rare and valuable curiosity. He intended to write the HISTORY OF THE RESTORATION OF LEARNING UNDER LEO THE TENTH, and with a view to that design, had collected many scarce books. Some few of these fell into my hands at his death. The rest, among which, I suppose, was this INTERLUDE, were dispersed.

In the Mystery of MARIE MAGDALENE, written in 1512, a *Heathen* is introduced celebrating the service of *Mahound*, who is called *Saracenorum fortissimus*; in the midst of which, he reads a Lesson from the Alcoran, consisting of gibberish, much in the metre and manner of Skelton. MSS. Digb. 133.

[y] Simony is introduced as a person in SIR PENNY, an old Scotch poem, written in 1527, by Stewart of Lorne. See ANTIENT SCOTTISH POEMS. Edinb. 1770. 8vo. p. 154.

So wily can syr Peter wink,
And als sir SYMONY his servand,
That now is *gydar of the kyrk.*

And again, in an antient anonymous Scotch poem, ibid. p. 253. At a feast, to which many disorderly persons are invited, among the rest are,

And twa lerit men thairby,
Schir Ochir and schir SIMONY.

That is, sir Usury and sir Simony. SIMONY is also a character in Pierce Plowman's VISIONS. Pass. sec. fol. viii. b. edit. 1550. Wiccliffe, who flourished about the year 1350, thus describes the state of Simony in his time. "Some "lords, to colouren their Symony, wole "not take for themselves but keverchiefs "for the lady, or a palfray, or a tun of "wine. And when some lords wolden "present a good man and able, for love "of god and cristen souls, then some la-"dies been means to have a dancer, a "tripper on tapits, or hunter or hawker, "or a wild player of summers gamenes, "&c." MSS. C. C. C. Cant. O. 161. 148. There is an old poem on this subject, MSS. Bodl. 48.

[z] Robert Crowley, a great reformer, of whom more hereafter, wrote "The *Fable* "of PHILARGYRIA, *the great gigant of* "*Great Britain, what houses were build-*"*ed, and lands appointed, for his provision,* "&c." 1551. 4to.

mancer: for the only business and use of this character, is to open the subject in a long prologue, to evoke the devil, and summon the court. The devil kicks the necromancer, for waking him so soon in the morning: a proof, that this drama was performed in the morning, perhaps in the chapel of the palace. A variety of measures, with shreds of Latin and French, is used: but the devil speaks in the octave stanza. One of the stage-directions is, *Enter Balsebub with a Berde.* To make him both frightful and ridiculous, the devil was most commonly introduced on the stage, wearing a visard with an immense beard[a]. Philargyria quotes Seneca and saint

[a] Thus in Turpin's HISTORY OF CHARLEMAGNE, the Saracens appear, "Habentes LARVAS BARBATAS, cornutas, "DÆMONIBUS consimiles." c. xviii. And in LEWIS THE EIGHTH, an old French romance of Philip Mouskes.

J ot apries lui une barboire,
Com diable cornu et noire.

There was a species of masquerade celebrated by the ecclesiastics in France, called the SHEW OF BEARDS, entirely consisting of an exhibition of the most formidable beards. Gregory of Tours says, that the abbess of Poictou was accused for suffering one of these shews, called a BARBATORIA, to be performed in her monastery. HIST. lib. x. c. vi. In the EPISTLES of Peter de Blois we have the following passage. "Regis curiam sequuntur assidue histrio-"nes, candidatrices, aleatores, dulcorarii, "caupones, nebulatores, mimi, BARBA-"TORES, balatrones, et hoc genus omne." EPIST. xiv. Where, by *Barbatores*, we are not to understand *Barbers*, but mimics, or buffoons, disguised in huge bearded masks. In Don Quixote, the barber who personates the squire of the princess Micomicona, wears one of these masks, "una "gran barba, &c." Part. prim. c. xxvi. l. 3. And the countess of Trifaldi's squire has "la mas larga, la mas horrida, &c." Part. sec. c. xxxvi. l. 8. See OBSERVAT. ON SPENSER, vol. i. p. 24. SECT. ii.

About the eleventh century, and long before, beards were looked upon by the clergy as a secular vanity; and accordingly were worn by the laity only. Yet in England this distinction seems to have been more rigidly observed than in France. Malmesbury says, that king Harold, at the Norman invasion, sent spies into Duke William's camp; who reported, that most of the French army were priests, because their faces were shaved. HIST. lib. iii. p. 56. b. edit. Savil. 1596. The regulation remained among the English clergy at least till the reign of Henry the eighth: for Longland bishop of Lincoln, at a Visitation of Oriel college, Oxford, in 1531, orders one of the fellows, a priest, to abstain, under pain of expulsion, from wearing a beard, and pinked shoes, like a lale; and not to take the liberty, for the future, of insulting and ridiculing the governor and fellows of the society. ORDINAT. Coll. Oriel. Oxon. APPEND. ad Joh. TROKELOWE, p. 339. See Edicts of king John, in Prynne, LIBERTAT. ECCLES. ANGL. tom. iii. p. 23. But among the religious, the Templars were permitted to wear long beards. In the year 1311, king Edward the second granted letters of safe conduct to his valet Peter Auger, who had made a vow not to shave his beard; and who having resolved to visit some of the holy places abroad as a pilgrim, feared, on account of the length of his beard, that he might be mistaken for a knight-templar, and insulted. Pat. iv. Edw. ii. In Dugdale's

Austin: and Simony offers the devil a bribe. The devil rejects her offer with much indignation: and swears by the *foule Eumenides*, and the hoary beard of Charon, that she shall be well fried and roasted in the unfathomable sulphur of Cocytus, together with Mahomet, Pontius Pilate, the traitor Judas, and king Herod. The last scene is closed with a view of hell, and a dance between the devil and the necromancer[a]. The dance ended, the devil trips up the necromancer's heels, and disappears in fire and smoke[b]. Great must have been the edification and entertainment which king Henry the seventh and his court derived from the exhibition of so elegant and rational a drama! The royal taste for dramatic representation seems to have suffered a very rapid transition: for in the year 1520, *a goodlie comedie of Plautus* was played before king Henry the eighth at Greenwich[c]. I have before mentioned Skelton's play of MAGNIFICENCE[d].

dale's WARWICKSHIRE, p. 704. Many orders about Beards occur in the registers of Lincoln's-inn, cited by Dugdale. In the year 1542, it was ordered, that no member, *wearing a* BEARD, should presume to dine in the hall. In 1553, says Dugdale, "such as had beards should pay twelve-"pence for every meal they continued "them; and every man to be shaven, "upon pain of being put out of commons." ORIG. JURID. cap. 64. p. 244. In 1559, no member is permitted to wear *any* beard above a fortnight's growth; under pain of expulsion for the third transgression. But the fashion of wearing beards beginning to spread, in 1560 it was agreed at a council, that "all orders before that time made, "*touching* BEARDS, should be void and "repealed." Dugd. ibid. p. 245.

[b] In the Mystery of MARY MAGDALENE, just mentioned, one of the stage-directions is, "Here enters the prynse of "the devylls in a stage, with hell under-"neth the stage." MSS. DIGB. 133.

[c] Hollinsh. iii. 850.

[d] It is in Mr. Garrick's valuable collection. No date. 4to. Hawkins, in the HISTORY OF MUSIC, has first printed a Song written by Skelton, alluded to in the CROWNE OF LAWRELL, and set to music by William Cornishe, a musician of the chapel royal under Henry the seventh. B. i. ch. i. vol. iii. p. 3. Lond. 1776. It begins,

Ah, beshrew you, by my fay,
These wanton clarkes are nice alway, &c.

The same diligent and ingenious inquirer has happily illustrated a passage in Skelton's description of RIOT. Ibid. B. iii. ch. ix. vol. ii. p. 354.

Counter he coulde O LUX upon a potte.

That is, this drunken disorderly fellow could play the beginning of the hymn, O LUX *beata Trinitas*, a very popular melody, and on which many fugues and canons were antiently composed, on a quart-pot at the tavern. See also, ibid. B. i. ch. vii. p. 90. ii. 1. p. 130.

By the way, the abovementioned William Cornish has a poem printed at the end of Skelton's Works, called a *Treatise between Trouthe and Information*, containing some

MORALITIES seem have arrived at their heighth about the close of the seventh Henry's reign [e]. This sort of spectacle was now so fashionable, that John Rastall, a learned typographer, brother in law to sir Thomas More, extended its province, which had hitherto been confined, either to moral allegory, or to religion blended with buffoonery, and conceived a design of making it the vehicle of science and philosophy. With this view he published, *A new* INTERLUDE *and a mery, of the nature of the iiii Elements, declaringe many proper points of phylosophy naturall and dyvers straunge landys, &c* [f]. In the cosmographical part of the play, in which the poet professes to treat of *dyvers straunge regyons, and of the new founde landys*, the tracts of America recently discovered, and the manners of the natives, are described. The characters are, a Messenger who speaks the prologue, Nature, Humanity, Studious Desire, Sensual Appetite, a Taverner, Experience, and Ignorance [g].

some anecdotes of the state of antient music, written while the author was in the Fleet, in the year 1504. MSS. REG. 18 D. ii. 4. See Thoresby's LEEDES, for *Old musical compositions by several masters, among them by* WILLIAM CORNISH. p. 517. Morley has assigned Cornysh a place in his Catalogue of English musicians.

[e] See supr. p. 206.

[f] Among Mr. Garrick's OLD PLAYS. [Imperf.] i. vol. 3. It was written about 1516, or rather later. One of the characters is NATURE *naturate*: under which title Bale inaccurately mentions this piece. viii. 75. See Percy, ESS. ENG. STAGE, p. 8. edit. 1767. Who supposes this play to have been written about 1510, from the following lines,

— — Within this xx yere
Westwarde be founde new landes,
That we never harde tell of before this.

The West-Indies were discovered by Columbus in 1492.

[g] For the sake of connection I will here mention some more of Rastall's pieces. He was a great writer of INTERLUDES. He has written, "Of GENTYLNESS AND "NOBYLYTE. A dyaloge between the "marchaunt, the knyght, and the plow-"man, disputynge who is a verey gentyl-"man, and how men shuld come to anc-"toryte, compiled in maner of an INTER-"LUDE. With dyvers TOYES and GESTIS "addyd therto, to make mery passyme "and disport. *J. Rastall me fieri fecit.*" Printed by himself in quarto, without date. PR. "O what a gret welth and." Also, "A new Commodyte in Englysh in maner "of an ENTERLUDE ryght elygant and "full of craft of rhetoryck: wherein is "shewed and dyscrybyd, as well the "beute of good propertes of women, as "theyr vyces and evyll condicions, with "a morall conclusion and exhortation to "vertew. *J. Rastall me imprimi fecit.*" In folio, without date. This is in English verse, and contains twelve leaves. PR. "*Melebea*, &c." He reduced a dialogue of Lucian into English verse, much after the manner of an interlude, viz. "NECRO-"MANTIA. A Dialogue of Lucyan for "his

I have before obſerved, that the frequent and public exhibition of perſonifications in the PAGEAUNTS, which antiently accompanied every high feſtivity, greatly contributed to cheriſh the ſpirit of allegorical poetry, and even to enrich the imagination of Spenſer[h]. The MORALITIES, which now began to acquire new celebrity, and in which the ſame groupes of the imperſonated vices and virtues appeared, muſt have concurred in producing this effect. And hence, at the ſame time, we are led to account for the national reliſh for allegorical poetry, which ſo long prevailed among our anceſtors. By means of theſe ſpectacles, ideal beings became common and popular objects: and emblematic imagery, which at preſent is only contemplated by a few retired readers in the obſolete pages of our elder poets, grew familiar to the general eye.

"his fantaſy fayned for a *mery paſtyme*, &c.—*J. Raſtall me fieri fecit.*" It is tranſlated from the Latin, and has Latin notes in the margin. It may be doubted, whether Raſtall was not the printer only of theſe pieces. If the printer only, they might come from the feſtive genius of his brother ſir Thomas More. But Raſtall appears to have been a ſcholar. He was educated at Oxford; and took up the employment of printing as a profeſſion at that time eſteemed liberal, and not unſuitable to the character of a learned and ingenious man. An Engliſh tranſlation of Terence, called TERENS in ENGLISH, with a prologue in ſtanzas, beginning "The famous renown through the worlde "is ſpronge," is believed, at leaſt from ſimilarity of type, to be by Raſtall. In quarto, without date. He publiſhed, in 1525, The MERY GESTYS of *one callyd* ELYTH *the lyeng wydow*. This is a deſcription, in Engliſh rhymes, of the frauds practiſed by a female ſharper in the neighbourhood of London: the ſcene of one of her impoſtures is laid in ſir Thomas More's houſe at Chelſea. The author, one of her dupes, is Walter Smyth. *Emprynted at London at the ſygne of the Mermayde at Pollis gate next to Chepeſyde by J. Raſtall.* fol. It will be ſufficient to have given this ſhort incidental notice of a piece which hardly deſerves to be named. Raſtall wrote and printed many other pieces, which I do not mention, as unconnected with the hiſtory of our poetry. I ſhall only obſerve further, in general, that he was eminently ſkilled in mathematics, coſmography, hiſtory, our municipal law, and theology. He died 1536.

[h] And of Shakeſpeare. There is a paſſage in ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, where the metaphor is exceedingly beautiful; but where the beauty both of the expreſſion and the alluſion is loſt, unleſs we recollect the frequency and the nature of theſe ſhews in Shakeſpeare's age. ACT. iv. Sc. xi. I muſt cite the whole of the context, for the ſake of the laſt hemiſtich.

Sometime we ſee a cloud that's dragoniſh,
A vapour ſometime, like a bear or lion;
A towred citadel, a pendant rock,
A forked mountain, or blue promontory
With trees upon't, that nod unto the world
And mock our eyes with air. Thou'ſt ſeen theſe ſigns,
They are BLACK VESPER'S PAGEANTS.—

SECT.

SECT. XVI.

IN a work of this general and comprehenſive nature, in which the fluctuations of genius are ſurveyed, and the dawnings or declenſions of taſte muſt alike be noticed, it is impoſſible that every part of the ſubject can prove equally ſplendid and intereſting. We have, I fear, been toiling for ſome time through materials, not perhaps of the moſt agreeable and edifying nature. But as the mention of that very rude ſpecies of our drama, called the MORALITY, has incidentally diverted our attention to the early ſtate of the Engliſh ſtage, I cannot omit ſo fortunate and ſeaſonable an opportunity of endeavouring to relieve the wearineſs of my reader, by introducing an obvious digreſſion on the probable cauſes of the riſe of the MYSTERIES, which, as I have before remarked, preceded, and at length produced, theſe allegorical fables. In this reſpect I ſhall imitate thoſe map-makers mentioned by Swift, who

— — O'er inhoſpitable downs,
Place elephants for want of towns.

Nor ſhall I perhaps fail of being pardoned by my reader, if, on the ſame principle, I ſhould attempt to throw new light on the hiſtory of our theatre, by purſuing this enquiry through thoſe deductions which it will naturally and more immediately ſuggeſt[s].

About the eighth century, trade was principally carried on by means of fairs, which laſted ſeveral days. Charlemagne eſtabliſhed many great marts of this ſort in France; as did William the conqueror, and his Norman ſucceſſors, in

[s] Compare vol. i. p. 235.

England.

England[h]. The merchants, who frequented these fairs in numerous caravans or companies, employed every art to draw the people together. They were therefore accompanied by juglers, minstrels, and buffoons; who were no less interested in giving their attendance, and exerting all their skill, on these occasions. As now but few large towns existed, no public spectacles or popular amusements were established; and as the sedentary pleasures of domestic life and private society were yet unknown, the fair-time was the season for diversion. In proportion as these shews were attended and encouraged, they began to be set off with new decorations and improvements: and the arts of buffoonery being rendered still more attractive by extending their circle of exhibition, acquired an importance in the eyes of the people. By degrees the clergy, observing that the entertainments of dancing, music, and mimicry, exhibited at these protracted annual celebrities, made the people less religious, by promoting idleness and a love of festivity, proscribed these sports, and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their censures, they changed their plan, and determined to take these recreations into their own hands. They turned actors; and instead of profane mummeries, presented stories taken from legends or the bible. This was the origin of sacred comedy. The death of saint Catharine, acted by the monks of saint Dennis, rivalled the popularity of the professed players. Music was admitted into the churches, which served as theatres for the representation of holy farces. The festivals among the French, called LA FETE DE FOUX, DE L'ANE[i], and DES INNOCENS, at length

[h] See supr. vol. i. p. 279.

[i] For a most full and comprehensive account of these feasts, see "Memoires pour "servir a l'histoire de la FETE DE FOUX, "qui se faisoit autrefois dans plusieurs eg-"lises. Par M. du TILLIOT, gentil-"homme ordinaire de son Altesse royale "Monseigneur le duc de BERRY. A "LAUSANNE et a GENEVE, 1741." 4to. Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln in the eleventh century, orders his dean and chapter to abolish the FESTUM ASINORUM, *cum sit vanitate plenum, et voluptatibus spurcum*, which used to be annually celebrated in Lincoln

became greater favorites, as they certainly were more capricious and absurd, than the interludes of the buffoons at the fairs. These are the ideas of a judicious French writer, now living, who has investigated the history of human manners with great comprehension and sagacity.

Voltaire's theory on this subject is also very ingenious, and quite new. Religious plays, he supposes, came originally from Constantinople; where the old Grecian stage continued to flourish in some degree, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were represented, till the fourth century. About that period, Gregory Nazianzen, an archbishop, a poet, and one of the fathers of the church, banished pagan plays from the stage at Constantinople, and introduced select stories from the old and new Testament. As the antient Greek tragedy was a religious spectacle, a transition was made on the same plan; and the choruses were turned into Christian hymns[l]. Gregory wrote many sacred dramas for this purpose, which have not survived those inimitable compositions over which they triumphed for a time: one, however, his tragedy called Χριςος πασχων, or CHRIST'S PASSION, is still extant[m]. In the prologue it is said to be in imitation of Euripides, and that this is the first time the Virgin Mary has been produced on the stage. The fashion of acting

Lincoln cathedral on the feast of the Circumcision. Grossetesti EPISTOL. xxxii. apud Browne's FASCICUL. p. 331. edit. Lond. 1690. tom. ii. Append. And p. 412. Also he forbids the archdeacons of his diocese to permit SCOT-ALES in their chapters and synods, (Spelm. Gl. p. 506.) and other LUDI on holidays. Ibid. Epistol. xxii. p. 314. [See supr. vol. i. p. 247.] See in the MERCURE FRANCOIS for September, 1742, an account of a mummery celebrated in the city of Besançon in France, by the canons of the cathedral, consisting of dancing, singing, eating and drinking, in the cloisters and church, on Easter-day, called BERGERETTA, or the SONG OF THE SHEPHERDS; which remained unabolished till the year 1738. From the RITUAL of the church, pag. 1930, ad ann. 1582. See Carpentier, SUPPL. Du Cang. LAT. GLOSS. tom. i. p. 523. in V. And ibid. V. BOCLARE, p. 570.

[l] See supr. vol. i. p. 244.

[m] OP. Greg. Nazianz. tom. ii. p. 253. In a manuscript cited by Lambeccius, it is called Δρᾶμα καὶ Ευριπίδην. iv. 22. It seems to have been falsely attributed to Apollinaris, an Alexandrian, bishop of Laodicea. It is, however, written with less elegance and judgement than most of Gregory's poetical pieces. Apollinaris lived about the year 370.

spiritual

ſpiritual dramas, in which at firſt a due degree of method and decorum was preſerved, was at length adopted from Conſtantinople by the Italians; who framed, in the depth of the dark ages, on this foundation, that barbarous ſpecies of theatrical repreſentation called MYSTERIES, or ſacred comedies, and which were ſoon afterwards received in France [a]. This opinion will acquire probability, if we conſider the early commercial intercouſe between Italy and Conſtantinople: and although the Italians, at the time when they may be ſuppoſed to have imported plays of this nature, did not underſtand the Greek language, yet they could underſtand, and conſequently could imitate, what they ſaw.

In defence of Voltaire's hypotheſis it may be further obſerved, that the FEAST OF FOOLS and of the Ass, with other religious farces of that ſort, ſo common in Europe, originated at Conſtantinople. They were inſtituted, although perhaps under other names, in the Greek church, about the year 990, by Theophylact, patriarch of Conſtantinople, probably with a better deſign than is imagined by the eccleſiaſtical annaliſts; that of weaning the minds of the people from the pagan ceremonies, particularly the Bacchanalian and calendary ſolemnities, by the ſubſtitution of chriſtian ſpectacles, partaking of the ſame ſpirit of licentiouſneſs. The fact is, however, recorded by Cedrenus, one of the Byzantine hiſtorians, who flouriſhed about the year 1050, in the following words. "Εργον εκεινϐ, ϰ̀ το νυν κρὰϐν
"εθος, εν ταις λαμπραις ϰ̀ δημὸελεσιν εορ̀αις ὑβριζ̀εθαι
"τον θεον, ϰ̀ τας των ἁγιων μνημας, δια λογισμὰων
"απρεπων ϰ̀ γελὼων, ϰ̀ παραφορων κραυγων, τελουμενων
"των θειων ὑμνων· ὁυς εδει, μὲα κὰαλυξεως ϰ̀ συν̀ριμμϐ
"καρδιας, ὑπερ της ἡμων σὼηριας, προσφερειν τῳ θεῳ.
"Πληθος γαρ συσ̀ησαμενος επιρ̀ρ̀ητων ανδρων, ϰ̀ εξαρχον

[a] Hiſt. Gen. Addit. p. 138.

" αυλοις επιςησας Ευθυμιον τινα Κασνην λεγουμενον, ὁν " αυλος Δομεςικον της εκκλησιας προυβαλλελο· ϗ τας " σαλανικας ορχησεις, ϗ τας ασημους κραυγας, ϗ τα εκ " τριοδων ϗ χαμαιλυπειων ηρανισμενα ἀσμαλα τελεισθαι " εδιδαξεν." That is, " Theophylact introduced the prac- " tice, which prevails even to this day, of ſcandaliſing god " and the memory of his ſaints, on the moſt ſplendid and " popular feſtivals, by indecent and ridiculous ſongs, and " enormous ſhoutings, even in the midſt of thoſe ſacred " hymns, which we ought to offer to the divine grace with " compunction of heart, for the ſalvation of our ſouls. " But he, having collected a company of baſe fellows, and " placing over them one Euthymius, ſurnamed Caſnes, whom " he alſo appointed the ſuperintendant of his church, ad- " mitted into the ſacred ſervice, diabolical dances, exclama- " tions of ribaldry, and ballads borrowed from the ſtreets " and brothels [o]." This practice was ſubſiſting in the Greek church two hundred years afterwards: for Balſamon, patriarch of Antioch, complains of the groſs abominations committed by the prieſts at Chriſtmas and other feſtivals, even in the great church at Conſtantinople; and that the clergy, on certain holidays, perſonated a variety of feigned characters, and even entered the choir in a military habit, and other enormous diſguiſes [p].

I muſt however obſerve here, what perhaps did not immediately occur to our lively philoſopher on this occaſion, that in the fourth century it was cuſtomary to make chriſtian parodies and imitations in Greek, of the beſt Greek claſſics, for the uſe of the chriſtian ſchools. This practice prevailed much under the emperor Julian, who forbad the pagan poets, orators, and philoſophers, to be taught in the chriſtian ſeminaries.

[o] Cedren. COMPEND. HIST. p. 639. B. edit. Pariſ. 1647. Compare Baron. ANNAL. ſub ann. 956. tom x. p. 752. C. edit. Plantin. Antw. 1603. fol.

[p] COMMENT. ad CANON. lxii. SYNOD. vi. in Trullo. Apud Beverigii SYNODIC. tom. i. Oxon. fol. 1672. p. 230. 231. In return, he forbids the profeſſed players to appear

Apollinaris bishop of Laodicea, abovementioned, wrote Greek tragedies, adapted to the stage, on most of the grand events recorded in the old Testament, after the manner of Euripides. On some of the familiar and domestic stories of scripture, he composed comedies in imitation of Menander. He wrote christian odes on the plan of Pindar. In imitation of Homer, he wrote an heroic poem on the history of the bible, as far as the reign of Saul, in twenty-four books [q]. Sozomen says, that these compositions, now lost, rivalled their great originals in genius, expression, and conduct. His son, a bishop also of Laodicea, reduced the four gospels and all the apostolical books into Greek dialogues, resembling those of Plato [r].

But I must not omit a much earlier and more singular specimen of a theatrical representation of sacred history, than this mentioned by Voltaire. Some fragments of an antient Jewish play on the EXODUS, or the Departure of the Israelites from Egypt under their leader and prophet Moses, are yet preserved in Greek iambics [s]. The principal characters of this drama are Moses, Sapphora, and God from the Bush, or God speaking from the burning bush. Moses delivers the prologue, or introduction, in a speech of sixty lines, and his rod is turned into a serpent on the stage. The author

appear on the stage in the habit of monks. Saint Austin, who lived in the sixth century, reproves the paganising christians of his age, for their indecent sports on holidays; but it does not appear, that these sports were celebrated within the churches. "In sanctis festivitatibus choros ducendo, cantica luxuriosa et turpia, &c. Isti enim infelices ac miseri homines, qui balationes ac saltationes ANTE IPSAS BASILICAS sanctorum exercere nec metuunt nec erubescunt." SERM. ccxv. tom. x. opp. S. Augustin. edit. Froben. 1529. fol. 763. B. See also SERM. cxcvii. cxcviii. opp. edit. Benedictin. tom. v. Paris. 1683. p. 904. et seq.

[q] Sozomen (ubi infra) says, that he compiled a system of grammar, Χριστιανικῷ τυπῳ, on the christian model.

[r] Socrates, iii. 16. ii. 46. Sozomen, v. 18. vi. 26. Niceph. x. 25.

[s] In Clemens Alexandrin. lib. i. STROM. p. 344. seq. Eusebius, PRÆPARAT. EVANG. c. xxviii. xxix. Eustathius ad HEX. p. 25. They are collected, and translated into Latin, with emendations, by Fr. Morellus, Paris. 1580. See also CORPUS POETAR. GR. TRAGICOR. et COMICOR. Genev. 1614. fol. And POETÆ CHRISTIAN. GRÆCI, Paris. 1609. 8vo.

of this piece is Ezekiel, a Jew, who is called Ὁ των Ιȣδαικων τραγωδιων ποιητης, or the tragic poet of the Jews[t]. The learned Huetius endeavours to prove, that Ezekiel wrote at leaſt before the chriſtian era[u]. Some ſuppoſe that he was one of the ſeventy, or ſeptuagint, interpreters of the bible under the reign of Ptolomy Philadelphus. I am of opinion, that Ezekiel compoſed this play after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and even in the time of Barocbas, as a political ſpectacle, with a view to animate his dejected countrymen with the hopes of a future deliverance from their captivity under the conduct of a new Moſes, like that from the Egyptian ſervitude[v]. Whether a theatre ſubſiſted among the Jews, who by their peculiar ſituation and circumſtances were prevented from keeping pace with their neighbours in the culture of the ſocial and elegant arts, is a curious ſpeculation. It ſeems moſt probable, on the whole, that this drama was compoſed in imitation of the Grecian ſtage, at the cloſe of the ſecond century, after the Jews had been diſperſed, and intermixed with other nations.

Boileau ſeems to think, that the antient PILGRIMAGES introduced theſe ſacred exhibitions into France.

Chez nos devots ayeux le theâtre abhorré
Fut long-tems dans la France une plaiſir ignoré.
De PELERINS, dit on, une troupe groſſiere
En public à Paris y monta la prémiere;
Et ſotement zélee en ſa ſimplicité,
Iöua les SAINTS, la VIERGE, et DIEU, par piété.
Le Savoir, a la fin, diſſipant l'Ignorance,
Fit voir de ce projet la devote imprudence:
On chaſſa ces docteurs préchant ſans miſſion,
On vit renaitre Hector, Andromaque, Ilion[x].

[t] See Scaliger, ad EUSEB. p. 401.
[u] DEMONSTRAT. EVANGELIC. p. 99.
[v] See Le Moyne, OBS. ad VAR. SACR. tom. i. pag. 336.
[x] ART. POET. cant. iii. 81.

The

The authority to which Boileau alludes in theſe nervous and elegant verſes is Meneſtrier, an intelligent French antiquary[y]. The pilgrims who returned from Jeruſalem, ſaint James of Compoſtella, ſaint Baume of Provence, ſaint Reine, Mount ſaint Michael, Notre dame du Puy, and other places eſteemed holy, compoſed ſongs on their adventures; intermixing recitals of paſſages in the life of Chriſt, deſcriptions of his crucifixion, of the day of judgement, of miracles, and martyrdoms. To theſe tales, which were recommended by a pathetic chant and a variety of geſticulations, the credulity of the multitude gave the name of Viſions. Theſe pious itinerants travelled in companies; and taking their ſtations in the moſt public ſtreets, and ſinging with their ſtaves in their hands, and their hats and mantles fantaſtically adorned with ſhells and emblems painted in various colours, formed a ſort of theatrical ſpectacle. At length their performances excited the charity and compaſſion of ſome citizens of Paris; who erected a theatre, in which they might exhibit their religious ſtories in a more commodious and advantageous manner, with the addition of ſcenery and other decorations. At length profeſſed practitioners in the hiſtrionic art were hired to perform theſe ſolemn mockeries of religion, which ſoon became the principal public amuſement of a devout but undiſcerning people.

To thoſe who are accuſtomed to contemplate the great picture of human follies, which the unpoliſhed ages of Europe hold up to our view, it will not appear ſurpriſing, that the people, who were forbidden to read the events of the ſacred hiſtory in the bible, in which they were faithfully and beautifully related, ſhould at the ſame time be permitted to ſee them repreſented on the ſtage, diſgraced with the groſſeſt improprieties, corrupted with inventions and additions of

[y] Des Repreſent. en Muſique. p. 153. ſeq.

the

the moſt ridiculous kind, ſullied with impurities, and expreſſed in the language and geſticulations of the loweſt farce.

On the whole, the MYSTERIES appear to have originated among the eccleſiaſtics; and were moſt probably firſt acted, at leaſt with any degree of form, by the monks. This was certainly the caſe in the Engliſh monaſteries [z]. I have already mentioned the play of ſaint Catharine, performed at Dunſtable abbey by the novices in the eleventh century, under the ſuperintendence of Geoffry a Pariſian eccleſiaſtic: and the exhibition of the PASSION, by the mendicant friers of Coventry and other places. Inſtances have been given of the like practice among the French [a]. The only perſons who could read were in the religious ſocieties: and various other circumſtances, peculiarly ariſing from their ſituation, profeſſion, and inſtitution, enabled the monks to be the ſole performers of theſe repreſentations.

As learning encreaſed, and was more widely diſſeminated from the monaſteries, by a natural and eaſy tranſition, the practice migrated to ſchools and univerſities, which were formed on the monaſtic plan, and in many reſpects reſembled the eccleſiaſtical bodies. Hence a paſſage in Shakeſpeare's HAMLET is to be explained; where Hamlet ſays to Polonius, "My lord, you played once in the UNIVERSITY, you ſay." Polonius anſwers, "That I did, my Lord, and was account-"ed a good *actor*.—I did *enact* Julius Ceſar, I was killed "i' th' capitol [b]." Boulay obſerves, that it was a cuſtom, not only ſtill ſubſiſting, but of very high antiquity, *vetuſtiſſima*

[z] In ſome regulations given by cardinal Wolſey, to the monaſteries of the canons regular of St. Auſtin, in the year 1519, the brothers are forbidden to be LUSORES *aut* MIMICI, players or mimics. Dugd. Monaſt. ii. 568. But the prohibition means, that the monks ſhould not go abroad to exerciſe theſe arts in a ſecular and mercenary capacity. See ANNAL. BURTONENSES, p. 437. ſupra citat. p. 205. By the way, MIMICUS might alſo literally be conſtrued a player, according to Jonſon, EPIG. 195.

—— But the *Vice*
Acts old *iniquity*, and in the fit
Of MIMICRY gets th'opinion of a wit.

[a] See ſupra, vol. i. 246.

[b] ACT. iii. ſc. 5.

conſuetuda,

consuetudo, to act tragedies and comedies in the university of Paris[c]. He cites a statute of the college of Navarre at Paris, dated in the year 1315, prohibiting the scholars to perform any immodest play on the festivals of saint Nicholas and saint Catharine. "*In festis sancti Nicolai et beatæ Catharinæ* "*nullum ludum inhonestum faciant*[d]." Reuchlin, one of the German classics at the restoration of antient literature, was the first writer and actor of Latin plays in the academies of Germany. He is said to have opened a theatre at Heidelberg; in which he brought ingenuous youths or boys on the stage, in the year 1498[e]. In the prologue to one of his comedies, written in trimeter iambics, and printed in 1516, are the following lines.

Optans poeta placere paucis versibus,
Sat esse adeptum gloriæ arbitratus est,
Si autore se *Germaniæ* SCHOLA *luserit*
Græcanicis et Romuleis LUSIBUS.

The first of Reuchlin's Latin plays, seems to be one entitled, SERGIUS, SEU CAPITIS CAPUT, COMOEDIA, a satire on bad kings or bad ministers, and printed in 1508[f]. He calls it his *primiciæ*. It consists of three acts, and is professedly written in imitation of Terence. But the author promises, if this attempt should please, that he will write INTEGRAS

[c] HIST. UNIV. PARIS. tom. ii. p. 226. See also his History *De Patronis quatuor Nationum*, edit. 1662.

[d] HIST. UNIV. PARIS. tom. iv. p. 93. Saint Nicholas was the patron of scholars. Hence at Eton college saint Nicholas has a double feast. The celebrity of the Boy-bishop began on St. Nicholas's day. In a fragment of the cellarer's COMPUTUS of Hyde abbey near Winchester, A. D. 1397. "Pro "epulis PUERI CELEBRANTIS in festo S. Nicholai." That is the Chorister celebrating mass. MSS. Walves. Winton. Carpentier mentions an indecent sport, called le VIRELI, celebrated in the streets on the feast of St. Nicholas, by the vicar and other choral officers of a collegiate church. SUPPL. Du Cang. LAT. GLOSS. in V. tom. iii. p. 1178.

[e] "Nunquam ante ipsius ætatem Comœ-"dia in Germanorum scholis acta fuit, &c." G. Lizelii HISTOR. POETAR. GERMAN. Francof. et Leipf. 1730. 12mo. p. 11.

[f] Phorcæ. 4to. It is published with a gloss by Simlerus his Scholar.

COMEDIAS,

COMEDIAS, that is comedies of five acts[g]. I give a few lines from the Prologue[h].

Si unquam tulistis ad jocum vestros pedes,
Aut si rei aures præbuistis ludicræ,
In hac nova, *obsecro, poetæ fabula,*
Dignemini attentiores esse quam antea;
Non hic erit lasciviæ aut libidini
Meretriciæ, aut tristi senum curæ locus,
Sed histrionum *exercitus et scommata.*

For Reuchlin's other pieces of a like nature, the curious reader is referred to a very rare volume in quarto, PROGYMNASMATA SCENICA, *seu* LUDICRA PRÆEXERCITAMENTA *varii generis. Per Joannem Bergman de Olpe,* 1498. An old biographer affirms, that Conradus Celtes was the first who introduced into Germany the fashion of acting tragedies and comedies in public halls, after the manner of the antients. "*Primus comædias et tragædias in publicis aulis veterum more* "*egit*[i]." Not to enter into a controversy concerning the priority of these two obscure theatrical authors, which may be sufficiently decided for our present satisfaction by observing, that they were certainly cotemporaries; about the year 1500, Celtes wrote a play, or masque, called the PLAY OF DIANA, presented by a literary society, or seminary of scholars, before the emperor Maximilian and his court. It was printed in 1502, at Nuremberg, with this title, "*Incipit* "LUDUS DYANÆ, *coram Maximiliano rege, per Sodalitatem* "*Litterariam Damulianam in Linzio*[k]." It consists of the

[g] Fol. x.
[h] Fol. iv.
[i] VIROR. ILLUSTR. VITÆ, &c. published by Fischardus, Francof. 1536. 4to. p. 8. b. Celtes himself says, in his DESCRIPTIO URBIS NORINBERGÆ, written about 1500, that in the city there was an "AULA prætoria, ubi PUBLICA NUPTI-"ARUM ET CHOREARUM SPECTACULA "celebrantur, hystoriis et ymaginibus im-"peratorum et regum nostrorum depicta." Cap. x.
[k] See Conradi Celtis AMORES, Noringb. 1502. 4to. ad calc. SIGNAT. q.

iambic,

iambic, hexameter, and elegiac meaſures; and has five acts, but is contained in eight quarto pages. The plot, if any, is entirely a compliment to the emperor; and the perſonages, twenty-four in number, among which was the poet, are Mercury, Diana, Bacchus, Silenus drunk on his aſs, Satyrs, Nymphs, and Bacchanalians. Mercury, ſent by Diana, ſpeaks the Prologue. In the middle of the third act, the emperor places a crown of laurel on the poet's head: at the concluſion of which ceremony, the chorus ſings a panegyric in verſe to the emperor. At the cloſe of the fourth act, in the true ſpirit of a German ſhew, the imperial butlers refreſh the performers with wine out of golden goblets, with a ſymphony of horns and drums: and at the end of the play, they are invited by his majeſty to a ſumptuous banquet[l].

It is more generally known, that the practice of acting Latin plays in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, continued to Cromwell's uſurpation. The oldeſt notice I can recover of this ſort of ſpectacle in an Engliſh univerſity, is in the fragment of an antient accompt-roll of the diſſolved college of Michael-houſe in Cambridge: in which, under the year 1386, the following expence is entered. "*Pro ly pallio* "*bruſdato et pro ſex larvis et barbis in comedia.*" That is, for an embroidered pall, or cloak, and ſix viſors and ſix beards, for the comedy[m]. In the year 1544, a Latin comedy, called PAMMACHIUS, was acted at Chriſt's college in Cambridge: which was laid before the privy council by biſhop Gardiner, chancellor of the univerſity, as a dangerous libel, containing

[l] In the colleges of the Jeſuits in Italy this was a conſtant practice in modern times. Denina ſays, that father Granelli's three beſt tragedies were written, for this purpoſe, between 1729, and 1731. ch. v. § 9. The tragedies of Petavius, Bernardinus and Stephonius, all Jeſuits, ſeem intended for this uſe. See Morhoff, POLYHIST. LITERAR. lib. vii. cap. iii. tom. i. 15. pag. 1069. edit. Fabric. Lubec. 1747. 4to. Riccoboni relates, that he ſaw, in the Jeſuit's college at Prague, a latin play acted by the ſtudents, on the ſubject of Luther's hereſy; and the ridicule conſiſted in bringing Luther on the ſtage, with a bible in his hand, quoting chapter and verſe in defence of the reformation.

[m] Inter MSS. Rawlinſ. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

many offensive reflections on the papistic ceremonies yet unabolished[n]. The comedy of GAMMAR GURTON'S NEEDLE was acted in the same society about the year 1552. In an original draught of the statutes of Trinity college at Cambridge, founded in 1546, one of the chapters is entitled, *De Præfecto Ludorum qui* IMPERATOR *dicitur*, under whose direction and authority, Latin comedies and tragedies are to be exhibited in the hall at Christmas; as also *Sex* SPECTACULA, or as many DIALOGUES. Another title to this statute, which seems to be substituted by another and a more modern hand, is, *De Comediis ludisque in natali Christi exhibendis.* With regard to the peculiar business and office of IMPERATOR, it is ordered, that one of the masters of arts shall be placed over the juniors, every Christmas, for the regulation of their games and diversions at that season of festivity. At the same time, he is to govern the whole society in the hall and chapel, as a republic committed to his special charge, by a set of laws, which he is to frame in Latin or Greek verse. His sovereignty is to last during the twelve days of Christmas, and he is to exercise the same power on Candlemas-day. During this period, he is to see that six SPECTACLES or DIALOGUES be presented. His fee is forty shillings[o]. Probably

[n] MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. CATAL. Nasmith. p. 92. This mode of attack was seldom returned by the opposite party: the catholic worship, founded on sensible representations, afforded a much better hold for ridicule, than the religion of some of sects of the reformers, which was of a more simple and spiritual nature. But I say this of the infancy of our stage. In the next century, fanaticism was brought upon the English stage with great success, when polished manners had introduced humour into comedy, and character had taken place of spectacle. There are, however, two English interludes, one of the reign of Henry the eighth, called EVERY MAN, the other of that of Edward the sixth, called LUSTY JUVENTUS, written by R. Weever: the former defends, and the latter attacks, the church of Rome.

[o] This article is struck out from CAP. xxiv. p. 85. MSS. Rawlins. Num. 235. Only that part of the statute is retained, in which *Comedies* and *Tragedies* are ordered to be acted. These are to be written, or rather exhibited, by the nine lecturers. The senior lecturer is to produce one: the eight others are charged with four more. A fine of ten shillings is imposed for the omission of each interlude. Another clause is then struck out, which limits the number of the plays to THREE, if NOVE commode exponi non queant.

the

the constitution of this officer, in other words, *a Master of the Revels*, gave a latitude to some licentious enormities, incompatible with the decorum of a house of learning and religion; and it was found necessary to restrain these Christmas celebrities to a more rational and sober plan. The SPECTACULA also, and DIALOGUES, originally appointed, were growing obsolete when the substitution was made, and were giving way to more regular representations. I believe these statutes were reformed by queen Elizabeth's visitors of the university of Cambridge, under the conduct of archbishop Parker, in the year 1573. John Dee, the famous occult philosopher, one of the first fellows of this noble society, acquaints us, that by his advice and endeavours, both here, and in other colleges at Cambridge, this master of the Christmas plays was first *named* and *confirmed* and EMPEROR. "The first was Mr. John Dun, a very goodly man of person, "habit, and complexion, and well learned also [p]." He also further informs us, little thinking how important his *boyish attempts and exploits scholastical* would appear to future ages, that in the refectory of the college, in the character of Greek lecturer, he exhibited, before the whole university, the Ειρηνη, or PAX, of Aristophanes, accompanied with a piece of machinery, for which he was taken for a conjuror: "with the performance of the scarabeus his flying up to "Jupiter's palace, with a man, and his basket of victuals, "on her back: whereat was great *wondering*, and many *vain* "*reports* spread abroad, of the means how that was effected [q]." The tragedy of Jepthah, from the eleventh chapter of the book of JUDGES, written both in Latin and Greek, and dedicated to king Henry the eighth, about the year 1546, by a very grave and learned divine, John Christopherson, another

[p] COMPENDIOUS REHEARSALL of JOHN DEE, &c. written by himself, A. D. 1592, ch. i. p. 501. 502. APPEND. J.

Glastoniensis CHRON. edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1726.

[q] Ibid. p. 502.

of the first fellows of Trinity college in Cambridge, afterwards master, dean of Norwich, and bishop of Chichester, was most probably composed as a Christmas-play for the same society. It is to be noted, that this play is on a religious subject[r]. Roger Ascham, while on his travels in Flanders, says in one of his Epistles, written about 1550, that the city of Antwerp as much exceeds all other cities, as the refectory of saint John's college in Cambridge exceeds itself, when furnished at Christmas with its theatrical apparatus for acting plays[s]. Or, in his own words, "*Quemadmodum aula Jo-* "*hannis*, theatrali more ornata, *seipsam post Natalem supe-* "*rat*[t]." In an audit-book of Trinity college in Oxford, I think for the year 1559, I find the following disbursements relating to this subject. "*Pro apparatu in comoedia Andriæ*, "vii l. ix s. iv d. *Pro prandio Principis* NATALICII *eodem tem-* "*pore*, xiii s. ix d. *Pro refectione præfectorum et doctorum magis* "*illustrium cum Bursariis prandentium tempore comoediæ*, iv l. "vii d." That is, For dresses and scenes in acting Terence's ANDRIA, for the dinner of the CHRISTMAS PRINCE, and for the entertainment of the heads of the colleges and the most eminent doctors dining with the bursars or treasurers, at the time of acting the comedy, twelve pounds, three shillings, and eight pence. A CHRISTMAS PRINCE, or LORD OF MISRULE, corresponding to the IMPERATOR at Cambridge just mentioned, was a common temporary magistrate in the colleges at Oxford: but at Cambridge, they were censured in the sermons of the puritans, in the reign of James the first,

[r] Buchanan has a tragedy on this subject, written in 1554. Hamlet seems to be quoting an old play, at least an old song, on Jepthah's story, HAML. ACT ii. Sc. 7. There is an Italian tragedy on this subject by Benedict Capuano, a monk of Casino. Florent. 1587. 4to.

[s] There is a latin tragedy, ARCHIPROPHETA, *sive Johannes Baptista*, written in 1547, by Nicolas Grimald, one of the first Students of Christ-church, Oxford, which probably was acted in the refectory there. It is dedicated to the dean, doctor Richard Cox, and was printed, Colon. 1548. 8vo. This play coincided with his plan of a rhetoric lecture, which he had sett up in the college.

[t] Aschami EPISTOL. p. 126. b. Lond. 1581.

as a relic of the pagan ritual[v]. The last article of this disbursement shews, that the most respectable company in the university were invited on these occasions. At length our universities adopted the representation of plays, in which the scholars by frequent exercise had undoubtedly attained a considerable degree of skill and address, as a part of the entertainment at the reception of princes and other eminent personages. In the year 1566, queen Elizabeth visited the university of Oxford. In the magnificent hall of the college of Christ Church, she was entertained with a Latin comedy

[v] Fuller, CH. HIST. Hist. of Cambridge, p. 159. edit. 1655. See OBSERVAT. on Spenser, ii. 211. In the court of king Edward the sixth, George Ferrers, a lawyer, poet, and historian, bore this office at Greenwich, all the twelve days of christmas, in 1552. "Who so *pleasantly* and "*wisely* behaved himself, that the king "had great delight in his PASTIMES." Stowe's CHRON. p. 632. Hollingshead says, that "being of better credit and esti-"mation than commonlie his predecessors "had beene before, he received all his "commissions and warrants by the name of "the MAISTER OF THE KING'S PAS-"TIMES. Which gentleman so well sup-"plied his office, both in shew of sundrie "*sights* and *devices* of rare inventions, and "in act of divers INTERLUDES, and mat-"ters of pastime *plaied by persons*, as not "onlie satisfied the common sort, but al-"so were verie well liked and allowed by "the COUNCELL, and others of *skill* in the "like PASTIMES, &c." CHRON. iii. p. 1067. col. 2. 10. The appointment of so dextrous and respectable an officer to this department; was a stroke of policy; and done with a design to give the court popularity, and to divert the mind of the young king, on the condemnation of Somerset.

In some great families this officer was called the ABBOT OF MISRULE. In Scotland, where the reformation took a more severe and gloomy turn, these and other festive characters were thought worthy to be suppressed by the legislature. See PARL. vi. of queen Mary of Scotland, 1555. "It "is statute and ordained, that in all times "cumming, na maner of person be chosen "ROBERT HUDE nor LITTLE JOHN, "ABBOT of UN-REASON, QUEENIS of "MAY, nor utherwise, nother in burgh, "nor to landwart, [in the country,] in onie "time to cum." And this under very severe penalties, viz. In burghs, to the chusers of such characters, loss of Freedom, with other punishments at the queen's pleasure: and those who accepted such offices were to be banished the realm. In the country, the chusers forfeited ten pounds, with an arbitrary imprisonment. "And "gif onie women or uther about summer "hees [hies, goes,] singand [singing] . . . "thorow Burrowes and uthers Landward "tounes, the women . . . . sall be taken, "handled, and put upon the cuck-stules, "&c." See Notes to the PERCY HOUSHOLD-BOOK. p. 441. Voltaire says, that since the Reformation, for two hundred years there has not been a fiddle heard in some of the cantons of Switzerland.

In the French towns there was L'ABBE DE LIESSE, who in many towns was elected from the burgesses by the magistrates, and was the director of all their public shews. Among his numerous mock-officers were a herald, and a *Maître d'Hotel*. In the city of Auxerre he was especially concerned to superintend the play which was annually acted on Quinquagesima Sunday. Carpentier, SUPPL. GLOSS. LAT. Du Cange, tom. i. p. 7. V. ARBAS LÆTITIÆ. See also, ibid. V. CHARAVARITUM, p. 923.

called

called MARCUS GEMINUS, the Latin tragedy of PROGNE, and an Engliſh comedy on the ſtory of Chaucer's PALAMON AND ARCITE, all acted by the ſtudents of the univerſity. The queen's obſervations on the perſons of the laſt mentioned piece, deſerve notice: as they are at once a curious picture of the romantic pedantry of the times, and of the characteriſtical turn and predominant propenſities of the queen's mind. When the play was over, ſhe ſummoned the poet into her preſence, whom ſhe loaded with thanks and compliments: and at the ſame time turning to her levee, remarked, that Palamon was ſo juſtly drawn as a lover, that he certainly muſt have been in love indeed: that Arcite was a *right martial knight, having a ſwart and manly countenance*, yet with the aſpect of a Venus clad in armour: that the lovely Emilia was a virgin of uncorrupted purity and unblemiſhed ſimplicity, and that although ſhe ſung ſo ſweetly, and gathered flowers alone in the garden, ſhe preſerved her chaſtity undeflowered. The part of Emilia, the only female part in the play, was acted by a boy of fourteen years of age, a ſon of the dean of Chriſt-Church, habited like a young princeſs; whoſe performance ſo captivated her majeſty, that ſhe gave him a preſent of eight guineas [v]. During the exhibition a cry of hounds, belonging to Theſeus, was counterfeited without, in the great ſquare of the college: the young ſtudents thought it a real chace, and were ſeized with a ſudden tranſport to join the hunters; at which the queen cried out from her box, " O excellent! Theſe boys, in very " troth, are ready to leap out of the windows to follow the

[v] This youth had before been introduced to the queen's notice, in her privy chamber at her lodgings at Chriſt-Church; where he ſaluted her in a ſhort Latin oration with ſome Greek verſes, with which ſhe was ſo pleaſed, that ſhe called in ſecretary Cecill, and encouraging the boy's modeſty with many compliments and kind ſpeeches, begged him to repeat his elegant performance. By Wood he is called, *ſumma ſpei puer*. HIST. ANTIQ. UNIV. OXON. lib. i. p. 287. col. 2. See alſo ATHEN. OXON. i. 152. And Peck's DESID. CURIOS. vol. ii. lib. vii. Num. xviii. p. 46. ſeq.

" hounds!"

" hounds[x]!" In the year 1564, queen Elizabeth honoured the university of Cambridge with a royal visit[y]. Here she was present at the exhibition of the AULULARIA of Plautus, and the tragedies of DIDO, and of HEZEKIAH, in English: which were played in the body, or nave, of the chapel of King's college, on a stage extended from side to side, by a select company of scholars, chosen from different colleges at the discretion of five doctors, " especially appointed to set " forth such plays as should be exhibited before her grace[z]." The chapel, on this occasion, was lighted by the royal guards; each of whom bore a staff-torch in his hand[a]. Her majesty's patience was so fatigued by the sumptuous parade of shews and speeches, with which every moment was occupied, that she could not stay to see the AJAX of Sophocles, in Latin, which was prepared. Having been praised both in Latin and Greek, and in prose and verse, for her learning and her chastity, and having received more compliments than are paid to any of the pastoral princesses in Sydney's ARCADIA, she was happy to return to the houses of some of her nobility in the neighbourhood. In the year 1583, Albertus de Alasco, a Polish prince Palatine, arrived at Oxford[b]. In the midst of a medley of pithy orations, tedious sermons, degrees, dinners, disputations, philosophy, and fire-works, he was invited to the comedy of the RIVALES[c], and the

[x] Wood. ATHEN. OXON. ubi supr.

[y] For a minute account of which, see Peck's DESID. CURIOS. ut supr. p. 25. Num. xv. [MSS. Baker. vol. x. 7037. p. 109. Brit. Mus.] The writer was probably N. Robinson, domestic chaplain to archbishop Parker, afterwards bishop of Bangor. See Wood, ATHEN. OXON. i. col. 696. MS. Baker, ut supr. p. 181. And Parker's ANT. BRIT. ECCLES. p. 14. MATH. *Vir fuit prudens, &c.* edit. 1572-3.

[z] Peck, ut supr. p. 36. 39.

[a] Peck, ibid. p. 36.

[b] Supposed to be the person whom Shakespeare, in the MERCHANT OF VENICE, called the *Count Palatine*. ACT. i. SC. i.

[c] This was in Latin, and written by William Gager, admitted a student of Christ-Church in 1572. By the way, he is styled by Wood, the best *comedian* of his time, that is dramatic poet. But he wrote only Latin plays. His Latin MELEAGER was acted at Christ-Church before lord Leicester, sir Philip Sydney, and other distinguished persons, in 1581. ATH. OXON. i. p. 366. This Gager had a controversy with doctor John Rainolds, president of Corpus, at Oxford, concerning the lawfulness of plays: which produced from the latter a pamphlet, called THE OVER-THROW

tragedy of DIDO, which were presented in Christ-Church hall by some of the scholars of that society, and of saint John's college. In the latter play, Dido's supper, and the destruction of Troy, were represented in a marchpane, or rich cake: and the tempest which drove Dido and Eneas to the same cave, was counterfeited by a snow of sugar, a hail-storm of comfits, and a shower of rose-water[d]. In the year 1605, king James the first gratified his pedantry by a visit to the same university[e]. He was present at three plays in Christ-Church hall: which he seems to have regarded as childish amusements, in comparison of the more solid delights of scholastic argumentation. Indeed, if we consider this monarch's insatiable thirst of profound erudition, we shall not be surprised to find, that he slept at these theatrical performances, and that he sate four hours every morning and afternoon with infinite satisfaction, to hear syllogisms in jurisprudence and theology. The first play, during this solemnity, was a pastoral comedy called ALBA: in which five men, almost naked, appearing on the stage as part of the representation, gave great offence to the queen and the maids of honour: while the king, whose delicacy was not easily shocked at other times, concurred with the ladies, and availing himself of this lucky circumstance, peevishly expressed his wishes to depart, before the piece was half finished[f]. The second play was VERTUMNUS, which although *learnedly penned* in Latin, and by a doctor in divinity, could not keep the king awake, who was wearied in consequence of having executed the office of moderator all that day at

THROW OF STAGE-PLAYS, &c. Printed 1599. Gager's letter, in defence of his plays, and of the students who acted in them, is in Bibl. Coll. Univ. MSS. J. 18. It appears by a pamphlet written by one W. Heale, and printed at Oxford in 1609, that Gager held it lawful, in a public Act of the university, for husbands to beat their wives.

[d] Hollinsh. CHRON. iii. 1355.

[e] See PREPARATIONS AT OXFORD, &c. APPEND. LELANDI COLL. vol. ii. p. 626. seq. edit. Lond. 1774. [MSS. Baker, ut supr. Brit. Mus.] They were written by one present.

[f] Ibid. p. 637.

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the disputations in saint Mary's church[g]. The third drama was the AJAX of Sophocles, in Latin, at which the stage was varied three times[h]. "The king was very wearie before "he came thither, but much more wearied by it, and spoke "many words of dislike[i]." But I must not omit, that as the king entered the city from Woodstock, he was saluted at the gate of saint John's college with a short interlude, which probably suggested a hint to Shakespeare to write a tragedy on the subject of Macbeth. Three youths of the college, habited like witches, advancing towards the king, declared they were the same who once met the two chiefs of Scotland, Macbeth and Bancho; prophesying a kingdom to the one, and to the other a generation of monarchs: that they now appeared, a second time, to his majesty, who was descended from the stock of Bancho, to shew the confirmation of that prediction[k]. Immediately afterwards, "Three young youths, "in habit and attire like Nymphs, confronted him, repre-"senting England, Scotland, and Ireland; and talking dia-"logue wise, each to the other, of their state, at last con-"cluded, yielding themselves up to his gracious government[l]."

[g] The queen was not present: but next morning, with her ladies, the young prince, and *gallants attending the court*, she saw an English pastoral, by Daniel, called ARCADIA REFORMED. Ibid. p. 642. Although the anecdote is foreign to our purpose, I cannot help mentioning the reason, why the queen, during this visit to Oxford, was more pleased to hear the Oration of the professor of Greek, than the king. "The king heard him willingly, and the "Queen *much more*; because, she sayd, "she *never had heard Greek*." Ibid. 636.

[h] Towards the end of the hall, was a scene like a wall, "painted and adorned "with stately pillars, which pillars would "turn about, by reason whereof, with the "help of other painted clothes, their "stage did vary three times in the acting "of one tragedy." LEL APPEND. ut supr. p. 631. The machinery of these plays, and the temporary stages in St. Mary's church, were chiefly conducted by "one Mr. Jones, a *great traveller*, who "undertooke to furnish them with rare de-"vices, but performed very little to that "which was expected." Ibid. p. 646. Notwithstanding these slighting expressions, it is highly probable that this was Inigo Jones, afterwards the famous architect. He was now but thirty-three years of age, and just returned into England. He was the principal Contriver for the masques at Whitehall. Gerrard, in STRAFFORDE'S LETTERS, describing queen Henrietta's popish chapel, says, "Such a glorious scene "built over the altar! Inigo Jones never "presented a more curious piece in any of "the masks at Whitehall. [dat. 1635.] vol. i. pag. 505.

[i] Ibid. p. 639.

[k] REX PLATONICUS, sive MUSÆ REGNANTES, Oxon. 1607. 4to. p. 18.

[l] LEL. APPEND. ut supr. p. 636.

It would be unneceſſary to trace this practice in our univerſities to later periods. The poſition advanced is beſt illuſtrated by proofs moſt remote in point of time; which, on that account, are alſo leſs obvious, and more curious. I could have added other antient proofs; but I choſe to ſelect thoſe which ſeemed, from concomitant circumſtances, moſt likely to amuſe.

Many inſtances of this practice in ſchools, or in ſeminaries of an inferior nature, may be enumerated. I have before mentioned the play of ROBIN and MARIAN, performed, according to an annual cuſtom, by the ſchool-boys of Angiers in France, in the year 1392[m]. But I do not mean to go abroad for illuſtrations of this part of our preſent inquiry. Among the writings of Udal, a celebrated maſter of Eton, about the year 1540, are recited *Plures Comediæ*, and a tragedy *de Papatu*, on the papacy: written probably to be acted by his ſcholars. An extract from one of his comedies may be ſeen in Wilſon's LOGIKE[n]. In the antient CONSUETUDINARY, as it is called, of Eton-School, the following paſſage occurs. "Circa feſtum divi Andreæ, ludimagiſter eligere ſolet, pro "ſuo arbitrio, SCENICAS FABULAS optimas et accommoda- "tiſſimas, quas Pueri feriis Natalitiis ſubſequentibus, non "ſine LUDORUM ELEGANTIA, populo ſpectante, publice ali- "quando peragant.—Interdum etiam exhibet Anglico ſer- "mone contextas fabulas, ſiquæ habeant acumen et lepo- "rem[o]." That is, about the feaſt of ſaint Andrew, the thirtieth day of November, the maſter is accuſtomed to chuſe, according to his own diſcretion, ſuch Latin ſtage-plays as are moſt excellent and convenient; which the boys are to act in the following Chriſtmas holidays, before a public audience, and with all the elegance of ſcenery and ornaments

[m] Supr. i. 245. See more inſtances, ibid.

[n] Written in 1553, p. 69.

[o] Suppoſed to have been drawn up about the year 1560. But containing all the antient and original cuſtoms of the ſchool. MSS. Rawlinſ. Bibl. Bodl.

uſual

usual at the performance of a play. Yet he may sometimes order English plays; such, at least, as are smart and witty. In the year 1538, Ralph Radcliffe, a polite scholar, and a lover of graceful elocution, opening a school at Hitchin in Hertfordshire, obtained a grant of the dissolved friery of the Carmelites in that town: and converting the refectory into a theatre, wrote several plays, both in Latin and English, which were exhibited by his pupils. Among his comedies were *Dives and Lazarus*, Boccacio's *Patient Grisilde*, *Titus and Gesippus*[p], and Chaucer's *Melibeus*: his tragedies were, the *Delivery of Susannah*, the *Burning of John Huss*, *Job's Sufferings*, the *Burning of Sodom*, *Jonas*, and the *Fortitude of Judith*. These pieces were seen by the biographer Bale in the author's library, but are now lost[q]. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that this very liberal exercise is yet preserved, and in the spirit of true classical purity, at the college of Westminster[r]. I believe, the frequency of these school-plays suggested to Shakespeare the names of Seneca and Plautus as

[p] See supr. p. 341.

[q] Bale viii. 98. Ath. Oxon. i. 73. I have seen an anonymous comedy, Apollo Shroving, composed by the Master of Hadleigh-school, in Suffolk, and acted by his scholars, on Shrove-tuesday, Feb. 7. 1626. printed 1627. 8vo. Published, as it seems, by R. W. Shrove-tuesday, as the day immediately preceding Lent, was always a day of extraordinary sport and feasting. So in the song of Justice Silence in Shakespeare, See P. Henry iv. A. v. S. 4.

Tis merry in hall when beards wag all,
And welcome merry Shrovetide.

In the Romish church there was antiently a feast immediately preceding Lent, which lasted many days, called Carniscapium. See Carpentier, in V. Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang. tom. i. p. 831. In some cities of France an officer was annually chosen, called Le Prince d'Amoureux, who presided over the sports of the youth for six days before Ash-wednesday. Ibid. V. Amoratus, p. 195. and V. Cardinalis, p. 818. also V. Spinetum, tom. iii. p. 848. Some traces of these festivities still remain in our universities. In the Percy Household-book, 1512, it appears that the clergy and officers of lord Percy's chapel performed a play "before his "lordship upon Shrowftewesday at night." pag. 545.

[r] It appears antiently to have been an exercise for youth, not only to act but to write interludes. Erasmus says, that sir Thomas More, "adolescens Comoedi-"olas et scripsit et egit." Epistol. 447. But see what I have said of More's Pageaunts, Observat. on Spens. ii. 47. And we are told, that More, while he lived a Page with archbishop Moreton, as the plays were going on in the palace during the christmas holidays, would often step upon the stage without previous notice, and exhibit a part of his own, which gave much more satisfaction than the whole performance besides. Roper's Life and Death of More, p. 27. edit. 1731. 8vo.

dramatic authors; where Hamlet, ſpeaking of a variety of theatrical performances, ſays, "Seneca cannot be too heavy, "nor Plautus too light[s]." Jonſon, in his comedy of THE STAPLE OF NEWES, has a ſatirical alluſion to this practice, yet ironically applied: where CENSURE ſays, "For my part, "I beleeve it, and there were no wiſer than I, I would have "neer a cunning ſchoole-maſter in England; I mean a Cun-"ning-man a ſchoole-maſter; that is, a conjurour, or a "poet, or that had any acquaintance with a poet. They "make all their ſchollers Play-boyes! Is't not a fine ſight "to ſee all our children made Enterluders? Doe we pay "our money for this? Wee ſend them to learne their "grammar and their Terence, and they learne their play-"bookes. Well, they talk we ſhall have no more parlia-"ments, god bleſſe us! But an wee have, I hope *Zeale of* "*the Land Buzzy*, and my goſſip Rabby *Trouble-truth*, will "ſtart up, and ſee we have painfull good miniſters to keepe "ſchoole, and catechiſe our youth; and not teach em to "ſpeake Playes, and act fables of falſe newes, &c[t].

In tracing the hiſtory of our ſtage, this early practice of performing plays in ſchools and univerſities has never been conſidered, as a circumſtance inſtrumental to the growth and improvement of the drama. While the people were amuſed with Skelton's TRIAL OF SIMONY, Bale's GOD'S PROMISES, and CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO HELL, the ſcholars of the times were compoſing and acting plays on hiſtorical ſubjects, and in imitation of Plautus and Terence. Hence ideas of a legitimate fable muſt have been imperceptibly derived to the popular and vernacular drama. And we may add, while no ſettled or public theatres were known, and plays were chiefly acted by itinerant minſtrels in the halls of the nobility at Chriſtmas, theſe literary ſocieties ſupported ſome idea of a

[s] ACT ii. Sc. 7.

[t] ACT iii. p. 50. edit. fol. 1631. This play was firſt acted in the year 1625.

ſtage:

ſtage: they afforded the beſt accommodations for theatrical exhibition, and were almoſt the only, certainly the moſt rational, companies of players that exiſted.

But I mean yet to treſpaſs on my reader's patience, by purſuing this inquiry ſtill further; which, for the ſake of comprehenſion and connection, has already exceeded the limits of a digreſſion.

It is perhaps on this principle, that we are to account for plays being acted by ſinging-boys: although they perhaps acquired a turn for theatrical repreſentation and the ſpectacular arts, from their annual exhibition of the ceremonies of the boy-biſhop; which ſeem to have been common in almoſt every religious community that was capable of ſupporting a choir[a]. I have before given an inſtance of the ſinging-boys of Hyde abbey and ſaint Swithin's priory at

[a] In a ſmall college, for only one provoſt, five fellows, and ſix choriſters, founded by archbiſhop Rotheram in 1481, in the obſcure village of Rotheram in Yorkſhire, this piece of mummery was not omitted. The founder leaves by will, among other bequeſts to the college, "A Myter for the "*barne-biſhop* of cloth of gold, with two "knopps of ſilver, gilt and enamelled." Hearne's LIB. NIG. SCACC. APPEND. p. 674. 686. This eſtabliſhment, but with a far greater degree of buffoonery, was common in the collegiate churches of France. See Dom. Marlot, HISTOIRE de la Metropole de Rheims, tom. ii. p. 769. A part of the ceremony in the church of Noyon was, that the children of the choir ſhould celebrate the whole ſervice on Innocent's day. Brillon, DICTIONAIRE DES ARRETS, Artic. NOYON. edit. de 1727. This privilege, as I have before obſerved, is permitted to the children of the choir of Wincheſter college, on that feſtival, by the founder's ſtatutes, given in 1380. [See ſupr. vol. i. 248.] Yet in the ſtatutes of Eton college, given in 1441, and altogether tranſcribed from thoſe of Wincheſter, the choriſter-biſhop of the chapel is permitted to celebrate the holy offices on the feaſt of ſaint Nicholas, but *by no means* on that of the INNOCENTS.— "In feſto ſancti Nicolai, in QUO et NULLATENUS in feſto ſanctorum INNOCENTIUM, divina officia (prætur Miſſæ "Secreta) exequi et dici permittimus per "Epiſcopum Puerorum, ad hoc, de eiſdem "[pueris choriſtis] annis ſingulis eligendum." STATUT. Coll. Etonenſ. Cap. xxxi. The ſame clauſe is in the ſtatutes of King's college at Cambridge. Cap. xlii. The parade of the mock-biſhop is evidently akin to the *Fete des Foux*, in which they had a biſhop, an abbot, and a precentor, of the fools. One of the pieces of humour in this laſt-mentioned ſhew, was to ſhave the precentor in public, on a ſtage erected at the weſt door of the church. M. Tilliot, MEM. *de la Fete des Foux*, ut ſupr. p. 13. In the Council of Sens, A. D. 1485, we have this prohibition. "Turpem "etiam illum abuſum in quibuſdam fre-"quentatum eccleſiis, quo, certis annis, "nonnulli cum mitra, baculo, ac veſtibus "pontificalibus, *more epiſcoporum* benedi-"cunt, alii ut reges et duces induti, quod "Feſtum FATUORUM, vel INNOCENTIUM, ſeu PUERORUM, in quibuſdam "regionibus nuncupatur, &c." CONCIL. SENON.

Winchester, performing a MORALITY before king Henry the seventh at Winchester castle, on a Sunday, in the year 1487. In the accompts of Maxtoke priory near Coventry, in the year 1430, it appears, that the eleemosinary boys, or choristers, of that monastery, acted a play, perhaps every year, on the feast of the Purification, in the hall of the neighbouring castle belonging to lord Clinton: and it is specified, that the cellarer took no money for their attendance, because his lordship's minstrels had often assisted this year at several festivals in the refectory of the convent, and in the hall of the prior, without fee or gratuity. I will give the article,

SENON. cap. iii. Hardain. ACT. CONCIL. Paris. 1714. tom. ix. p. 1525. E. See also ibid. CONCIL. BASIL. Sess. xxi. p. 1122. E. And 1296. D. p. 1344. A. It is surprising that Colet, dean of saint Paul's, a friend to the purity of religion, and who had the good sense and resolution to censure the superstitions and fopperies of popery in his public sermons, should countenance this idle farce of the boy-bishop, in the statutes of his school at saint Paul's; which he founded with a view of establishing the education of youth on a more rational and liberal plan than had yet been known, in the year 1512. He expresly orders that his scholars, "shall every Childermas [Innocents] daye come to Paulis churche, "and hear the CHILDE-BYSHOP'S [of S. "Paul's cathedral] sermon. And after, "be at the hygh masse; and each of them "offer a penny to the CHILDE-BYSHOP, "and with them the maisters and surveyors "of the scole." Knight's LIFE OF COLET, (MISCELL. Num. V. APPEND.) p. 362. I take this opportunity of observing, that the anniversary custom at Eton of going *ad Montem*, originated from the antient and popular practice of these theatrical processions in collegiate bodies.

In the statutes of New college in Oxford, founded about the year 1380, there is the following remarkable passage. "Ac etiam "illum LUDUM vilissimum et horribilem "RADENDI BARBAS, qui fieri solet in "nocte præcedente Inceptionis Magistro-"dorum in Artibus, infra collegium nos-"trum prædictum, vel alibi in Universi-"tate prædicta, ubicunque, ipsis [sociis "et scolaribus] penitus interdicimus, ac "etiam prohibemus expresse." RUBR. xxv. Hearne endeavours to explain this injunction, by supposing that it was made in opposition to the Wiccliffites, who disregarded the laws of scripture; and, in this particular instance, violated the following text in LEVITICUS, where this custom is expresly forbidden. xix. 27. "Neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy "beard." NOT. ad Joh. Trokelowe. p. 395. Nothing can be more unfortunate than this elucidation of our antiquary. The direct contrary was the case: for the Wickliffites entirely grounded their ideas of reformation both in morals and doctrine on scriptural proofs, and often committed absurdities in too precise and literal an acceptation of texts. And, to say no more, the custom, from the words of the statute, seems to have been long preserved in the university, as a mock-ceremony on the night preceding the solemn Act of Magistration. It is styled LUDUS, a Play: and I am of opinion, that it is to be ranked among the other ecclesiastic mummeries of that age; and that it has some connection with the exhibition mentioned above of shaving the Precentor in public.

which

which is very circumſtantial, at length, " *Pro jentaculis* " *puerorum eleemoſynæ exeuntium ad aulam in caſtro ut ibi* LUDUM " *peragerent in die Purificationis, xiv d. Unde nihil a domini* " [Clinton] *theſaurario, quia ſæpius hoc anno miniſtralli caſtri* " *fecerunt miniſtralſiam in aula conventus et Prioris ad feſta plu-* " *rima ſine ullo regardo*[w]." That is, For the extraordinary breakfaſt of the children of the almonry, or ſinging-boys of the convent, when they went to the hall in the caſtle, to perform the PLAY on the feaſt of the Purification, fourteen-pence. In conſideration of which performance, we received nothing in return from the treaſurer of the lord Clinton, becauſe the minſtrels of the caſtle had often this year plaid at many feſtivals, both in the hall of the convent and in the prior's hall, without reward. So early as the year 1378, the ſcholars, or choriſters, of ſaint Paul's cathedral in London, preſented a petition to king Richard the ſecond, that his majeſty would prohibit ſome ignorant and unexperienced perſons from acting the HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended conſiderable ſums for preparing a public preſentation of that play at the enſuing Chriſtmas[x]. From MYSTERIES this young fraternity proceeded to more regular dramas: and at the commencement of a theatre, were the beſt and almoſt only comedians. They became at length ſo favorite a ſet of players, as often to act at court: and, on particular occaſions of feſtivity, were frequently removed from London, for this purpoſe only, to the royal houſes at ſome diſtance from town. This is a circumſtance in their dramatic hiſtory, not commonly known. In the year 1554, while the princeſs Elizabeth reſided at Hatfield-houſe in Hertfordſhire, under the cuſtody of ſir Thomas Pope, ſhe was viſited by queen Mary. The next morning, after maſs, they were entertained with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, *with*

[w] Penes me. ſupr. citat. [x] See RISE AND PROGRESS, &c. CIBB. L. vol. ii. p. 118.

which

which their highnesses were right well content. In the evening, the great chamber was adorned with a sumptuous suit of tapestry, called *The Hanginge of Antioch*: and after supper, a play was presented by the *children of Paul's*[7]. After the play, and the next morning, one of the children, named Maximilian Poines, sung to the princess, while she *plaid at the virginalls*[8]. Strype, perhaps from the same manuscript chronicle, thus describes a magnificent entertainment given to queen Elizabeth, in the year 1559, at Nonsuch in Surry, by lord Arundel, her majesty's housekeeper, or superintendant, at that palace, now destroyed. I chuse to give the description in the words of this simple but picturesque compiler. "There the queen had great entertainment, with banquets, "especially on Sunday night, made by the said earl: together "with a Mask, and the warlike sounds of drums and flutes, "and all kinds of musick, till midnight. On Monday, was "a great supper made for her: but before night, she stood "at her standing in the further park, and there she saw a "Course. At night was a Play by the *Children of Paul's*, "and their [music] master Sebastian. After that, a costly "banquet, accompanied with drums and flutes. This en-"tertainment lasted till three in the morning. And the earl "presented her majesty a cupboard of plate[9]." In the year 1562, when the society of parish clerks in London celebrated

[7] Who perhaps performed the play of HOLOPHERNES, the same year, after *a greate and rich maskinge and banquet*, given by sir Thomas Pope to the princess, in the *grete hall at Hatfolde*. LIFE of sir THO. POPE. SECT. iii. p. 85.

[8] MS. ANNALES OF Q. MARIE'S REIGNE. MSS. Cotton. VITELL. F. 5. There is a curious anecdote in Melville's MEMOIRS, concerning Elizabeth, when queen, being surprized from behind the tapestry by lord Hunsdon, while she was playing on her virginals. Her majesty, I know not whether in a fit of royal prudery, or of royal coquetry, suddenly rose from the instrument and offered to *strike* his lordship: declaring, "that she was not used *to play* "*before men*, but when she was solitary to "shun melancholy." MEM. Lond. 1752. pag. 99. Leland applauds the skill of Elizabeth, both in playing and singing. ENCOM. fol. 59. [p. 125. edit. Hearn.]

Aut quid commemorem quos tu testudine sumpta
Concentus referas mellifluosque modos?

[9] ANN. REF. vol. i. ch. xv. p. 194. edit. 1725. fol.

one

one of their annual feasts, after morning service in Guildhall chapel, they retired to their hall; where, after dinner, a *goodly play* was performed by the choristers of Westminster abbey, with *waits, and regals, and singing* [b]. The children of the chapel-royal were also famous actors; and were formed into a company of players by queen Elizabeth, under the conduct of Richard Edwards, a musician, and a writer of Interludes, already mentioned, and of whom more will be said hereafter. All Lilly's plays, and many of Shakespeare's and Jonson's, were originally performed by these boys [c]: and it seems probable, that the title given by Jonson to one of his comedies, called CYNTHIA'S REVELS, first acted in 1605 "by the children of her majesties chapel, with the allowance "of the Master of the Revels," was an allusion to this establishment of queen Elizabeth, one of whose romantic names was CYNTHIA [d]. The general reputation which they gained, and the particular encouragement and countenance which they received from the queen, excited the jealousy of the grown actors at the theatres: and Shakespeare, in HAMLET, endeavours to extenuate the applause which was idly indulged to their performance, perhaps not always very just, in the

[b] Strype's edit. of Stowe's SURV. LOND. B. v. p. 231.

[c] Six of Lilly's nine comedies are entitled COURT-COMEDIES: which, I believe, were written professedly for this purpose. These were reprinted together, Lond. 1632. 12mo. His last play is dated 1597.

[d] They very frequently were joined by the choristers of saint Paul's. It is a mistake that these were rival companies; and that because Jonson's POETASTER was acted, in the year 1601, by the boys of the chapel, his antagonist Decker got his SATIROMASTIX, an answer to Jonson's play, to be performed, out of opposition, by those of saint Paul's. Lilly's court-comedies, and many others, were acted by the children of both choirs in conjunction. It is certain that Decker sneers at Johnson's interest with the Master of the Revels, in procuring his plays to be acted so often at court. "*Sir* "*Vaughan*. I have some cossen-germans "at court shall beget you the reversion of "the master of the king's revels, or else to "be his lord of misrule nowe at Christmas." SIGNAT. G. 3. Dekker's SATIROMASTIX, *or the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet*. Lond. for E. White, 1602. 4to. Again, SIGNAT. M. "When your playes are missé-"likt at court, you shall not crie mew like "a pusse-cat, and say you are glad you "write out of the courtier's element." On the same idea the satire is founded of sending Horace, or Jonson, to court, to be dubbed a poet: and of bringing "the quivering "bride to court in a maske, &c." Ibid. SIGNAT. I. 3.

following speeches of Rosencrantz and Hamlet.—" There is " an aiery of little children, little eyases[e], that cry out on " the top of the question, and are most tyrannically clapped " for't: these are now the fashion, and so berattle the *common* " stages, so they call them, that many wearing rapiers are " afraid of goose quills, and dare scarce come thither.— " *Ham.* What, are they children? Who maintains them? " How are they escoted[f]? Will they pursue the Quality no " longer than they can sing, &c[g]." This was about the year 1599. The latter clause means, " Will they follow the " *profession* of players, no longer than they keep the voices " of boys, and sing in the choir?" So Hamlet afterwards says to the player, " Come, give us a taste of your *quality*: " come, a passionate speech[h]." Some of these, however, were distinguished for their propriety of action, and became admirable comedians at the theatre of Black-friers[i]. Among the children of queen Elizabeth's chapel, was one Salvadore Pavy, who acted in Jonson's POETASTER, and CYNTHIA'S

[e] Nest of young hawks.

[f] Paid.

[g] ACT. ii. Sc. vi. And perhaps he glances at the same set of actors in ROMEO AND JULIET, when a play, or maske, is proposed: ACT i. Sc. v.

We'll have no Cupid, hood-wink'd with a scarf,
Bearing a Tartar's painted bow of lath.—
Nor a *without-book* prologue *faintly* spoke
After the prompter. —— ——

[h] Ibid. Sc. iii.

[i] There is a passage in STRAFFORDE'S LETTERS, which seems to shew, that the dispositions and accommodations at the theatre of Black-friars, were much better than we now suppose. " A little pique " happened betwixt the duke of Lenox and " the lord chamberlain, about a box at a " new play in the Black-friers, of which " the duke had got the key." The dispute was settled by the king. G. GARRARD to the LORD DEPUTY. Jan. 25. 1635. vol. i. p. 511. edit. 1739. fol. See a curious account of an order of the privy council, in 1633, " hung up in a table near Paules and " Black-fryars, to command all that resort " to the play-house there, to send away " their coaches, and to disperse abroad in " Paules church-yard, carter-lane, the con- " duit in fleet-street, &c. &c." Ibid. p. 175. Another of Garrard's letters mentions a play at this theatre, which " cost three or " four hundred pounds setting out; eight " or ten suits of new cloaths he [the author] " gave the players, an unheard of prodi- " gality!" Dat. 1637. Ibid. vol. ii. 150.

It appears by the Prologue of Chapman's ALL FOOLS, a comedy presented at Black-friers, and printed 1605, that only the spectators of rank and quality sate on the stage.

— —. To fair attire the stage
Helps much; for if our *other audience* see
You on the stage depart before we end,
Our wits go with you all, &c. ——

REVELS,

REVELS, and was inimitable in his representation of the character of an old man. He died about thirteen years of age, and is thus elegantly celelebrated in one of Jonson's epigrams.

An Epitaph on S. P. a child of queene Elizabeth's chapell.

Weep with me, all you that read
This little story!
And know, for whom a teare you shed
DEATH's selfe is sorry.
Twas a child, that so did thrive
In grace and feature,
As HEAVEN and NATURE seem'd to strive
Which own'd the creature.
Yeares he numbred scarce thirteene,
When Fates turn'd cruell;
Yet three fill'd zodiackes had he beene
The Stage's Jewell:
And did acte, what now we moane,
Old men so duely;
As, sooth, the PARCÆ thought him one,
He plaid so truely.
So, by errour, to his fate
They all consented;
But viewing him since, alas! too late,
They have repented:
And have sought, to give new birthe,
In bathes to steep him:
But, being so much too good for earthe,
HEAVEN vowes to keep him[k].

To this ecclesiastical origin of the drama, we must refer the plays acted by the society of the parish-clerks of London,

[k] EPIGRAMMES, Epig. cxx.

for eight days ſucceſſively, at Clerkenwell, which thence took its name, in the preſence of moſt of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, in the years 1390, and 1409. In the ignorant ages, the pariſh-clerks of London might juſtly be conſidered as a literary ſociety. It was an eſſential part of their profeſſion, not only to ſing but to read; an accompliſhment almoſt ſolely confined to the clergy: and, on the whole, they ſeem to come under the character of a religious fraternity. They were incorporated into a guild, or fellowſhip, by king Henry the third about the year 1240, under the patronage of ſaint Nicholas. It was anciently cuſtomary for men and women of the firſt quality, eccleſiaſtics, and others, who were lovers of church-muſic, to be admitted into this corporation: and they gave large gratuities for the ſupport, or education, of many perſons in the practice of that ſcience. Their public feaſts, which I have already mentioned, were frequent, and celebrated with ſinging and muſic; moſt commonly at Guildhall chapel or college [1]. Before the reformation, this ſociety was conſtantly hired to aſſiſt as a choir, at the magnificent funerals of the nobility, or other diſtinguiſhed perſonages, which were celebrated within the city of London, or in its neighbourhood. The ſplendid ceremonies of their anniverſary proceſſion and maſs, in the year 1554, are thus related by Strype, from an old chronicle. "May the ſixth, was a goodly evenſong at Guild-"hall college, by the Maſters of the CLARKS and their Fel-"lowſhip, with ſinging and playing; and the morrow after, "was a great maſs, at the ſame place, and by the ſame "fraternity: when every clark offered an halfpenny. The "maſs was ſung by diverſe of the queen's [Mary's] chapel "and children. And after maſs done, every clark went their "proceſſion, two and two together; each having on, a ſur-"plice and a rich cope, and a garland. And then, four-

[1] Stowe's Surv. Lond. ut ſupr. lib. v. p. 231.

"ſcore

"ſcore ſtandards, ſtreamers, and banners; and each one "that bare them had an albe or a ſurplice. Then came in "order the waits playing: and then, thirty clarkes, ſing-"ing FESTA DIES. There were four of theſe choirs. Then "came a canopy, borne over the Sacrament by four of the "maſters of the clarkes, with ſtaffe torches burning, &c[m]." Their profeſſion, employment, and character, naturally dictated to this ſpiritual brotherhood the repreſentation of plays, eſpecially thoſe of the ſcriptural kind: and their conſtant practice in ſhews, proceſſions, and vocal muſic, eaſily accounts for their addreſs in detaining the beſt company which England afforded in the fourteenth century, at a religious farce, for more than a week.

Before I conclude this inquiry, a great part of which has been taken up in endeavouring to ſhew the connection between places of education and the ſtage, it ought to be remarked, that the antient faſhion of acting plays in the inns of court, which may be ranked among ſeminaries of inſtruction, although for a ſeparate profeſſion, is deducible from this ſource. The firſt repreſentation of this ſort which occurs on record, and is mentioned with any particular circumſtances, was at Gray's-inn. John Roos, or Roo, ſtudent at Gray's-inn, and created a ſerjeant at law in the year 1511, wrote a comedy which was acted at Chriſtmas in the hall of that ſociety, in the year 1527. This piece, which probably contained ſome free reflections on the pomp of the clergy, gave ſuch offence to cardinal Wolſey, that the author was degraded and impriſoned[n]. In the year 1550, under the reign of Edward the ſixth, an order was made in the ſame ſociety, that no comedies, commonly called Interludes, ſhould be acted in the refectory in the intervals of vacation, except at the celebration of Chriſtmas: and that then, the whole body of ſtudents ſhould jointly contribute towards the dreſſes,

[m] ECCLES. MEM. vol. iii. ch. xiii. p. 121. [n] Hollinſh. CHRON. iii. 894.

ſcenes,

ſcenes, and decorations [o]. In the year 1561, Sackville's and Norton's tragedy of FERREX AND PORREX was preſented before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall, by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple [p]. In the year 1566, the SUPPOSES, a comedy, was acted at Gray's-inn, written by Gaſcoigne, one of the ſtudents. Dekker, in his ſatire againſt Jonſon above cited, accuſes Jonſon for having ſtolen ſome jokes from the Chriſtmas plays of the lawyers. "You ſhall ſweare not to "bumbaſt out a new play with the old lyning of jeſtes "ſtolne from the Temple-revells [q]." It the year 1632 it was ordered, in the Inner Temple, that no play ſhould be continued after twelve at night, not even on Chriſtmas-eve [r].

But theſe ſocieties ſeem to have ſhone moſt in the repreſentation of Maſques, a branch of the old drama. So early as the year 1431, it was ordered, that the ſociety of Lincoln's inn ſhould celebrate four revels [s], on four grand feſtivals, every year, which I conceive to have conſiſted in

[o] Dugdale, ORIG. JURID. cap. 67. p. 285.

[p] Printed at London, 1565. 12mo. In one of the old editions of this play, I think a quarto, of 1590, it is ſaid to be "ſet forth "as the ſame was ſhewed before the queen's "moſt excellent majeſtie, in her highneſs's "court of the inner-temple." It is to be obſerved, that Norton, one of the authors, was connected with the law: For the "Approbation of Mr. T. Norton, counſellor "and ſollicitor of London, appointed by "the biſhop of London," is prefixed to Ch. Marbury's *Collection of Italian Proverbs*, Lond. 1581. 4to.

[q] SATIROMASTIX, edit. 1602. ut ſupr. SIGNAT. M.

[r] Dudg. ut ſupr. cap. 57. p. 140. ſeq. alſo c. 61. 205.

[s] It is not, however, exactly known whether theſe revels were not ſimply DANCES: for Dugdale ſays, that the ſtudents of this inn "anciently had DANCINGS for their "*recreation* and delight." IBID. And he adds, that in the year 1610, the under barriſters, *for example's ſake*, were put out of commons by decimation, becauſe they *offended* in not DANCING on Candlemas-day, when the JUDGES *were preſent*, according to an antient order of the ſociety. Ibid. col. 2. In an old comedy, called CUPID'S WHIRLIGIG, acted in the year 1616, by the children of his majeſty's revels, a law-ſtudent is one of the perſons of the drama, who ſays to a lady, "Faith, lady, "I remember the firſt time I ſaw you was "in quadrageſſimo-ſexto of the queene, in a "michaelmas tearme, and I think it was "the morrow upon *menſe Michaelis*, or "*craſtino Animarum*, I cannot tell which. "And the next time I ſaw you was at our "REVELLS, where it pleaſed your ladyſhip "to grace me with a galliard; and I ſhall "never forget it, for my velvet pantables "[pantofles] were ſtolne away the whilſt." But this may alſo allude to their maſks and plays. SIGNAT. H. 2. edit. Lond. 1616. 4to.

great

great measure of this species of impersonation. In the year 1613, they presented at Whitehall a masque before king James the first, in honour of the marriage of his daughter the princess Elizabeth with the prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, at the cost of more than one thousand and eighty pounds [t]. The poetry was by Chapman, and the machinery by Jones [u]. But the most splendid and sumptuous performance of this kind, plaid by these societies, was the masque which they exhibited at Candlemas-day, in the year 1633, at the expence of two thousand pounds, before king Charles the first; which so pleased the king, and probably the queen, that he invited one hundred and twenty gentlemen of the law to a similar entertainment at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday following [v]. It was called the TRIUMPH OF PEACE, and written by Shirley, then a student of Gray's-inn. The scenery was the invention of Jones, and the music was composed by William Lawes and Simon Ives [x]. Some curious

[t] Dugdale IBID. p. 246. The other societies seem to have joined. IBID. cap. 67. p. 286. See also Finett's PHILOXENIS, p. 8. 11. edit. 1656. and Ibid. p. 73.

[u] Printed LOND. 1614. 4to. "With a "description of the whole shew, in the "manner of their march on horseback to "the court from the Master of the Rolls "his house, &c." It is dedicated to sir E. Philipps, Master of the Rolls. But we find a masque on the very same occasion, and at Whitehall, before the king and queen, called *The masque of Grays inn gentlemen and the Inner temple*, by Beaumont, in the works of Beaumont and Fletcher.

[v] Dugd. ibid. p. 346.

[x] It was printed, Lond. 1633. 4to. The author says, that it exceeded in variety and richness of decoration, any thing ever exhibited at Whitehall. There is a little piece called THE INNS OF COURT ANAGRAMMATIST, or *The Masquers Masqued in Anagrams*, written by Francis Lenton, the queen's poet, Lond. 1634. 4to. In this piece, the names, and respective houses, of each masquer are specified; and in commendation of each there is an epigram. The masque with which his majesty returned this compliment on the shrove-tuesday following at Whitehall, was, I think, Carew's CŒLUM BRITANNICUM, written by the king's command, and played by his majesty, with many of the nobility and their sons who were boys. The machinery by Jones, and the music by H. Lawes. It has been given to Davenant, but improperly.

There is a play written by Middleton about the year 1623, called INNER TEMPLE MASQUE, or the MASQUE OF HEROES, presented as an *entertainment for many worthy ladies*, by the members of that society. Printed, Lond. 1640. 4to. I believe it is the foundation of Mrs. Behn's CITY-HEIRESS.

I have also seen the MASQUE OF FLOWERS, acted by the students of Grays-inn, in the Banquetting-house at White-hall, on Twelfth Night in 1613. It is dedicated to sir F. Bacon, and was printed, Lond. 1614. 4to. It was the last of the court-solemnities exhibited in honour of Carr, earl of Somerset.

anecdotes

anecdotes of this exhibition are preſerved by a cotemporary, a diligent and critical obſerver of thoſe ſeemingly inſignificant occurrences, which acquire importance in the eyes of poſterity, and are often of more value than events of greater dignity. " On Monday after Candlemas-day, the gentlemen " of the inns of court performed their MASQUE at Court. " They were ſixteen in number, who rode through the " ſtreets [7], in four chariots, and two others to carry their " pages and muſicians; attended by an hundred gentle- " men on great horſes, as well clad as every I ſaw any: " They far exceeded in bravery [ſplendor] any Maſque that " had formerly been preſented by thoſe ſocieties, and per- " formed the dancing part with much applauſe. In their " company, was one Mr. Read of Gray's-inn; whom all the " women, and ſome men, cried up for as handſome a man " as the duke of Buckingham. They were well uſed at " court by the king and queen. No diſguſt given them, " only this one accident fell: Mr. May, of Gray's-inn, a " fine poet, he who tranſlated Lucan, came athwart my " lord chamberlain in the banquetting-houſe [8], and he broke " his ſtaff over his ſhoulders, not knowing who he was; the " king preſent, who knew him, for he calls him HIS POET, " and told the chamberlain of it, who ſent for him the next " morning, and fairly excuſed himſelf to him, and gave " him fifty pounds in pieces.—This riding-ſhew took ſo " well, that both king and queen deſired to ſee it again, ſo " that they invited themſelves to ſupper to my lord mayor's " within a week after; and the Maſquers came in a more " glorious ſhow with all the riders, which were increaſed " twenty, to Merchant-taylor's Hall, and there performed " again [9]." But it was not only by the parade of proceſſions,

[7] They went from Ely houſe.

[8] At Whitehall.

[9] STRAFFORDE'S LETTERS, Garrard to the Lord Deputy, dat. Feb. 27. 1633. vol. i. p. 207. It is added, " On Shrove-Tueſday at night, the king and the lords " performed their Maſque. The templars " were all invited, and well pleaſed, &c." See

and the decorations of ſcenery, that theſe ſpectacles were recommended. Some of them, in point of poetical compoſition, were eminently beautiful and elegant. Among theſe may be mentioned a maſque on the ſtory of Circe and Ulyſſes, called the INNER TEMPLE MASQUE, written by Wil-

See alſo p. 177. And Fr. Oſborn's TRADIT. MEM. vol. ii. p. 134. WORKS, edit. 1722. 8vo. It ſeems the queen and her ladies were experienced actreſſes: for the ſame writer ſays, Jan. 9. 1633. "I "never knew a duller Chriſtmas than we "had at Court this year; but one play all "the time at Whitehall!—The queen had "ſome little infirmity, which made her "keep in: only on Twelfth-night, ſhe "feaſted the king at Somerſet-houſe, and "preſented him with a play, newly ſtu-"died, long ſince printed, the FAITHFUL "SHEPERDESS [of Fletcher] which the "king's players acted in the robes *ſhe and* "*her ladies acted their* PASTORAL *in the* "*laſt year*." Ibid. p. 177. Again, Jan. 11. 1634. "There is ſome reſolution for "a Maſke at Shrovetide: the queen, and "fifteen ladies, are to perform, &c." Ibid. p. 360. And, Nov. 9. 1637. "Here "are to be two maſkes this winter; one "at Chriſtmaſs, which the king and the "young nobleſſe do make; the other at "Shrovetide, which the queen and her "ladies do preſent to the king. A great "room is now building only for this uſe "betwixt the guard chamber and the ban-"quetting-houſe, and of fir, &c." Ibid. vol. ii. p. 130. See alſo p. 140. And Finett's PHILOXENIS, "There being a maſke in "practice of the queen in perſon, with "other great ladies, &c." p. 198. See Whitelock, ſub. an. 1632. She was [alſo] an actreſs in Davenant's maſque of the TEMPLE OF LOVE, with many of the nobility of both ſexes. In Jonſon's CLORIDIA at Shrovetide, 1630.—In Jonſon's Maſque called LOVE FREED FROM IGNORANCE AND FOLLY, printed in 1640.—In W. Mountagu's SHEPHEARD'S ORACLE, a Paſtoral, printed in 1649.—In the maſque of ALBION'S TRIUMPH, the Sunday after Twelfth-night, 1631. Printed 1631.—In LUMINALIA, or *The Feſtival of Light, a maſque*, on Shrove-tueſday in 1637. Printed Lond. 1637. 4to.—In SALMACIDA SPOLIA at Whitehall, 1639. Printed Lond. 1639. 4to. The words, I believe, by Davenant; and the muſic by Lewis Richard, maſter of her majeſty's muſic.—In TEMPE RESTORED, with fourteen other ladies, on Shrove-tueſday at Whitehall, 1631. Printed Lond. 1631. 4to. The words by Aurelian Townſend. The king acted in ſome of theſe pieces. In the preceding reign, queen Anne had given countenance to this practice; and, I believe. ſhe is the firſt of our queens that appeared perſonally in this moſt elegant and rational amuſement of a court. She acted in Daniel's Maſque of THE VISION OF THE FOUR GODDESSES, with eleven other ladies, at Hampton-court, in 1604. Lond. 1624. 4to.—In Jonſon's MASQUE OF QUEENS, at Whitehall, in 1609.—In Daniel's TETHYS'S FESTIVAL, a Maſque, at the creation of prince Henry, Jun. 5. 1610. This was called the QUEEN'S WAKE. See Winwood. iii. 180. Daniel dedicates to this queen a paſtoral tragicomedy, in which ſhe perhaps performed, called HYMEN'S TRIUMPH. It was preſented at Somerſet-houſe, where ſhe magnificently entertained the king on occaſion of the marriage of lord Roxburgh. Many others, I preſume, might be added. Among the ENTERTAINMENTS at RUTLAND-HOUSE, compoſed by Davenant in the reign of Charles the firſt, there is a DECLAMATION, or rather Diſputation, with muſic, concerning *Public Entertainment by Moral Repreſentation*. The diſputants are Diogenes and Ariſtophanes. I am informed, that among the manuſcript papers of the late Mr. Thomas Coxeter, of Trinity college in Oxford, an ingenious and inquiſitive gleaner of anecdotes for a biography of

liam Brown, a ſtudent of that ſociety, about the year 1620[b]. From this piece, as a ſpecimen of the temple-maſques in this view, I make no apology for my anticipation in tranſcribing the following ode, which Circe ſings as a charm to drive away ſleep from Ulyſſes, who is diſcovered repoſing under a large tree. It is addreſſed to Sleep.

THE CHARME.

Sonne of Erebus and Nighte!
Hye away, and aime thy flighte,
Where conſorte none other fowle
Than the batte and ſullen owle:
Where, upon the lymber gras,
Poppy and mandragoras,
With like ſimples not a fewe,
Hange for ever droppes of dewe:
Where flowes Lethe, without coyle,
Softly like a ſtreame of oyle.
Hye thee thither, gentle Sleepe!
With this Greeke no longer keepe.

of Engliſh poets, there was a correſpondence between ſir Fulke Greville and Daniel the poet, concerning improvements and reformations propoſed to be made in theſe court-interludes. But this ſubject will be more fully examined, and further purſued, in its proper place.

After the Reſtoration, when the dignity of the old monarchical manners had ſuffered a long eclipſe from a Calviniſtic uſurpation, a feeble effort was made to revive theſe liberal and elegant amuſements at Whitehall. For about the year 1675, queen Catharine ordered Crowne to write a Paſtoral called CALISTO, which was acted at court by the ladies Mary and Anne daughters of the duke of York, and the young nobility. About the ſame time lady Anne, afterwards queen, plaid the part of Semandra, in Lee's MITHRIDATES. The young noblemen were inſtructed by Betterton, and the princeſſes by his wife; who perhaps conceived Shakeſpeare more fully than any female that ever appeared on the ſtage. In remembrance of her theatrical inſtructions, Anne, when queen, aſſigned Mrs. Betterton an annual penſion of one hundred pounds. Langb. DRAM. P. p. 92. edit. 1691. Cibber's APOL. p. 154.

This was an early practice in France. In 1540, Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, wrote Moralities, which ſhe called PASTORALS, to be acted by the ladies of her court.

[b] Printed from a manuſcript in Emanuel-college at Cambridge, by Tho. Davies. WORKS of W. Browne, Lond. 1772. vol. iii. p. 121. In the dedication to the Society the author ſays, "If it degenerate in "kinde from thoſe other the ſociety hath "produced, blame yourſelves for not keep-"ing a happier muſe." Wood ſays that "Browne "retiring to the inner temple, "became famed there for his poetry." ATH. OXON. i. p. 492.

Thrice

Thrice I charge thee by my wand,
Thrice with moly from my hand
Doe I touch Ulysses' eyes,
And with th' iaspis. Then arise
Sagest Greeke[c]!

In praise of this song it will be sufficient to say, that it reminds us of some favorite touches in Milton's COMUS, to which it perhaps gave birth. Indeed one cannot help observing here in general, although the observation more properly belongs to another place, that a masque thus recently exhibited on the story of Circe, which there is reason to think had acquired some popularity, suggested to Milton the hint of a masque on the story of Comus. It would be superfluous to point out minutely the absolute similarity of the two characters: they both deal in incantations conducted by the same mode of operation, and producing effects exactly parallel.

From this practice of performing interludes in the inns of court, we may explain a passage in Shakespeare: but the present establishment of the context embarrasses that explanation, as it perplexes the sentence in other respects. In the SECOND PART OF HENRY THE FOURTH, Shallow is boasting to his cousin Silence of his heroic exploits when he studied the law at Clement's-inn. "I was once of Clement's "inn, where I think they will talk of mad Shallow yet. "*Sil.* You were called *lusty Shallow* then, cousin. *Shal.* I "was called any thing, and I would have done any thing, "indeed too, and roundly too. There was I, and little "John Doit of Staffordshire, &c. You had not four "such swinge-bucklers in the inns of court again. We "knew where all the Bona Roba's were, &c.—Oh, the mad "days that I have spent[d]!" Falstaffe then enters, and is recognised by Shallow, as his brother-student at Clement's-

[c] Pag. 135. [d] Act iii. Sc. iii.

inn; on which, he takes occaſion to reſume the topic of his juvenile frolics exhibited in London fifty years ago. "She's "old, and had Robin Night work, before I came to Cle- "ment's inn.—Ha, couſin Silence, that thou hadſt That that "this knight and I have ſeen! Hah, Sir John, &c." Falſtaffe's recruits are next brought forward to be inrolled. One of them is ordered to handle his arms: when Shallow ſays, ſtill dwelling on the old favorite theme of Clement's-inn, "He is not his craft-maſter, he doth not do it right. I "remember at Mile-End Green, when I lay at Clement's-inn, "I was then Sir Dagonet in ARTHUR'S SHOW, there was a "little quiver fellow, and he would manage you his piece "thus, &c." Does he mean, that he acted ſir Dagonet at Mile-end Green, or at Clement's-inn? By the application of a parentheſis only, the paſſage will be cleared from ambiguity, and the ſenſe I would aſſign will appear to be juſt. "I re- "member at Mile-end Green, (when I lay at Clement's-inn, "I was then Sir Dagonet in ARTHUR'S SHOW,) there was a "little quiver fellow, &c." That is, "I remember, when "I was a very young man at Clement's-inn, and not fit to "act any higher part than Sir Dagonet in the interludes "which we uſed to play in the ſociety, that among the ſoldiers "who were exerciſed in Mile-end Green, there was one remark- "able fellow, &c[*]." The performance of this part of Sir Dagonet was another of Shallow's feats at Clement's-inn, on which he delights to expatiate: a circumſtance, in the mean time, quite foreign to the purpoſe of what he is ſaying, but introduced, on that account, to heighten the ridicule of his character. Juſt as he had told Silence, a little before, that he ſaw Schoggan's head broke by Falſtaffe at the court-gate,

[*] In the text, "When I *laid* at Clement's inn," is *lodged*, or *lived*. So Leland. "An "old manor-place, where in tymes paſte "ſum of the Moulbrays LAY for a ſtarte." That is LIVED *for a time*, or *ſometimes*. ITIN. vol. i. fol. 119. Again, "Maiſter "Page hath tranſlated the Houſe, and now "much LYITH there." Ibid. fol. 121. And in many other places.

"and

" and the *very same day*, I did fight with one Sampson Stock-" fish, a fruiterer, behind Gray's-inn." Not to mention the satire implied in making Shallow act Sir Dagonet, who was King Arthur's Fool. ARTHUR'S SHOW, here supposed to have been presented at Clement's-inn, was probably an interlude, or masque, which actually existed, and was very popular, in Shakespeare's age: and seems to have been compiled from Mallory's MORTE ARTHUR, or the history of king Arthur, then recently published, and the favorite and most fashionable romance[f].

When the societies of the law performed these shews within their own respective refectories, at Christmas, or any other festival, a Christmas-prince, or revel-master, was constantly appointed. At a Christmas celebrated in the hall of the Middle-temple, in the year 1635, the jurisdiction, privileges, and parade, of this mock-monarch, are thus circumstantially described[g]. He was attended by his lord keeper, lord treasurer, with eight white staves, a captain of his band of pensioners and of his guard; and with two chaplains, who were so seriously impressed with an idea of his regal dignity, that when they preached before him on the preceding Sunday in the Temple church, on ascending the pulpit, they saluted him with three low bows. He dined, both in the hall, and in his privy-chamber, under a cloth of estate. The pole-axes for his gentlemen pensioners were borrowed of lord Salisbury. Lord Holland, his temporary Justice in Eyre, supplied him with venison, on demand: and the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, with wine. On twelfth-day, at going to church, he received many petitions,

[f] That Mile-end green was the place for public sports and exercises, we learn from Froissart. In the affair of Tyler and Straw he says, " Then the kynge sende to them " that they shulde all drawe to a fayre " playne place, called Myle-end, where the " people of the cytie did sport themselves " in the somer season." &c. Berner's TRANSL. tom. i. c. 383. f. 262. a.

[g] See also Dugd. ORIG. Jurid. p. 151. where many of the circumstances of this officer are described at large: who also mentions, at Lincoln's-inn, a KING OF THE COCKNEYS on childermas-day, cap. 64. p. 247.

which

which he gave to his maſter of requeſts: And, like other kings, he had a favorite, whom, with others, gentlemen of high quality, he knighted at returning from church. His expences, all from his own purſe, amounted to two thouſand pounds[h]. We are alſo told, that in the year 1635, "On Shrovetide at night, the lady Hatton feaſted the king, "queen, and princes, at her houſe in Holborn. The Wed-"neſday before, the PRINCE OF THE TEMPLE invited the "prince Elector and his brother to a Maſque at the Temple[i], "which was very compleatly fitted for the variety of the "ſcenes, and excellently well performed. Thither came the "queen with three of her ladies diſguiſed, all clad in the "attire of citizens.—This done, the PRINCE was depoſed, "but ſince the king knighted him at Whitehall[k]."

But theſe ſpectacles and entertainments in our law-ſocieties, not ſo much becauſe they were romantic and ridiculous in their mode of exhibition, as that they were inſtitutions celebrated for the purpoſes of merriment and feſtivity, were ſuppreſſed or ſuſpended under the falſe and illiberal ideas of reformation and religion, which prevailed in the fanatical court of Cromwell. The countenance afforded by a polite court to ſuch entertainments, became the leading topic of animadverſion and abuſe in the miſerable declamations of the puritan theologiſts; who attempted the buſineſs of national reformation without any knowledge of the nature of ſociety, and whoſe cenſures proceeded not ſo much from principles of a purer morality, as from a narrowneſs of mind, and from that ignorance of human affairs which neceſſarily accompanies the operations of enthuſiaſm.

[h] STRAFFORDE'S LETTERS, ut ſupr. vol. i. p. 507. The writer adds, "All "this is done, to make them fit to give the "prince elector a royal entertainment, "with maſks, dancings, and ſome other "exerciſes of wit in orations or arraing-"ments, that day they invite him."

[i] This, I think, was Davenant's TRIUMPHS OF PRINCE D'AMOUR, written at their requeſt for the purpoſe, in three days. The muſic by H. and W. Lawes. The names of the performers are at the end.

[k] Ibid. p. 525. The writer adds, "Mrs. "Baſſet, the great lace-woman of Cheap-"ſide, went foremoſt, and led the queen "by the hand, &c." See ibid. p. 506.

SECT.

SECT. XVII.

WE are now arrived at the commencement of the ſixteenth century. But before I proceed to a formal and particular examination of the poetry of that century, and of thoſe that follow, ſome preliminary conſiderations of a more general nature, and which will have a reference to all the remaining part of our hiſtory, for the purpoſe of preparing the reader, and facilitating our future inquiries, appear to be neceſſary.

On a retroſpect of the fifteenth century, we find much poetry written during the latter part of that period. It is certain, that the recent introduction into England of the art of typography, to which our countrymen afforded the moſt liberal encouragement, and which for many years was almoſt ſolely confined to the impreſſion of Engliſh books, the faſhion of tranſlating the claſſics from French verſions, the growing improvements of the Engliſh language, and the diffuſion of learning among the laity, greatly contributed to multiply Engliſh compoſition, both in proſe and verſe. Theſe cauſes, however, were yet immature; nor had they gathered a ſufficient degree of power and ſtability, to operate on our literature with any vigorous effects.

But there is a circumſtance, which, among ſome others already ſuggeſted, impeded that progreſſion in our poetry, which might yet have been expected under all theſe advantages. A revolution, the moſt fortunate and important in moſt other reſpects, and the moſt intereſting that occurs in the hiſtory of the migration of letters, now began to take place; which, by diverting the attention of ingenious men to new modes of thinking, and the culture of new languages, introduced a new courſe of ſtudy, and gave a temporary

beauties of the Provencial troubadours; and by this new and powerful magic, had in an eminent degree contributed to reclaim, at least for a time, the public taste, from a love of Gothic manners and romantic imagery.

In this country, so happily calculated for their favourable reception, the learned fugitives of Greece, when their empire was now destroyed, found shelter and protection. Hither they imported, and here they interpreted, their antient writers, which had been preserved entire at Constantinople. These being eagerly studied by the best Italian scholars, communicated a taste for the graces of genuine poetry and eloquence; and at the same time were instrumental in propagating a more just and general relish for the Roman poets, orators, and historians. In the mean time a more elegant and sublime philosophy was adopted: a philosophy more friendly to works of taste and imagination, and more agreeable to the sort of reading which was now gaining ground. The scholastic subtleties, and the captious logic of Aristotle, were abolished for the mild and divine wisdom of Plato.

It was a circumstance, which gave the greatest splendour and importance to this new mode of erudition, that it was encouraged by the popes: who, considering the encouragement of literature as a new expedient to establish their authority over the minds of men, and enjoying an opulent and peaceable dominion in the voluptuous region of Italy, extended their patronage on this occasion with a liberality so generous and unreserved, that the court of Rome on a sudden lost its austere character, and became the seat of elegance and urbanity. Nicholas the fifth, about the year 1440, established public rewards at Rome for composition in the learned languages, appointed professors in humanity, and employed intelligent persons to traverse all parts of Europe in search of classic manuscripts buried in the monasteries*.

* See "Dominici Georgii DISSERTATIO "de Nich. quinti erga Lit. et Literat. "Viros Patrocinio." Rom. 1742. 4to. Added to his LIFE.

It

It was by means of the munificent support of pope Nicholas, that Cyriac of Ancona, who may be considered as the first antiquary in Europe, was enabled to introduce a taste for gems, medals, inscriptions, and other curious remains of classical antiquity, which he collected with indefatigable labour in various parts of Italy and Greece [p]. He allowed Francis Philelphus, an elegant Latin poet of Italy, about 1450, a stipend for translating Homer into Latin [q]. Leo the tenth, not less conspicuous for his munificence in restoring letters, descended so far from his apostolical dignity, as to be a spectator of the POENULUS of Plautus; which was performed in a temporary theatre in the court of the capitol, by the flower of the Roman youth, with the addition of the most costly decorations [r]: and Leo, while he was pouring the thunder of his anathemas against the heretical doctrines of Martin Luther, published a bulle of excommunication against all those who should dare to censure the poems of Ariosto. It was under the pontificate of Leo, that a perpetual indulgence was granted for rebuilding the church of a monastery, which possessed a manuscript of Tacitus [s].

[p] See Fr. Burmanni PRÆFAT. ad Inscription. Gruterian. Amstel. 1707. fol. Baluz. MISCELL. tom. vi. p. 539. Ant. Augustini DIALOG. DE NUMISMAT. ix. xi. Voss. de HISTOR. LAT. p. 809. His ITINERARIUM was printed at Florence, by L. Mehus, 1742. 8vo. See Leon. Aretini EPISTOL. tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149. And GIORNAL. *de' Letterati d'Italia*. tom. xxi. p. 428. See the COLLECTION of *Inscriptions*, by P. Apianus, and B. Amantius, Ingoldstat. 1634. fol. at the MONUM. GADITAN.

[q] Philelph. EPIST. xxiv. 1. xxxvi. 1. In the EPISTLE of Philelphus, and in his ten books of SATIRES in Latin verse, are many curious particulars relating to the literary history of those times. Venet. fol. 1502. His NICOLAUS, or two books of Lyrics, is a panegyric on the life and acts of pope Nicholas the fifth.

[r] It was in the year 1513, on occasion of Julian Medicis, Leo's brother, being made free of Rome. P. Jovius, HIST. lib. xi. ad calc. And VIT. LEON. lib. iii. p. 185. Jovius says, that the actors were *Romanæ juventutis lepidissimi*. And that several pieces of poetry were recited at the same time. Leo was also present at an Italian comedy, written by cardinal Bibienna, called CALANDRA, in honour of the Duchess of Mantua. It was acted by noble youths in the spacious apartments of the Vatican, and Leo was placed in a sort of throne. Jov. in VIT. p. 189.

[s] Paulus Jovius relates an anecdote of pope Leo the tenth, which shews that some passages in the classics were studied at the court of Rome to very bad purposes. I must give it in his own words. "Non caruit "etiam infamia, quod parum honeste non- "nullos e cubiculariis suis (erant enim e "tota Italia nobilissimi) adamare, et cum "his tenerius atque libere jocari videretur." In VITA LEONIS X. p. 192.

It is obvious to obſerve, how little conformable, this juſt taſte, theſe elegant arts, and theſe new amuſements, proved in their conſequences to the ſpirit of the papal ſyſtem: and it is remarkable, that the court of Rome, whoſe ſole deſign and intereſt it had been for ſo many centuries, to enſlave the minds of men, ſhould be the firſt to reſtore the religious and intellectual liberties of Europe. The apoſtolical fathers, aiming at a fatal and ill-timed popularity, did not reflect, that they were ſhaking the throne, which they thus adorned.

Among thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the exerciſe of theſe ſtudies, the firſt and moſt numerous were the Italian eccleſiaſtics. If not from principles of inclination, and a natural impulſe to follow the paſſion of the times, it was at leaſt their intereſt, to concur in forwarding thoſe improvements, which were commended, countenanced, and authoriſed, by their ſpiritual ſovereign: they abandoned the pedantries of a barbarous theology, and cultivated the pureſt models of antiquity. The cardinals and biſhops of Italy compoſed Latin verſes, and with a ſucceſs attained by none in more recent times, in imitation of Lucretius, Catullus, and Virgil. Nor would the encouragement of any other European potentate have availed ſo much, in this great work of reſtoring literature: as no other patronage could have operated with ſo powerful and immediate an influence on that order of men, who, from the nature of their education and profeſſion, muſt always be the principal inſtruments in ſupporting every ſpecies of liberal erudition.

And here we cannot but obſerve the neceſſary connection between literary compoſition and the arts of deſign. No ſooner had Italy baniſhed the Gothic ſtyle in eloquence and poetry, than painting, ſculpture, and architecture, at the ſame time, and in the ſame country, arrived at maturity, and appeared in all their original ſplendour. The beautiful or ſublime ideas which the Italian artiſts had conceived from the contemplation of antient ſtatues and antient temples,

were

were invigorated by the descriptions of Homer and Sophocles. Petrarch was crowned in the capitol, and Raphael was promoted to the dignity of a cardinal.

These improvements were soon received in other countries. Lascaris, one of the most learned of the Constantinopolitan exiles, was invited into France by Lewis the twelfth, and Francis the first: and it was under the latter of these monarch that he was employed to form a library at Fontainbleau, and to introduce Greek professors into the university of Paris [t]. Yet we find Gregory Typhernas teaching Greek at Paris, so early as the year 1472 [u]. About the same time, Antonius Eparchus of Corsica sold one hundred Greek books to the emperour Charles the fifth and Francis the first [v], those great rivals, who agreed in nothing, but in promoting the cause of literature. Francis the first maintained even a Greek secretary, the learned Angelus Vergerius, to whom he assigned, in the year 1541, a pension of four hundred livres from his exchequer [x]. He employed Julius Camillus to teach him to speak fluently the language of Cicero and Demosthenes, in the space of a month: but so chimerical an attempt necessarily proved abortive, yet it shewed his passion for letters [y]. In the year 1474, the parliament of Paris, who, like other public bodies, eminent for their wisdom, could proceed on no other foundation than that of ancient forms and customs, and were alarmed at the appearance of an innovation, commanded a cargo of books, some of the first specimens of typography, which were imported into Paris by a factor of the city of Mentz, to be seized and destroyed.

[t] Du Breul, ANTIQUITEZ de Paris, liv. ii. 1639. 4to. p. 563. Bembi HIST. VENET. par. ii. p. 76. And R. Simon, CRITIQUE *de la Bibl. Eccles.* par du Pin, tom. i. p. 502. 512.

[u] Hody, p. 233.

[v] Morhoff, POLYHIST. iv. 6.

[x] Du Breul, ibid. p. 568. It is a just remark of P. Victorius, that Francis the first, by founding beautiful Greek and Roman types at his own cost, invited many students, who were caught by the elegance of the impression, to read the antient books. PRÆFAT. AD COMMENT. in octo libr. Aristotelis de Opt. Statu Civitat.

[y] Alciati EPISTOL. xxiii. inter GUDIANAS, pag. 109.

Francis

Francis the first would not suffer so great a dishonour to remain on the French nation; and although he interposed his authority too late for a revocation of the decree, he ordered the full price to be paid for the books. This was the same parliament that opposed the reformation of the calendar, and the admission of any other philosophy than that of Aristotle. Such was Francis's sollicitude to encourage the graces of a classical style, that he abolished the Latin tongue from all public acts of justice, because the first president of the parliament of Paris had used a barbarous term in pronouncing sentence[b]: and because the Latin code and judicial processes, hitherto adopted in France, familiarised the people to a base Latinity. At the same time, he ordered these formularies to be turned, not into good Latin, which would have been absurd or impossible, but into pure French[c]: a reformation which promoted the culture of the vernacular tongue. He was the first of the kings of France, that encouraged brilliant assemblies of ladies to frequent the French court: a circumstance, which not only introduced new splendour and refinement into the parties and carousals of the court of that monarchy, but gave a new turn to the manners of the French ecclesiastics, who of course attended the king, and destroyed much of their monkish pedantry[d].

When we mention the share which Germany took in the restitution of letters, she needs no greater panegyric, than that her mechanical genius added, at a lucky moment, to all these fortunate contingencies in favour of science, an admirable invention, which was of the most singular utility in facilitating the diffusion of the antient writers over every part of Europe: I mean the art of printing. By this observation, I do not mean to insinuate that Germany kept no pace with

[b] Matagonis de Matagonibus adversus Italogalliam Antonii Matharelli, p. 226.

[c] Varillas, Hist. de François I. livr. ix. pag. 381.

[d] Brantome, Mem. tom. i. p. 227. Mezerai, Hist. France, sur Hen. III. tom. iii. p. 446. 447.

her

her neighbours in the production of philological ſcholars. Rodolphus Langius, a canon of Munſter, and a tolerable Latin poet, after many ſtruggles with the inveterate prejudices and authoritative threats of German biſhops, and German univerſities, opened a ſchool of humanity at Munſter: which ſupplied his countrymen with every ſpecies of elegant learning, till it was overthrown by the fury of fanaticiſm, and the revolutions introduced by the barbarous reformations of the anabaptiſtic zealots, in the year 1534[u]. Reuchlin, otherwiſe called Capnio, cooperated with the laudable endeavours of Langius by profeſſing Greek, before the year 1490, at Baſil[v]. Soon afterwards he tranſlated Homer, Ariſtophanes, Plato, Xenophon, Æſchines, and Lucian, into Latin, and Demoſthenes into German. At Heidelberg he founded a library, which he ſtored with the choiceſt Greek manuſcripts. It is worthy to remark, that the firſt public inſtitution in any European univerſity for promoting polite literature, by which I underſtand theſe improvements in erudition, appears to have been eſtabliſhed at Vienna. In the year 1501, Maximilian the firſt, who, like Julius Cæſar, had compoſed a commentary on his own illuſtrious military achievements, founded in the univerſity of Vienna a COLLEGE of POETRY. This ſociety conſiſted of four profeſſors: one for poetry, a ſecond for oratory, and two others for mathematics. The profeſſor of poetry was ſo ſtyled, becauſe he preſided over all the reſt: and the firſt perſon appointed to this office was Conradus Celtes, one of the reſtorers of the Greek language in Germany, an elegant Latin poet, a critic on the art of Latin verſification, the firſt poet laureate of his country, and the firſt who introduced the practice of acting Latin tragedies and

[u] D. Chytræus, SAXONIA. l. iii. p. 80. Trithem. p. 993. De S. E. Et DE LUMINARIB. GERMAN. p. 239.

[v] See EPISTOL. CLAROR. VIROR. ad Reuchlin. p. m. 4. 17. Maius, in VITA REUCHLINI, &c. [See ſupr. p. 376.]

comedies

comedies in public, after the manner of Terence[a]. It was the business of this professor, to examine candidates in philology; and to reward those who appeared to have made a distinguished proficiency in classical studies with a crown of laurel. Maximilian's chief and general design in this institution, was to restore the languages and the eloquence of Greece and Rome[f].

Among the chief restorers of literature in Spain, about 1490, was Antonio de Lebrixa, one of the professors in the university of Alacala, founded by the magnificent cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo. It was to the patronage of Ximenes that Lebrixa owed his celebrity[g]. Profoundly versed in every species of sacred and profane learning, and appointed to the respectable office of royal historian, he chose to be distinguished only by the name of the grammarian[h]; that is, a teacher of polite letters. In this department, he enriched the seminaries of Spain with new systems of grammar, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and, with a view to reduce his native tongue under some critical laws, he wrote comparative lexicons, in the Latin, Castilian, and Spanish languages. These, at this time, were

[a] Celtes dedicates his AMORES, or Latin Elegies, to Maximilian, in a latin panegyric prefixed; in which he compliments the emperor, "You who have this year "endowed most liberally the muses, long "wandering, and banished from Germany "by the calumnies of certain unskilful men, "with a college and a perpetual stipend: "having, moreover, according to a custom "practised in my time at Rome, delegated "to me and my successors, in your stead, "the authority of creating and laureating "poets in the said college, &c." PANEG. PRIM. ad Maximilian. IMP. Signat. a. ii. AMORES, &c. Noringb. 1502. 4to. The same author, in his DESCRIPTION of the city of Nuremburgh, written in 1501, mentions it as a circumstance of importance and a singularity, that a person skilled in the Roman literature had just begun to give lectures in a public building, to the ingenuous youth of that city, in poetry and oratory, with a salary of one hundred aurei, as was the practice in the cities of Italy. Descript. URB. NORINGB. cap. xii.

[f] See the imperial patent for erecting this college, in Frehenus's GERMAN. RERUM SCRIPTOR. VAR. &c. tom. ii. fol. Francof. 1602. p. 837. And by J. Henry Van Seelen, Lubec. 4to. 1723. And in his SELECT. LITERAR. p. 488. In this patent, the purpose of the foundation is declared to be, "restituere abolitam prisci "sæculi eloquentiam."

[g] See Nic. Antoni. BIBL. NOV. HISPAN. tom. i. p. 104. — 109.

[h] L. Vives, de Causis CORRUPTARUM ART. ii. p. 72.

plans

plans of a moſt extraordinary nature in Spain; and placed the literature of his country, which, from the phlegmatic temper of the inhabitants was tenacious of antient forms, on a much wider baſis than before. To theſe he added a manual of rhetoric, compiled from Ariſtotle, Tully, and Quintilian: together with commentaries on Terence, Virgil, Juvenal, Perſius, and other claſſics. He was deputed by Ximenes, with other learned linguiſts, to ſuperintend the grand Complutenſian edition of the bible: and in the conduct of that laborious work, he did not eſcape the cenſure of heretical impiety for exerciſing his critical ſkill on the ſacred text, according to the ideas of the holy inquiſition, with too great a degree of preciſion and accuracy [i].

Even Hungary, a country by no means uniformly advanced with other parts of Europe in the common arts of civiliſation, was illuminated with the diſtant dawning of ſcience. Mattheo Corvini, king of Hungary and Bohemia, in the fifteenth century, and who died in 1490, was a lover and a guardian of literature [k]. He purchaſed innumerable volumes of Greek and Hebrew writers at Conſtantinople and other Grecian cities, when they were ſacked by the Turks: and, as the operations of typography were now but imperfect, employed at Florence many learned librarians to multiply copies of claſſics, both Greek and Latin, which he could not procure in Greece [l]. Theſe, to the number of fifty thouſand, he placed in a tower, which he had erected in the metropolis of Buda [m]: and in this library he eſtabliſhed thirty amanuenſes, ſkilled in painting, illuminating, and writing: who, under the conduct of Felix Ragufinus, a

[i] See Alvarus Gomeſius de VITA XIMENIS, lib. ii. pag. 43. Nic. Anton. ut ſupr. p. 109. Imbonatus, BIBL. LATINO-HEBR. p. 315.

[k] See Petr. Jaenichii NOTIT. BIBLIOTH. THORUNIENSIS, p. 32. Who has written a DISSERTATION *De meritis Matthiæ Corvini in rem literariam.*

[l] See Joh. Alex. Braſſicani PRÆFAT. AD SALVIANUM, Baſil. 1530. fol. And MADERUS DE BIBLIOTHECIS. p. 145. 149.

[m] Anton. Bonfinii RER. HUNGAR. Decad. iv. lib. 7. p. 460. edit. 1690.

 Dalmatian,

Dalmatian, consummately learned in the Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic languages, and an elegant designer and painter of ornaments on vellum, attended incessantly to the business of transcription and decoration[n]. The librarian was Bartholomew Fontius, a learned Florentine, the writer of many philological works[o], and a professor of Greek and oratory at Florence. When Buda was taken by the Turks in the year 1526, cardinal Bozmanni offered for the redemption of this inestimable collection, two hundred thousand pieces of the Imperial money: yet without effect, for the barbarous besiegers defaced or destroyed most of the books, in the violence of seizing the splendid covers and the silver bosses and clasps with which they were enriched[p]. The learned Obsopaeus relates, that a book was brought him by an Hungarian soldier, which he had picked up, with many others, in the pillage of king Corvino's library, and had preserved as a prize, merely because the covering retained some marks of gold and rich workmanship. This proved to be a manuscript of the ETHIOPICS of Heliodorus; from which, in the year 1534, Obsopaeus printed at Basil the first edition of that elegant Greek romance[q].

But as this incidental sketch of the history of the revival of modern learning, is intended to be applied to the general subject of my work, I hasten to give a detail of the rise and

[n] Belius, APPARAT. AD HISTOR. HUNGAR. Dec. i. cap. 5.

[o] Among other things, he wrote Commentaries on Persius, Juvenal, Livy, and Aristotle's POETICS. He translated Phalaris's Epistles into the Tuscan language, published at Florence 1491. Crescimbeni has placed him among the the Italian poets. Lambeccius says, that in the year 1665, he was sent to Buda by the emperor Leopold, to examine what remained in this library. After repeated delays and difficulties, he was at length permitted by the Turks to enter the room: where he saw about four hundred books, printed, and of no value, dispersed on the floor, and covered with dust and filth. Lambeccius supposes, that the Turks, knowing the condition of the books, were ashamed to give him admittance. COMMENT. DE BIBL. VINDOBON. lib. ii. c. ix. p. 993.

[p] COLLECTIO Madero-Schmidiana, ACCESS. i. p. 310. seq. Belius, ut supr. tom. iii. p. 225.

[q] In the PREFACE. See Neandri PARAFAT. AD GNOMOLOG. Stobæi, p. 27.

progress

progreſs of theſe improvements in England: nor ſhall I ſcruple, for the ſake of producing a full and uniform view, to extend the enquiry to a diſtant period.

Efforts were made in our Engliſh univerſities for the revival of critical ſtudies, much ſooner than is commonly imagined. So early as the year 1439, William Byngham, rector of Saint John Zachary in London, petitioned king Henry the ſixth, in favour of his grammar ſcholars, for whom he had erected a commodious manſion at Cambridge, called God's House, and which he had given to the college of Clare-hall: to the end, that twenty-four youths, under the direction and government of a learned prieſt, might be there perpetually educated, and be from thence tranſmitted, in a conſtant ſucceſſion, into different parts of England, to thoſe places where grammar ſchools had fallen into a ſtate of deſolation [r]. In the year 1498, Alcock biſhop of Ely founded Jeſus College in Cambridge, partly for a certain number of ſcholars to be educated in grammar [s]. Yet there is reaſon to apprehend, that theſe academical pupils in grammar, with which the art of rhetoric was commonly

[r] Ubi ſcholæ grammaticales exiſtunt deſolatæ." Pat. Hen. vi. ann. reg. xvii. p. 2. membr. 16.

[s] Rymer, Fœder. xii. 653. We find early eſtabliſhments of this ſort in the colleges of Paris. In the year 1304, queen Jane founded the college of Navarre, at Paris, for thirty theologiſts, thirty artiſts, and twenty GRAMMARIANS, who are alſo called *Enfans eſcholiers en grammaire*. They are ordered to hear *lectiones*, [leſſons] *materias, et verſus, prout in ſcholis grammaticalibus conſuevit*. Boul. HIST. ACAD. PARIS. vol. iv. p. 74. But the college of AVE MARIA, at Paris, founded in 1339, is for a Maſter and ſix boys only, from nine to ſixteen years. Boul. ibid. p. 261. The ſociety of Metton college, in Oxford, founded in 1272, originally maintained in the univerſity ſuch boys as claimed kindred to the founder, biſhop Walter de Merton, in grammar learning, and all neceſſaries, ſometimes till they were capable of taking a degree. They were placed in Nun-hall, adjoining to the college on the eaſt. "Expenſ. factæ per Thomam de Herlyng-"ton, pro pueris de genere fundatoris a "feſt. Epiph. uſque ad feſt. S. Petri ad "vincula, 21 Edw. iii. A.D. 1347."— "*Item*, in filo albo et viridi, et ceteris "pertinenciis, ad reparationem veſtium "tam artiſtarum quam GRAMMATICO-"RUM, vid. *Item*, Mag. Joh. Cornubienſi "pro ſalario SCHOLÆ, in tertio quadrage-"ſimali, xd. Et hoſtiario [uſher] ſuo, "ii d. ob. *Item*, Mag. Joh. Cornubienſi "pro tertio eſtivali, xd. Et hoſtiario ſuo, "ii d. ob." A. Wood, MS. Coll. Merton COLLECTAN. [Cod. MSS. Ballard. Bibl. Bodl. 46.]

joined, instead of studying the real models of style, were chiefly trained in systematic manuals of these sciences, filled with unprofitable definitions and unnecessary distinctions: and that in learning the arts of elegance, they acquired the barbarous improprieties of diction which those arts were intended to remove and reform. That the foundations I have mentioned did not produce any lasting beneficial effects, and that the technical phraseology of metaphysics and casuistry still continued to prevail at Cambridge, appears from the following anecdote. In the reign of Henry the seventh, that university was so destitute of skill in latinity, that it was obliged to hire an Italian, one Caius Auberinus, for composing the public orations and epistles, whose fee was at the rate of twenty-pence for an epistle [t]. The same person was employed to explain Terence in the public schools [u]. Undoubtedly the same attention to a futile philosophy, to unintelligible elucidations of Scotus and Aquinas, notwithstanding the accessions accruing to science from the establishment of the Humfredian library, had given the same tincture to the ordinary course of studies at Oxford. For, about the year 1468, the university of Oxford complimented Chadworth bishop of Lincoln, for his care and endeavours in restoring grammatical literature, which, as they represent, had long decayed and been forgotten in that seminary [w].

[t] MSS. Bibl. C. C. C. Camb. MISCELL. F. p. 194. *Officium magistri Glomeriæ.* I observe here, that Giles du Vadis, or Ægidius Dewes, successively royal librarian at Westminster, to Henry the seventh and eighth, was a Frenchman. The last king granted him a salary for that office, of ten pounds, in the year 1522. Priv. Sig. 13 Henr. viii. Offic. Pell. He was preceptor in French to Henry eighth, prince Arthur, princess Mary, the kings of France and Scotland, and the marquis of Exeter. Stowe, LONDON, p. 230. Among other things of the sort, he wrote at the command of Henry, *An Introductorie for to lerne to rede, to pronounce, and to speak French truely compyled for the princess Mary.* Lond. p. Waley, 4to. [See Pref. Palsgrave's LESCLAIRCISSEMENT]. He died in 1535.

[u] "Quod fecit admodum frigide, ut ea "erant tempora." Libi Matt. Archiep. Parker, MSS. BAKER, MSS. Harl. 7046. f. 125, 6.

[w] Registr. Univ. Oxon. FF. [EPISTOL. ACAD.] fol. 254. The Epistles in this Register, contain many local anecdotes of the restoration of learning at Oxford.

But

But although these gleams of science long struggled with the scholastic cloud which inveloped our universities, we find the culture of the classics embraced in England much sooner than is supposed. Before the year 1490, many of our countrymen appear to have turned their thoughts to the revival of the study of classics: yet, chiefly in consequence of their communications with Italy, and, as most of them were clergymen, of the encouragements they received from the liberality of the Roman pontiffs [x]. Millyng, abbot of Westminster, about the year 1480, understood the Greek language: which yet is mentioned as a singular accomplishment, in one, although a prelate, of the monastic profession [y]. Robert Flemmyng studied the Greek and Latin languages under Baptista Guarini at Ferrara; and at his return into England, was preferred to the deanery of Lincoln about the

[x] Such of our countrymen as wrote in Latin at this period, and were entirely educated at home without any connections with Italy, wrote a style not more classical than that of the monkish latin annalists who flourished two or three centuries before. I will instance only in Ross of Warwick, author of the HISTORIA REGUM ANGLIÆ, educated at Oxford, an ecclesiastic, and esteemed an eminent scholar. Nor is the plan of Ross's History, which was finished so late as the year 1483, less barbarous than his latinity; for in writing a chronicle of the kings of England, he begins, according to the constant practice of the monks, with the creation and the first ages of the world, and adopts all their legends and fables. His motives for undertaking this work are exceedingly curious. He is speaking of the method of perpetuating the memories of famous men by statues: "Also in our churches, tabernacles in stone-work, or niches, are wrought for containing images of this kind. For instance, in the new work of the college of Windsor, [i. e. saint George's chapel,] such tabernacles abound, both within and without the building. Wherefore, being requested, about the latter end of the reign of king Edward the fourth, by the venerable master Edward Seymor, Master of the Works there, and at the desire of the said king, to compile a history of those kings and princes who have founded churches and cities, that the images placed in those niches might appear to greater advantage, and more effectually preserve the names of the persons represented; at the instance of this my brother-student at Oxford, and especially at the desire of the said most noble monarch, as also to exhilarate the minds of his royal successours, I have undertaken his work, &c." Edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1745. p. 120, 8vo.

[y] Leland, in V. One Adam Eston, educated at Oxford, a Benedictine monk of Norwich, and who lived at Rome the greatest part of his life, is said to have written many pieces in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He died at Rome, in the year 1397. Tanner, p. 266. Leland mentions John Bate, a Carmelite, of York, about the year 1429, as a Greek scholar. Scriptor. BATUS.

year

year 1450[a]. During the reign of Edward the fourth, he was at Rome; where he wrote an elegant Latin poem in heroic verſe, entitled LUCUBRATIONES TIBURTINÆ, which he inſcribed to pope Sixtus his ſingular patron[a]. It has theſe three chaſte and ſtrong hexameters, in which he deſcribes the perſon of that illuſtrious pontiff.

Sane, quiſquis in hunc oculos converterit acreis,
In facie vultuque viri ſublime videbit
Elucere aliquid, majeſtatemque verendam.

Leland aſſures us, that he ſaw in the libraries of Oxford a Greco-Latin lexicon, compiled by Flemmyng, which has eſcaped my ſearches. He left many volumes, beautifully written and richly illuminated, to Lincoln college in Oxford, where he had received his academical education[b]. About the ſame period, John Gunthorpe, afterwards, among other numerous and eminent promotions, dean of Wells, keeper of the privy ſeal, and maſter of King's hall in Cambridge, attended alſo the philological lectures of Guarini: and for the poliſhed latinity with which he wrote EPISTLES and ORATIONS, compoſitions at that time much in uſe and requeſt, was appointed by king Edward the fourth Latin ſecretary to queen Anne, in the year 1487[c]. The manuſcripts

[a] Wood, HIST. UNIV. OXON. ii. 62. Wharton, APPEND. p. 155. Bate, viii. 21.

[a] Printed at Ferrara, 1477. 8vo. In two books. He was prothonotary to pope Sixtus. In this poem he mentions Baptiſta Platina, the librarian at Rome; who, together with moſt of the Italian ſcholars, was his familiar friend. See Carbo's funeral Oration on Guarini. I know not whether one John Opicius, our countryman as it ſeems, and a Latin poet, improved his taſte in Italy about this time: but he has left ſome copies of elegant Latin verſes. MSS. COTTON. VESPAS. B. iv. One is, *De regis Henrici ſeptimi in Galliam progreſſu.* It begins, "Bella canant alii Trojæ, proſtrataque dicant." Another is, *De ejuſdem laudibus ſub prætextu roſæ purpureæ*, a dialogue between Mopſus and Melibeus. One of the poems, *On Chriſtmas*, has the date 1497.

[b] Lel. ibid.

[c] Pat. 7. Edw. iv. m. 2. Five of his ORATIONS before illuſtrious perſonages are extant, MSS. Bodl. NE. F. ii. 20. In the ſame manuſcript are his ANNOTATIONES *quædam* CRITICÆ *in verba quædam apud poetas citata.* He gave many books, collected in Italy, to Jeſus college at Cambridge. Lel. COLL. iii. 13. He was ambaſſador to the king of Caſtile, in 1466, and 1470. Rymer, FOED. xi. 572. 653. Bale mentions his *Diverſi generis* CARMINA. viii. 42. And a book on Rhetoric.

collected

collected in Italy, which he gave to both the universities of England, were of much more real value, than the sumptuous silver image of the virgin Mary, weighing one hundred and forty-three ounces, which he presented to his cathedral of Wells [d]. William Gray imbibed under the same preceptors a knowledge of the best Greek and Roman writers: and in the year 1454, was advanced by pope Nicholas the fifth, equally a judge and a protector of scholars, to the bishoprick of Ely [e]. This prelate employed at Venice and Florence many scribes and illuminators [f], in preparing copies of the classics and other useful books, which he gave to the library of Baliol college in Oxford [g], at that time esteemed the best in the university. John Phrea, or Free, an ecclesiastic of Bristol, receiving information from the Italian merchants who trafficked at Bristol, that multitudes of strangers were constantly crouding to the capitals of Italy for instruction in the learned languages, passed over to Ferrara; where he became a fellow-student with the prelate last mentioned, by whose patronage and assistance his studies were supported [h]. He translated Diodorus Siculus, and many pieces of Xenophon, into Latin [i]. On account of the former work, he was nominated bishop of Bath and Wells by pope Paul the second,

[d] Registr. Eccles. Wellens.

[e] Wharton, ANGL. SACR. i. 672.

[f] One of those was Antoninus Marius. In Baliol college library, one of bishop Gray's manuscripts has this entry. "Antonius Marii filius Florentinus civis transcripsi ab originalibus exemplaribus, 2 Jul. 1448. &c." MSS. lxviii. [Apud MSS. Langb. BAL. p. 81.] See Leland. COLL. iii. p. 21.

[g] Leland, COLL. ut supr. p. 61.

[h] Among Phrea's EPISTLES in Baliol library, one is PRECEPTORI SUO GUARINO, whose epistles are full of encomiums on Phreas, MSS. Bal. Coll. Oxon. G. 9. See ten of his epistles, five of which are written from Italy to bishop Gray, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. ii. 20. In one of these he complains, that the bishop's remittances of money had failed, and that he was obliged to pawn his books and clothes to Jews at Ferrara.

[i] He also translated into latin Synesius's PANEGYRIC ON BALDNESS. Printed, Basil. 1521. 8vo. [Whence Abraham Flemming made his English translation, London, 1579.] Leland mentions some flowing latin heroics, which he addressed to his patron Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, in which Bacchus expostulates with a goat gnawing a vine. COLL. iii. 13. And SCRIPTOR. PHREAS. His COSMOGRAPHIA MUNDI is a collection from Pliny. Leland, COLL. iii. p. 58. See MSS. Br. Twyne, 8. pag. 285.

but

but died before consecration in the year 1464[k]. His Latin Epistles, five of which are addressed to his patron the bishop of Ely, discover an uncommon terseness and facility of expression. It was no inconsiderable testimony of Phrea's taste, that he was requested by some of his elegant Italian friends, to compose a new epitaph in Latin elegiacs for Petrarch's tomb: the original inscription in monkish rhymes, not agreeing with the new and improved ideas of Latin versification[l]. William Sellynge, a fellow of All Souls college in Oxford, disgusted with the barren and contracted circle of philosophy taught by the irrefragable professors of that ample seminary, acquired a familiarity with the most excellent antient authors, and cultivated the conversation of Politian at Bononia[m], to whom he introduced the learned Linacer[n]. About the year 1460, he returned into England; and being elected prior of Christ-Church at Canterbury, enriched the library of that fraternity with an inestimable collection of Greek and Roman manuscripts, which he had amassed in Italy[o]. It has been said, that among these books, which were all soon afterwards accidentally consumed by fire, there was a complete copy of Cicero's Platonic system of politics DE REPUBLICA[p]. King Henry the seventh sent Sellynge in

[k] See Leland, COLL. iii. 58. Wood, HIST. UNIV. OXON. ii. 76.

[l] See Leland, COLL. iii. 13. 63. Leland says that he had the new epitaph, *Novum ac elegans*. SCRIPTOR. Phreas. "Tuscia "me genuit, &c."

[m] Leland, CELLINGUS.

[n] Id. ITIN. vi. f. 5.

[o] Wood, HIST. UNIV. OXON. ii. 177. In a monastic OBITARY, cited by Wharton, he is said to be, "Latina quoque et GRÆCA lingua apprime institutus." It is added, that he adorned the library over the prior's chapel with exquisite sculptures, and furnished it with books, and that he glazed the south side of the cloysters of his monastery, for the use of his studious brethren, placing on the walls new TEXTS, or inscriptions, called CAROLI, or carols. ANGL. Sacr. i. p. 145. sef.

[p] This is asserted on the authority of Leland. SCRIPTOR. ut supr. [See supr. p. 218.] Cardinal Pole expended two thousand crowns in searching for Tully's Six Books DE REPUBLICA in Poland, but without success. EPISTOL. Aschami ad Sturm. dat. 14 Sept. 1555. lib. i. p. 99. And Sturmius, in a letter to Ascham [dat. 30 Jan. 1552.] says, that a person in his neighbourhood had flattered him with a promise of this inestimable treasure. Barthius reports, that they were in the monastery of Fulda, on vellum, but destroyed by the soldiers in a pillage of that convent. Christiani Feustell. MISCELLAN. p. 47. Compare Mabillon. MUS. ITALIC. tom. i. p. 79.

the quality of an envoy to the king of France: before whom he ſpoke a moſt elegant Latin oration[p]. It is mentioned on his monument, now remaining in Canterbury cathedral, that he underſtood Greek.

Doctor theologus Selling, GRÆCA atque *Latina*
Lingua perdoctus.— — —

This is an uncommon topic of praiſe in an abbot's epitaph. William Grocyn, a fellow of New college at Oxford, purſued the ſame path about the year 1488: and having perfected his knowledge of the Greek tongue, with which he had been before tinctured, at Florence under Demetrius Chalcondylas and Politian, and at Rome under Hermolaus Barbarus, became the firſt voluntary lecturer of that language at Oxford, before the year 1490[q]. Yet Polydore Virgil, perhaps only from a natural partiality to his county, affirms, that Cornelius Vitellus, an Italian of noble birth, and of the moſt accompliſhed learning, was the firſt who taught the Greek and Roman claſſics at Oxford[r]. Nor muſt I forget to mention John Tiptoft, the unfortunate earl of Worceſter; who, in the reign of Henry the ſixth, rivalled the moſt learned eccleſiaſtics of his age, in the diligence and felicity with which he proſecuted the politer ſtudies. At Padua, his ſingular ſkill in refined Latinity endeared him to

i. p. 79. Iſaac Bullart relates, that in the year 1576, during the ſiege of Moſcow, ſome noble Poliſh officers, accompanied by one Voinuſkius, a man profoundly ſkilled in the learned languages, made an excurſion into the interior parts of Muſcovy; where they found, among other valuable monuments of antient literature, Tully's REPUBLIC, written in golden letters. ACAD. Art. Scient. tom. p. 87. It is to be wiſhed, that the ſame good fortune which diſcovers this work of Cicero, will alſo reſtore the remainder of Ovid's FASTI, the loſt Decads of Livy, the ANTICATONES of Ceſar, and an entire copy of Petronius.

[p] From his EPITAPH.

[q] Wood, HIST. UNIV. OXON. i. 246. See Fiddes's WOLSEY, p. 201.

[r] ANGL. HISTOR. lib. xxvi. p. 610. 30. edit. Baſil. 1534. fol. But he ſeems to have only been ſchoolmaſter of Magdalen or New-college. See Nic. Harpsfield, HIST. ECCLES. p. 651. who ſays, that this Vitellius ſpoke his *firſt oration* at New-college. "Qui *primam* ſuam *orationem* in "collegio Wiccamenſi habuit."

pope Pius the ſecond, and to the moſt capital ornaments of the Italian ſchool [t]. His Latin Letters ſtill remain, and abundantly prove his abilities and connections [t]. He tranſlated Cicero's dialogue on FRIENDSHIP into Engliſh [u]. He was the common patron of all his ingenious countrymen, who about this period were making rapid advances in a more rational and ample plan of ſtudy; and, among other inſtances of his unwearied liberality to true literature, he prepared a preſent of choſen manuſcript books, valued at five hundred marcs, for the encreaſe of the Humphredian library at Oxford, then recently inſtituted [v]. Theſe books appear to have been purchaſed in Italy; at that time the grand and general mart of antient authors, eſpecially the Greek claſſics [x]. For the Turkiſh emperors, now ſeated at

[t] See Ware, SCRIPT. HIBERN. ii. 133. Camd. BRIT. p. 436. And the Funeral Oration of Ludovico Carbo, on Guarini.

[t] In this correſpondence, four letters are written by the earl, viz. To Laurence More, John Fre or Phrea, William Atteclyff, and *Magiſter* Vincent. To the earl are letters of Galeotus Martius, Baptiſta Guarini, and other *anonymous* friends. MSS. Eccleſ. Cathedr. Lincoln.

[u] Printed by Caxton, 1481. fol. Leland thinks, that the verſion of Tully *de Senectute*, printed alſo by Caxton, was made by this earl. But this tranſlation was made by William of Wyrceſtre, or William Botoner, an eminent phyſician and antiquary, from the French of Lawrence Premierfait, and preſented by the tranſlator to biſhop Waynflete, Aug. 20, 1473. See MSS. Harl. 4329. 2. 3. Typtoft alſo tranſlated into Engliſh two elegant Latin ORATIONS of Bonatuſius Magnomontanus, ſuppoſed to be ſpoken by C. Scipio and C. Flaminius, who were rivals in the courtſhip of Lucretia. This verſion was printed by Caxton, with Tully's two DIALOGUES abovementioned. He has left other pieces.

[v] EPIST. Acad. Oxon. 259. Regiſtr. F F. f. 121. I ſuſpect, that on the earl's execution, in 1470, they were never received by the univerſity. Wood, ANTIQ. Un. Oxon. ii. 50. Who adds, that the earl meditated a benefaction of the ſame kind to Cambridge.

[x] As the Greek language became faſhionable in the courſe of erudition, we find the petty ſcholars affecting to underſtand Greek. This appears from the following paſſage in Barclay's SHIP OF FOOLES, written, as we have ſeen, about the end of the fifteenth century:

Another boaſteth himſelf that hath bene
In Greece at ſcholes, and many other lande;
But if that he were appoſed * well, I wene
The Greekes letters he ſcant doth underſtand.

Edit. 1570. ut ſupr. fol. 185. a. With regard to what is here ſuggeſted, of our countrymen reſorting to Greece for inſtruction, Rhenanus acquaints us, that Lily, the famous grammarian, was not only intimately acquainted with the whole circle of Greek authors, but with the domeſtic life and familiar converſation of the Greeks, he having lived ſome time in the iſland of Rhodes. PRÆFAT. ad T. Mori EPIGRAM.

* Examined.

edit.

Constantinople, particularly Bajazet the second, freely imparted these treasures to the Italian emissaries, who availing themselves of the fashionable enthusiasm, traded in the cities of Greece for the purpose of purchasing books, which they

edit. Basil. 1520. 4to. He staid at Rhodes five years. This was about the year 1500. I have before mentioned a Translation of Vegetius's TACTICS, written at Rhodes, in the year 1459, by John Newton, evinently one of our countrymen, who perhaps studied Greek there. MSS. LAUD. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. K. 53. It must however be remembered, that the passion for visiting the holy places at Jerusalem did not cease among us till late in the reign of Henry the eighth. See *The pylgrymage of syr Richard Torkyngton, parson of Mulberton in Norfolk, to Jerusalem*, An. 1517. Catal. MSS. vol. 2. 182. vol. 2. William Wey, fellow of Eton college, celebrated mass *cum cantu organico*, at Jerusalem, in the year 1472. MSS. James, Bibl. Bodl. vi. 153. See his ITINERARIES, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 2. 12. In which are also some of his English rhymes on *The Way to Hierusalem*. He went twice thither.

Barclay, in the same stanza, like a plain ecclesiastic, censures the prevailing practice of going abroad for instruction; which, for a time at least, certainly proved of no small detriment to our English schools and universities.

But thou, vayne boaster, if thou wilt take in hand
To study * cunning, and ydelnes despise,
Th'royalme of England might for thee suffice:—
In England is sufficient discipline,
And noble men endowed with science, &c.

And in another place, ibid. fol. 54. a.

One runneth to Almayne, another into Fraunce,
To Paris, † Padway, Lombardy, or Spayne;
Another to ‖ Bonony, Rome, or Orleaunce,
To Cayns, to § Tholous, Athens, or ‡ Colayne:
And at the last returneth home agayne,
More ignoraunt. — —

Yet this practice was encouraged by some of our bishops, who had received their education in English universities. Pace, one of our learned countrymen, a friend of Erasmus, was placed for education in grammar and music in the family of Thomas Langton, bishop of Winchester; who kept a domestic school within the precincts of his palace, for training boys in these sciences. "Humaniores literas (says my "author) tanti estimabat, ut domestica "schola pueros ac juvenes ibi erudien-"dos curavit, &c." The bishop, who took the greatest pleasure in examining his scholars every evening, observing that young Pace was an extraordinary proficient in music, thought him capable of better things; and sent him, while yet a boy, to the university of Padua. He afterwards studied at Bononia: for the same bishop, by Will, bequeaths to his *scholar*, Richard Pace, studying at Bononia, an exhibition of ten pounds annually for seven years. See Pace's TRACTATUS *de fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur*, edit. Basil, 1517. 4to. p. 27. 28. In which the author calls himself bishop Langton's *a manu minister*. See also Langton's Will, Cur. Prærog. Cant. Registr. MOONE. qu. 10. Bishop Langton had been provost of queen's college at Oxford, and died in 1501. At Padua Pace was instructed by Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards bishop of Durham, and the giver of many valuable Greek books to the university of Cambridge; and by Hugh Latimer. TRACTAT. ut supr. p. 6. 99. 103. Leland, COLL. iii. 14.

We find also archbishop Wareham, before the year 1520, educating at his own expence, for the space of twelve years, Richard Croke, one of the first restorers of the Greek language in England, at the universities of Paris, Louvain, and Leipsic: from which returning a most accomplished scholar, he succeeded Erasmus in the Greek professorship,

* Knowledge. † Padua. ‖ Bononia. § Caen and Tholouse. ‡ Cologne in Germany.

ſold in Italy: and it was chiefly by means of this literary traffic, that Coſmo and Laurence of Medici, and their munificent ſucceſſors the dukes of Florence, compoſed the famous Florentine library[y].

It is obvious to remark the popularity which muſt have accrued to theſe politer ſtudies, while they thus paved the way to the moſt opulent and honourable promotions in the church: and the authority and eſtimation with which they muſt have been ſurrounded, in being thus cultivated by the moſt venerable eccleſiaſtics. It is indeed true, that the dignified clergy of the early and darker ages were learned beyond the level of the people[z]. Peter de Blois, ſucceſſively

profeſſorſhip at Cambridge. Croke dedicated to archbiſhop Wareham his INTRODUCTIONES IN RUDIMENTA GRÆCA, printed in the ſhop of Eucharius Cervicornius, at Cologne, 1520.

With regard to what has been here ſaid concerning the practice of educating boys in the families of our biſhops, it appears that Groſthead, biſhop of Lincoln in the thirteenth century, educated in this manner moſt of the nobility in the kingdom, who were placed there in the character of pages: "Filios Nobilium procerum regni, quos "ſecum habuit DOMICELLOS." Joh. de Athona. in CONSTIT. OTTOBON. Tit. 23. in Voc. BARONES. Cardinal Wolſey, archbiſhop of York, educated in his houſe many of the young nobility. Fiddes's WOLSEY, p. 100. See what is ſaid above of the quality of pope Leo's CUBICULARII, p. 411. Fiddes cites a record remaining in the family of the earl of Arundel, written in 1620, which contains inſtructions how the younger ſon of the writer, the earl of Arundel, ſhould behave himſelf in the family of the biſhop of Norwich, whither he is ſent for education as page: and in which his lordſhip obſerves, that his grandfather the duke of Norfolk, and his uncle the earl of Northampton, were both bred as *pages with biſhopps*. Fiddes, ibid. RECORDS. No. 6. c. 4. pag. 19. Sir Thomas More was educated as a page with cardinal Moreton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, about 1490, who was ſo ſtruck with his genius, that he would often ſay at dinner, *This child here waiting at table is ſo very ingenious, that he will one day prove an extraordinary man.* Mori UTOP. cited by Stapleton, p. 157. 138. And Roper's MORE, p. 27. edit. ut ſupr.

[y] Many of them were ſent into Italy by Laurence of Medicis, particularly John Laſcaris. Varillas ſays, that Bajazet the ſecond underſtood Averroes's commentaries on Ariſtotle. ANECDOT. de Florence, p. 183. P. Jovii ELOG. c. xxxi. p. 74. Laſcaris alſo made a voyage into Greece by command of Leo the tenth; and brought with him ſome Greek boys, who were to be educated in the college which that pope had founded on mount Quirinal, and who were intended to propagate the genuine and native pronunciation of the Greek tongue. Jov. ut ſupr. c. xxxi.

[z] The inferiour clergy were in the mean time extremely ignorant. About the year 1300, pope Boniface the eighth publiſhed an edict, ordering the incumbents of eccleſiaſtic benefices to quit their cures for a certain time, and to ſtudy at the univerſities. [See his ten CONSTITUTIONES, in the BULLARIUM MAGNUM of Laertius Cherubinus, tom. i. p. 198. ſeq. Where are his *Erectiones ſtudiorum generalium in civitate Firmana, Romæ, et Avenione*, A. D. 1303.] Accordingly our epiſcopal regiſters are full of licences granted for this purpoſe. The rector

archdeacon of Bath and London, about the year 1160, acquaints us, that the palace of Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was perpetually filled with bishops highly accomplished in literature: who passed their time there, in reading, disputing, and deciding important questions of the state. He adds, that these prelates, although men of the world, were

rector of Bedhampton, Hants, being an accolite, is permitted to study for seven years from the time of his institution, *in literarum scientia*, on condition that within one year he is made a subdeacon, and after seven years a deacon and priest. Mar. 5. 1302. Registr. PONTISSAR. Winton. fol. 38. Another rector is allowed to study for seven years, *in loco quem eligit et ubi viget studium generale*, 16 kal. Octobr. 1303. ibid. fol. 40. Another receives the same privilege, to study at Oxford, Orleans, or Paris, A. D. 1304. ibid. fol. 42. Another, being desirous of study, and able to make a proficiency, is licenced to study in *aliquo studio transmarino*, A. D. 1291. ibid. fol. 84. This, however, was three years before Boniface became pope. Another is to study *per terminum constitutionis novellæ*, A. D. 1362. ibid. fol. 37. b. But these dispensations, the necessity of which proves the illiteracy of the priests, were most commonly procured for pretences of absence or neglect. Or, if in consequence of such dispensations, they went to any university, they seem to have mispent their time there in riot and idleness, and to have returned more ignorant than before. A grievance to which Gower alludes in the VOX CLAMANTIS, a poem which presents some curious pictures of the manners of the clergy, both secular and monastic. cap. xvii. lib. 3. MSS. Coll. Omn. Anim. Oxon. xxix. *Hic loquitur de Rectoribus illis, qui sub episcopo licentiati fingunt se ire scolas, ut sub nomine virtutis vitia corporalia frequentent.*

Et sic Ars nostrum Curatum reddit inertem,
De longo studio fert nihil inde domum:
Stultus ibi venit, sed stultior inde redibit, &c.

By *Ars* we are here to understand the scholastic sciences, and by *Curatus* the beneficed priest. But the most extraordinary anecdote of incompetency which I have seen, occurs so late as the year 1448. A rector is instituted by Waynflete bishop of Winchester, on the presentation of Merton priory in Surrey, to the parish of Sherfield in Hampshire. But previously he takes an oath before the bishop, that on account of his insufficiency in letters, and default of knowledge in the superintendence of souls, he will learn Latin for the two following years; and at the end of the first year he will submit himself to be examined by the bishop, concerning his progress in grammar; and that, if on a second examination he should be found deficient, he will resign the benefice. Registr. WAYNFLETE. Winton. fol. 7. In the Statutes of New College at Oxford, given in the year 1386, one of the ten chaplains is ordered to learn grammar, and to be able to *write*; in order that he may be qualified for the arduous task of assisting the treasurers of the society in transcribing their Latin evidences. STATUT. Coll. Nov. RUBRIC. 58. In the statutes of Bradgare college in Kent, given in 1398, it is required that the governor of the house, who is to be a priest, should read well, construe Latin well, and sing well, *sciat bene legere, bene construere, et bene cantare.* Dugd. MONAST. tom. iii. Eccles. Collegiat. p. 118. col. 2. At an episcopal visitation of saint Swithin's priory at Winchester, an ample society of Benedictines, bishop William of Wykeham orders the monastery to provide an INFORMATOR, or Latin preceptor, to teach the priests, who performed the service in the church without knowing what they were uttering and could not attend to the common stops, to read grammatically, Feb. 8. 1386. MSS Harl. 328. These, indeed, were not secular priests: the instance, however,

a ſociety of ſcholars: yet very different from thoſe who frequented the univerſities, in which nothing was taught but words and ſyllables, unprofitable ſubtleties, elementary ſpeculations, and trifling diſtinctions[a]. De Blois was himſelf eminently learned, and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ornaments of Becket's attendants. He tells us, that in his youth, when he learned the ARS VERSIFICATORIA, that is, philological literature, he was habituated to an urbanity of ſtyle and expreſſion: and that he was inſtituted, not in idle fables and legendary tales, but in Livy, Quintus Curtius, Suetonius, Joſephus, Trogus Pompeius, Tacitus, and other claſſical hiſtorians[b]. At the ſame time he cenſures with a juſt indignation, the abſurdity of training boys in the frivolous intricacies of logic and geometry, and other parts of the ſcholaſtic philoſophy; which, to uſe his own emphatical words, "*Nec domi, nec militiæ, nec in foro, nec in clauſtro, "nec in eccleſia, nec in curia, nec alicubi proſunt alicui*[c]." The

however, illuſtrates what is here thrown together.

Wiccliffe ſays, that the beneficed prieſts of his age "kunnen [know] not the ten "commandments, ne read their ſauter, ne "underſtand a verſe of it." LIFE of Wiccliffe, p. 38. Nor were even the biſhops of the fourteenth century always very eminently qualified in literature of either ſort. In the year 1387, the biſhop of Worceſter informed his clergy, that the Lollards, a ſett of reformers whoſe doctrines, a few fanatical extravagancies excepted, coincided in many reſpects with the preſent rational principles of proteſtantiſm, were *followers of* MAHOMET. Wilkins, CONCIL. tom. iii. p. 202. [See ſupr. p. 190. in the NOTES.]

But at this time the moſt ſhameful groſsneſs of manners, partly owing to their celibacy, prevailed among the clergy. In the ſtatutes of the college of ſaint Mary Ottery in Devonſhire, dated 1337, and given by the founder biſhop Grandiſon, the following injunction occurs. "Item ſta-"tuimus, quod nullus Canonicus, Vicarius, "vel Secundarius, pueros choriſtas [col-"legii] *ſecum pernoctare*, aut *in lectulo cum* "*ipſis dormire, faciat* ſeu permittat." Cap. 50. MS. apud Archiv. Wulveſ. Winton. And what ſhall we think of the religious manners and practices of an age, when the following precautions were thought neceſſary, in a reſpectable collegiate church, conſiſting of a dean and ſix ſecular canons, amply endowed? "Statutum eſt, quod "ſiquis convictus fuerit de peccato Sodo-"mitico, vel arte magica, &c." From the ſtatutes of Stoke-Clare college, in Suffolk, given by the dean Thomas Barneſley, in the year 1422. Dugd. MONAST. ut ſupr. p. 169. col. 1.

From theſe horrid pictures let us turn our eyes, and learn to ſet a juſt value on that pure religion, and thoſe improved habits of life and manners, which we at preſent enjoy.

[a] EPIST. Petr. Bleſenſ. vi. fol. 3. a. OPERA. edit. Parif. 1519. fol.

[b] EPIST. cii. fol. 49. b.

[c] Ibid. That is, "Which are of no real "uſe or ſervice, at home, in the camp, at "the bar, in the cloyſter, in the court, in "the church, or indeed in any place or "ſituation whatſoever."

The

Latin Epiſtles of De Blois, from which theſe anecdotes are taken, are full of good ſenſe, obſervations on life, elegant turns, and ingenious alluſions to the claſſics. He tells Jocelyne, biſhop of Saliſbury, that he had long wiſhed to ſee the biſhop's two nephews, according to promiſe: but that he feared he expected them as the Britons expected king Arthur, or the Jews the Meſſiah [d]. He deſcribes, with a livelineſs by no means belonging to the archdeacons of the twelfth century, the difficulties, diſappointments, and inconveniencies, of paying attendance at court [e]. In the courſe of his correſpondence, he quotes Quintilian, Cicero, Livy, Salluſt, Seneca, Virgil, Quintus Curtius, Ovid, Statius, Suetonius, Juvenal, and Horace, more frequently and familiarly than the fathers [f]. Horace ſeems his favorite. In one of the letters, he quotes a paſſage concerning Pompey the Great, from the Roman Hiſtory of Salluſt, in ſix books, now loſt, and which appears at preſent only in part among the fragments of that valuable hiſtorian [g]. In the NUGÆ CURIALIUM of MAPES, or ſome other manuſcript Latin tract written by one of the ſcholars of the twelfth century, I remember to have ſeen a curious and ſtriking anecdote, which in a

[d] EPIST. li. fol. 24. a.

[e] "Ut ad miniſteriales curiæ redeam, "apud forinſecos janitores biduanam forte "gratiam aliquis multiplici obſequio me-"rebitur.—Regem dormire, aut ægrotare, "aut eſſe in conſiliis, mentientur.—Oſtia-"rios cameræ confundat altiſſimus! Si "nihil dederis oſtiario actum eſt. *Si nihil "attuleris ibis, Homere, foras.* Poſt primum "Cerberum, tibi ſupereſt alius horribilior "Cerbero, Briareo terribilior, nequior Pyg-"malione, crudelior Minotauro. Quanta-"cunque tibi mortis neceſſitas, aut diſcri-"men exhæredationis incubat, non intrabis "ad regem." EPIST. xiv. fol. 8. b.

[f] Latin and French, the vernacular excepted, were the only languages now known. Foliot biſhop of London, cotemporary with De Blois and Becket, was eſteemed, both in ſecular and ſacred literature, the moſt conſummate prelate of his time. Becket, EPISTOL. lib. iii. 5. Walter Mapes, their cotemporary, giving Foliot the ſame character, ſays he was TRIUM *peritiſſimus linguarum Latinæ, Gallicæ, Anglicæ, et lucidiſſime diſertus in ſingulis.* Apud. MSS. JAMES, xiv. p. 86. Bibl. Bodl. [Ex NUGIS CURIAL.]

[g] "De magno Pompeio refert Salluſtius, "quod cum alacribus ſaltu, cum velocibus "curſu, cum validis vecte certabat, &c. "&c." EPIST. xciv. fol. 45. a. Part of this paſſage is cited by Vegetius, a favorite author of the age of Peter de Blois. De RE MILIT. lib. i. c. ix. It is exhibited by the modern editors of Salluſt, as it ſtands in Vegetius.

ſhort

ſhort compaſs ſhews Becket's private ideas concerning the bigottries and ſuperſtitious abſurdities of his religion. The writer gives an account of a dinner in Becket's palace; at which was preſent, among many other prelates, a Ciſtercian abbot. This abbot engroſſed almoſt the whole converſation, in relating the miracles performed by Robert, the founder of his order. Becket heard him for ſome time with a patient contempt; and at length could not help breaking out with no ſmall degree of indignation, *And theſe are your miracles!*

We muſt however view the liberal ideas of theſe enlightened dignitaries of the twelfth century under ſome reſtrictions. It muſt be acknowledged, that their literature was clogged with pedantry, and depreſſed by the narrow notions of the times. Their writings ſhew, that they knew not how to imitate the beauties of the antient claſſics. Exulting in an excluſive privilege, the certainly did not ſee the ſolid and popular uſe of theſe ſtudies: at leaſt they did not chuſe, or would not venture, to communicate them to the people, who on the other hand were not prepared to receive them. Any attempts of that kind, for want of aſſiſtances which did not then exiſt, muſt have been premature; and theſe lights were too feeble to diſſipate the univerſal darkneſs. The writers who firſt appeared after Rome was ravaged by the Goths, ſuch as Boethius, Prudentius, Oroſius, Fortunatius, and Sedulius, and who naturally, from that circumſtance, and becauſe they were Chriſtians, came into vogue at that period, ſtill continued in the hands of common readers, and ſuperſeded the great originals. In the early ages of Chriſtianity a ſtrange opinion prevailed, in conformity to which Arnobius compoſed his celebrated book againſt the gentile ſuperſtitions, that pagan authors were calculated to corrupt the pure theology of the goſpel. The prejudice however remained, when even the ſuſpicions of the danger were removed. But I return to the progreſs of modern letters in the fifteenth century.

SECT.

SECT. XVIII.

SOON after the year 1500, Lillye, the famous grammarian, who had learned Greek at Rhodes, and had afterwards acquired a polished Latinity at Rome, under Johannes Sulpicius and Pomponius Sabinus, became the first teacher of Greek at any public school in England. This was at saint Paul's school in London, then newly established by dean Colet, and celebrated by Erasmus; and of which Lillye, as one of the most exact and accomplished scholars of his age, was appointed the first master[h]. And that antient prejudices were now gradually wearing off, and a national taste for critical studies and the graces of composition began to be diffused, appears from this circumstance alone: that from the year one thousand five hundred and three to the reformation, there were more grammar schools, most of which at present are perhaps of little use and importance, founded and endowed in England, than had been for three hundred years before. The practice of educating our youth in the monasteries growing into disuse, near twenty new grammar schools were established within this period: and among these, Wolsey's school at Ipswich, which soon fell a sacrifice to the resentment or the avarice of Henry the eighth, deserves particular notice, as it rivalled those of Winchester and Eton. To give splendor to the institution,

[h] Knight, LIFE of Colet, p. 19. Pace, abovementioned, in the Epistle dedicatory to Colet, before his Treatise *De fructu qui ex Doctrina percipitur*, thus compliments Lillye, edit. Basil. ut supr. 1517. p. 13. "Ut politiorem Latinitatem, et ipsam "Romanam linguam, in Britanniam no-"stram introduxisse videatur.—Tanta [ei] "eruditio, ut extrusa barbarie, in qua "nostri adolescentes solebant fere ætatem "consumere, &c." Erasmus says, in 1514, that he had taught a youth, in three years, more Latin than he could have acquired in any school in England, *ne Liliana quidam excepta*, not even Lillye's excepted. EPISTOL. 165. p. 140. tom. iii.

 beside

beſide the ſcholars, it conſiſted of a dean, twelve canons, and a numerous choir[i]. So attached was Wolſey to the new modes of inſtruction, that he did not think it inconſiſtent with his high office and rank, to publiſh a general addreſs to the ſchoolmaſters of England, in which he orders them to inſtitute their youth in the moſt elegant literature[k]. It is to be wiſhed that all his edicts had been employed to ſo liberal and uſeful a purpoſe. There is an anecdote on record, which ſtrongly marks Wolſey's character in this point of view. Notwithſtanding his habits of pomp, he once condeſcended to be a ſpectator of a Latin tragedy of Dido, from Virgil, acted by the ſcholars of ſaint Paul's ſchool, and written by John Rightwiſe, the maſter, an eminent grammarian[l]. But Wolſey might have pleaded the authority of pope Leo the tenth, who more than once had been preſent at one of theſe claſſical ſpectacles.

It does not however appear, that the cardinal's liberal ſentiments were in general adopted by his brother prelates. At the foundation of ſaint Paul's ſchool above-mentioned, one of the biſhops, eminent for his wiſdom and gravity, at a public aſſembly, ſeverely cenſured Colet the founder for ſuffering the Latin poets to be taught in the new ſtructure, which he therefore ſtyled a houſe of pagan idolatry[m].

In the year 1517, Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, founded a college at Oxford, in which he conſtituted, with competent ſtipends, two profeſſors for the Greek and Latin languages[n]. Although ſome ſlight idea of a claſſical lecture had already appeared at Cambridge in the ſyſtem of collegiate diſcipline[o],

[i] Tanner, Notit. Mon. p. 520.

[k] "Elegantiſſima literatura." Fiddes's Wolsey. Coll. p. 105.

[l] Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 15. See what is ſaid of this practice, ſupr. p. 386.

[m] "Epiſcopum quendam, et eum qui "habetur a Sapientioribus, in magno "hominum Conventu, noſtram ſcholam "blaſphemaſſe, dixiſſeque, me erexiſſe rem "inutilem, imo malam, imo etiam, ut "illius verbis utar, *Domum Idolatriæ*, &c." [Coletus Eraſmo. Lond. 1517.] Knight's Life of Colet, p. 319.

[n] Statut. C. C. C. Oxon. dat. Jun. 20. 1517. cap. xx. fol. 51. Bibl. Bodl. MSS Laud. I. 56.

[o] At Chriſt's college in Cambridge, where, in the ſtatutes given in 1506, a lecturer

this philological establishment may justly be looked upon, as the first conspicuous instance of an attempt to depart from the narrow plan of education, which had hitherto been held sacred in the universities of England. The course of the Latin professor, who is expressly directed to extirpate BARBARISM from the new society [p], is not confined to the private limits of the college, but open to the students of Oxford in general. The Greek lecturer is ordered to explain the best Greek classics; and the poets, historians, and orators, in that language, which the judicious founder, who seems of have consulted the most intelligent scholars of the times, recommends by name on this occasion, are the purest, and such as are most esteemed even in the present improved state of antient learning. And it is at the same time worthy of remark, that this liberal prelate, in forming his plan of study, does not appoint a philosophy-lecturer in his college, as had been the constant practice in most of the previous foundations: perhaps suspecting, that such an endowment would not have coincided with his new course of erudition, and would have only served to encourage that species of doctrine, which had so long choaked the paths of science, and obstructed the progress of useful knowledge.

These happy beginnings in favour of new and a rational system of academical education, were seconded by the auspicious munificence of cardinal Wolsey. About the year 1519, he founded a public chair at Oxford, for rhetoric and humanity, and soon afterwards another for teaching the Greek language; endowing both with ample salaries [q]. About

ever is established; who, together with logic and philosophy is ordered to read, "vel ex poetarum, vel ex oratorum ope-"ribus." Cap. xxxvii. In the statutes of King's at Cambridge, and New college at Oxford, both much more antient, an instructour is appointed with the general name of INFORMATOR only, who taught all the learning then in vogue. ROTUL. COMPUT. MS. Coll. Nov. Oxon. "Solut. "Informatoribus sociorum et scolarium, "iv l. xiis. ii d."

[p] "Lector seu professor artium huma-"niorum . . . BARBARIEM a nostro al-"vario exstirpet." STATUT. ut supr.

[q] Wood, HIST. Univ. Oxon. i. 245. 246. But see Fiddes's WOLSEY, p. 197.

the year 1524, king Henry the eighth, who deſtroyed or advanced literary inſtitutions from caprice, called Robert Wakefield, originally a ſtudent of Cambridge, but now a profeſſor of humanity at Tubingen in Germany, into England, that one of his own ſubjects, a linguiſt of ſo much celebrity, might no longer teach the Greek and oriental languages abroad: and when Wakefield appeared before the king, his majeſty lamented, in the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of concern, the total ignorance of his clergy and the univerſities in the learned tongues; and immediately aſſigned him a competent ſtipend for opening a lecture at Cambridge, in this neceſſary and neglected department of letters [f]. Wakefield was afterwards a preſerver of many copies of the Greek claſſics, in the havock of the religious houſes. It is recorded by Fox, the martyrologiſt, as a memorable occurrence [g], and very deſervedly, that about the ſame time, Robert Barnes, prior of the Auguſtines at Cambridge, and educated at Louvain, with the aſſiſtance of his ſcholar Thomas Parnell, explained within the walls of his own monaſtery, Plautus, Terence, and Cicero, to thoſe academics who ſaw the utility of philology, and were deſirous of deſerting the Gothic philoſophy. It may ſeem at firſt ſurpriſing, that Fox, a weak and prejudiced writer, ſhould allow any merit to a catholic: but Barnes afterwards appears to have been one of Fox's martyrs, and was executed at the ſtake in Smithfield for a defence of Lutheraniſm.

But theſe innovations in the ſyſtem of ſtudy were greatly diſcouraged and oppoſed by the friends of the old ſcholaſtic circle of ſciences, and the bigotted partiſans of the catholic communion, who ſtigmatiſed the Greek language by the name of hereſy. Even biſhop Fox, when he founded the

[f] Wakefield's ORATIO DE LAUDIBUS TRIUM LINGUARUM, &c. Dated at Cambridge, 1524. Printed for W. de Worde, 4to. *Signat.* C. ii. See alſo FAST. Acad. Lovan. by Val. Andreas, p. 284. edit. 1650.

[g] ACT. MON. fol. 1192. edit. 1583.

Greek

Greek lecture abovementioned, that he might not appear to countenance a dangerous novelty, was obliged to cover his excellent institution under the venerable mantle of the authority of the church. For as a seeming apology for what he had done, he refers to a canonical decree of pope Clement the fifth, promulged in the year 1311, at Vienne in Dauphine, which enjoined, that professors of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, should be instituted in the universities of Oxford, Paris, Bononia, Salamanca, and in the cout of Rome[t]. It was under the force of this ecclesiastical constitution, that Gregory Typhernas, one of the learned Greek exiles, had the address to claim a stipend for teaching Greek in the university of Paris[u]. We cannot but wonder at the strange disagreement in human affairs between cause and effect, when we consider, that this edict of pope Clement, which originated from a superstitious reverence annexed to two of these languages, because they composed part of the superscription on the cross of Christ, should have so strongly counteracted its own principles, and proved an instrument in the reformation of religion.

The university of Oxford was rent into factions on account of these bold attempts; and the advocates of the recent improvements, when the gentler weapons of persuasion could not prevail, often proceeded to blows with the rigid champions of the schools. But the facetious disposition of

[t] "Quem præterea in nostro Alveario "collocavimus, quod SACROSANCTI CA-"NONES commodissime pro bonis literis, "et imprimis christianis, instituerunt ac "jusserunt, eum in hac universitate Ox-"oniensi, perinde ac paucis aliis celeber-"rimis gymnasiis, nunquam desiderari." STATUT. C. C. C. Oxon. ut supr. The words of this statute which immediately follow, deserve notice here, and require explanation. "Nec tamen Eos hac ratione "excusatos volumus, qui Græcam lectio-"nem in eo SUIS IMPENSIS sustentare "debent." By Eos, he means the bishops and abbots of England, who are the persons particularly ordered in pope Clement's injunction to sustain these lectures in the university of Oxford. Bishop Fox, therefore, in founding a Greek lecture, would be understood, that he does not mean to absolve or excuse the other prelates of England from doing their proper duty in this necessary business. At the same time a charge on their negligence seems to be implied.

[u] Naud. l. 3. p. 234. This was in 1472.

sir Thomas More had no small share in deciding this singular controversy, which he treated with much ingenious ridicule [v]. Erasmus, about the same time, was engaged in attempting these reformations at Cambridge: in which, notwithstanding the mildness of his temper and conduct, and the general lustre of his literary character, he met with the most obstinate opposition. He expounded the Greek grammar of Chrysoloras in the public schools without an audience [w]: and having, with a view to present the Grecian literature in the most specious and agreeable form by a piece of pleasantry, translated Lucian's lively dialogue called ICAROMENIPPUS, he could find no student in the university capable of transcribing the Greek with the Latin [x]. His edition of the Greek testament, the most commodious that had yet appeared, was absolutely proscribed at Cambridge: and a programma was issued in one of the most ample colleges, threatening a severe fine to any member of the society, who should be detected in having so fantastic and impious a book in his possession [y]. One Henry Standish, a doctor in divinity and a mendicant frier, afterwards bishop of saint Asaph, was a vehement adversary of Erasmus in the promotion of this heretical literature; whom he called in a declamation, by way of reproach, *Græculus iste*, which soon became a synonymous appellation for an heretic [z]. Yet it should be remembered, that many English prelates patronised Erasmus; and that one of our archbishops was at this time ambitious of learning Greek [a].

[v] See, among other proofs, his EPISTOLA *Scholasticis quibusdam Trojanos se appellantibus*, published by Hearne, 1716, 8vo.

[w] Erasmi EPIST. Ammonio, dat. 1512. Ep. 123. Op. tom. iii. p. 110.

[x] Ibid. EPIST. 139. dat. 1512. p. 120. Henry Bullock, called Bovillus, one of Erasmus's friends, and much patronised by Wolsey, printed a Latin translation of Lucian, περὶ Ἀνάδου, at Cambridge, 1521, quarto.

[y] Ibid. EPIST. 148. dat. 1513. p. 126.

[z] See Erasmi OPERA. tom. ix. p. 1440. Even the priests, in their confessions of young scholars, cautioned against this growing evil. "Cave a *Græcis*, ne fias *hæreticus*." Erasm. ADAGIA. Op. ii. 993.

[a] Erasm. EPIST. 301.

Even

Even the public diversions of the court took a tincture from this growing attention to the languages, and assumed a classical air. We have before seen, that a comedy of Plautus was acted at the royal palace of Greenwich in the year 1520. And when the French ambassadors with a most splendid suite of the French nobility were in England for the ratification of peace in the year 1514, amid the most magnificent banquets, tournaments, and masques, exhibited at the same palace, they were entertained with a Latin interlude; or, to use the words of a cotemporary writer, with such an "excellent Interlude made in Latin, that I never "heard the like; the actors apparel being so gorgious, and "of such strange devices, that it passes my capacitie to relate "them [c]."

Nor was the protection of king Henry the eighth, who notwithstanding he had attacked the opinions of Luther, yet, from his natural livelinesS of temper and a love of novelty, thought favourably of the new improvements, of inconsiderable influence in supporting the restoration of the Greek language. In 1519, a preacher at the public church of the university of Oxford, harangued with much violence, and in the true spirit of the antient orthodoxy, against the doctrines inculcated by the new professors: and his arguments were canvassed among the students with the greatest animosity. But Henry, being resident at the neighbouring royal manor of Woodstock, and having received a just detail of the merits of this dispute from Pace and More, interposed his uncontrovertible authority; and transmitting a royal mandate to the university, commanded that the study of the scriptures in their original languages should not only be permitted for the future, but received as a branch of the academical institution [d]. Soon afterwards, one of the king's

[c] Cavendish, Mem. Card. Wolsey, p. 94. edit. 1708. 8vo.

[d] Erasm. Epist. 380. tom. iii.

chaplains

chaplains preaching at court, took an opportunity to censure the genuine interpretations of the scriptures, which the Grecian learning had introduced. The king, when the sermon was ended, to which he had listened with a smile of contempt, ordered a solemn disputation to be held, in his own presence: at which the unfortunate preacher opposed, and sir Thomas More, with his usual dexterity, defended, the utility and excellence of the Greek language. The divine, who at least was a good courtier, instead of vindicating his opinion, instantly fell on his knees, and begged pardon for having given any offence in the pulpit before his majesty. However, after some slight altercation, the preacher, by way of making some sort of concession in form, ingenuously declared, that he was now better reconciled to the Greek tongue, because it was derived from the Hebrew. The king, astonished at his ridiculous ignorance, dismissed the chaplain, with a charge, that he should never again presume to preach at court[e]. In the grammatical schools established in all the new cathedral foundations of this king, a master is appointed, with the uncommon qualification of a competent skill in both the learned languages[f]. In the year 1523, Ludovicus Vives, having dedicated his commentary on Austin's DE CIVITATE DEI to Henry the eighth, was invited into England, and read lectures at Oxford in jurisprudence and humanity; which were countenanced by the presence, not only of Henry, but of queen Catharine and some of the principal nobility[g]. At length antient absurdities universally gave way to these encouragements. Even the vernacular lan-

[e] Ibid. p. 408.

[f] Statuimus præterea, ut per Decanum, etc. unus [Archididascalus] "eligatur, Latine et *Græce* doctus, bonæ famæ, &c." STATUT. Eccles. Roffens. cap. xxv. They were given Jun. 30, 1545. In the same statute the second master is required to be only *Latine doctus*. All the statutes of the new cathedrals are alike. It is remarkable, that Wolsey does not order Greek to be taught in his school at Ipswich, founded 1528. See Strype, ECCL. MEM. i. Append. xxxv. p. 94. seq.

[g] Twyne, APOL. lib. ii. §. 210. seq. Probaby he was patronised by Catharine as a Spaniard.

guage

guage began to be cultivated by the more ingenious clergy. Colet, dean of ſaint Paul's, a divine of profound learning, with a view to adorn and improve the ſtyle of his diſcourſes, and to acquire the graces of an elegant preacher, employed much time in reading Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, and other Engliſh poets, whoſe compoſitions had embelliſhed the popular diction[h]. The practice of frequenting Italy, for the purpoſe of acquiring the laſt poliſh to a Latin ſtyle both in eloquence and poetry, ſtill continued in vogue; and was greatly promoted by the connections, authority, and good taſte, of cardinal Pole, who conſtantly reſided at the court of Rome in a high character. At Oxford, in particular, theſe united endeavours for eſtabliſhing a new courſe of liberal and manly ſcience, were finally conſummated in the magnificent foundation of Wolſey's college, to which all the accompliſhed ſcholars of every country in Europe were invited; and for whoſe library, tranſcripts of all the valuable manuſcripts which now fill the Vatican, were deſigned[i].

But the progreſs of theſe proſperous beginnings was ſoon obſtructed. The firſt obſtacle I ſhall mention, was, indeed, but of ſhort duration. It was however an unfavourable circumſtance, that in the midſt of this career of ſcience, Henry, who had ever been accuſtomed to gratify his paſſions at any rate, ſued for a divorce againſt his queen Catharine. The legality of this violent meaſure being agitated with much deliberation and ſolemnity, wholly engroſſed the attention of many able philologiſts, whoſe genius and acquiſitions were deſtined to a much nobler employment; and tended to revive for a time the frivolous ſubtleties of caſuiſtry, and theology.

But another cauſe which ſuſpended the progreſſion of theſe letters, of much more importance and extent, ultimately moſt

[h] Eraſm. Epistol. Jodoco Jonæ. Jun. 1521. Ibid.

[i] Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon, i. 249.

happy in its consequences, remains to be mentioned. The enlarged conceptions acquired by the study of the Greek and Roman writers seem to have restored to the human mind a free exertion of its native operations, and to have communicated a certain spirit of enterprise in examining every subject: and at length to have released the intellectual capacity of mankind from that habitual subjection, and that servility to system, which had hitherto prevented it from advancing any new principle, or adopting any new opinion. Hence, under the concurrent assistance of a preparation of circumstances, all centering in the same period, arose the reformation of religion. But this defection from the catholic communion, alienated the thoughts of the learned from those pursuits by which it was produced; and diverted the studies of the most accomplished scholars, to inquiries into the practices and maxims of the primitive ages, the nature of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the authority of scripture and tradition, of popes, councils, and schoolmen: topics, which men were not yet qualified to treat with any degree of penetration, and on which the ideas of the times unenlightened by philosophy, or warped by prejudice and passion, were not calculated to throw just and rational illustrations. When the bonds of spiritual unity were once broken, this separation from an established faith ended in a variety of subordinate sects, each of which called forth its respective champions into the field of religious contention. The several princes of christendom were politically concerned in these disputes; and the courts in which poets and orators had been recently caressed and rewarded, were now filled with that most deplorable species of philosophers, polemical metaphysicians. The public entry of Luther into Worms, when he had been summoned before the diet of that city, was equally splendid with that of the emperor Charles the fifth[k]. Rome in re-

[k] Luther, Op. ii. 412. 414.

turn,

turn, roused from her deep repose of ten centuries, was compelled to vindicate her insulted doctrines with reasoning and argument. The profound investigations of Aquinas once more triumphed over the graces of the Ciceronian urbanity; and endless volumes were written on the expediency of auricular confession, and the existence of purgatory. Thus the cause of polite literature was for awhile abandoned; while the noblest abilities of Europe were wasted in theological speculation, and absorbed in the abyss of controversy. Yet it must not be forgotten, that wit and raillery, drawn from the sources of elegant erudition, were sometimes applied, and with the greatest success, in this important dispute. The lively colloquies of Erasmus, which exposed the superstitious practices of the papists, with much humour, and in pure Latinity, made more protestants than the ten tomes of John Calvin. A work of ridicule was now a new attempt: and it should be here observed, to the honour of Erasmus, that he was the first of the literary reformers who tried that species of composition, at least with any degree of popularity. The polite scholars of Italy had no notion that the German theologists were capable of making their readers laugh: they were now convinced of their mistake, and soon found that the German pleasantry prepared the way for a revolution, which proved of the most serious consequence to Italy.

Another great temporary check given to the general state of letters in England at this period, was the dissolution of the monasteries. Many of the abuses in civil society are attended with some advantages. In the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly: while the benefit arising from the change is the slow effect of time, and not immediately perceived or enjoyed. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favorable to the interests of mankind than the monastic. Yet these seminaries, although they were in a general view the nur-

ſeries of illiterate indolence, and undoubtedly deſerved to be ſuppreſſed under proper reſtrictions, contained invitations and opportunities to ſtudious leiſure and literary purſuits. On this event therefore, a viſible revolution and decline in the national ſtate of learning ſucceeded. Moſt of the youth of the kingdom betook themſelves to mechanical or other illiberal employments, the profeſſion of letters being now ſuppoſed to be without ſupport and reward. By the abolition of the religious houſes, many towns and their adjacent villages were utterly deprived of their only means of inſtruction. At the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, Williams, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, complained to her majeſty, that more than an hundred flouriſhing ſchools were deſtroyed in the demolition of the monaſteries, and that ignorance had prevailed ever ſince[l]. Provincial ignorance, at leaſt, became univerſal, in conſequence of this haſty meaſure of a rapacious and arbitrary prince. What was taught in the monaſteries, was not always perhaps of the greateſt importance, but ſtill it ſerved to keep up a certain degree of neceſſary knowledge[m]. Nor ſhould it be forgot, that many of the abbots were learned,

[l] Strype, Ann. Ref. p. 292. ſub ann. 1562. The greater abbies appear to have had the direction of other ſchools in their neighbourhood. In an abbatial Regiſter of Bury abbey there is this entry. "Memorand. quod. A. D. 1418. 28 Jul. "Gulielmus abbas contulit regimen et "magiſterium ſcholarum grammaticalium "in villa de Bury S. Edmundi magiſtro "Johanni Somerſet, artium et grammaticæ "profeſſori, et baccalaureo in medicina, "cum annua penſione xl. ſolidorum." MS. Cotton. Tiber. B. ix. 2. This John Somerſet was tutor and phyſician to king Henry the ſixth, and a man of eminent learning. He was inſtrumental in procuring duke Humphrey's books to be conveyed to Oxford. Regiſtr. Acad. Oxon. Epist. F. 179. 202. 218. 220. And in the foundation of King's college at Cambridge. MSS. Cott. Julius, F. vii. 43.

[m] I do not, however, lay great ſtreſs on the following paſſage, which yet deſerves attention, in Roſſe of Warwickſhire, who wrote about the year 1480: "To this "day, in the cathedrals and ſome of the "greater collegiate churches, or monaſte-"ries, [quibuſdam nobilibus collegiis,] and "in the houſes of the four mendicant or-"ders, uſeful lectures and diſputations are "kept up; and ſuch of their members as "are thought capable of degrees, are ſent "to the univerſities. And in towns where "there are two or more fraternities of "mendicants, in each of theſe are held, "every week by turns, proper exerciſes of "ſcholars in diſputation." Hist. Reg. Angl. edit. Hearne, p. 74. [See ſupr. p. 340.]

and

and patrons of literature; men of public ſpirit, and liberal views. By their connections with parliament, and the frequent embaſſies to foreign courts in which they were employed, they became acquainted with the world, and the improvements of life: and, knowing where to chuſe proper objects, and having no other uſe for the ſuperfluities of their vaſt revenues, encouraged in their reſpective circles many learned young men. It appears to have been cuſtomary for the governors of the moſt conſiderable convents, eſpecially thoſe that were honoured with the mitre, to receive into their own private lodgings the ſons of the principal families of the neighbourhood for education. About the year 1450, Thomas Bromele, abbot of the mitred monaſtery of Hyde near Wincheſter, entertained in his own abbatial houſe within that monaſtery, eight young gentlemen, or *gentiles pueri*, who were placed there for the purpoſe of literary inſtruction, and conſtantly dined at the abbot's table. I will not ſcruple to give the original words, which are more particular and expreſſive, of the obſcure record which preſerves this curious anecdote of monaſtic life. "Pro octo gentilibus "pueris apud dominum abbatem ſtudii cauſa perhendinantibus, et ad menſam domini victitantibus, cum garcionibus ſuis ipſos comitantibus, hoc anno, xvii l. ix s. Capiendo pro . . .[n]" This, by the way, was more extraordinary, as William of Wykeham's celebrated ſeminary was ſo near. And this ſeems to have been an eſtabliſhed practice of the abbot of Glaſtonbury: "whoſe apartment in the "abbey was a kind of well-diſciplined court, where the "ſons of noblemen and young gentlemen were wont to be "ſent for virtuous education, who returned thence home "excellently accompliſhed[o]." Richard Whiting, the laſt

[n] From a fragment of the COMPUTUS CAMERARII Abbat. Hidenſ. in Archiv. Wulveſ. apud Winton; ut ſupr.

[o] HIST. and ANTIQ. of GLASTONBURY, Oxon. 1722. 8vo. p 98.

abbot

abbot of Glastonbury, who was cruelly executed by the king, during the course of his government, educated near three hundred ingenuous youths, who constituted a part of his family: beside many others whom he liberally supported at the universities [p]. Whitgift, the most excellent and learned archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was educated under Robert Whitgift his uncle, abbot of the Augustine monastery of black canons at Wellhow in Lincolnshire: who, "says Strype, had several other young "gentlemen under his care for education [q]." That, at the restoration of literature, many of these dignitaries were eminently learned, and even zealous promoters of the new improvements, I could bring various instances. Hugh Farringdon, the last abbot of Reading, was a polite scholar, as his Latin epistles addressed to the university of Oxford abundantly testify [r]: Nor was he less a patron of critical studies. Leonard Coxe, a popular philological writer in the reign of Henry the eighth, both in Latin and English, and a great traveller, highly celebrated by the judicious Leland for his elegant accomplishments in letters, and honoured with the affectionate correspondence of Erasmus, dedicates to this abbot, his ARTE OR CRAFTE OF RHETORICKE, printed in the year 1524, at that time a work of an unusual nature [s]. Wakefield abovementioned, a very capital Greek and oriental scholar, in his DISCOURSE ON THE EXCELLENCY AND UTILITY OF THE THREE LANGUAGES, written in the year 1524, celebrates William Fryssell, prior of the cathedral Benedictine convent at Rochester, as a distinguished judge and encourager of critical literature [t]. Robert Shirwoode, an Englishman, but a professor of Greek and Hebrew at Louvaine,

[p] Reyner, APOSTOLAT. BENEDICT. Tract. i. sect. ii. p. 224. Sanders de SCHISM. pag. 176.

[q] Strype's WHITGIFT, b. i. ch. i. p. 3.

[r] Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. F. fol. 101. — 125.

[s] See Leland, COLLECTAN. vol. 5. p. 118. vol. 6. p. 187. And ENCOM. p. 50. edit. 1589. Erasm. EPISTOL. p. 886.

[t] Cited above, p. 124.

published

published a new Latin translation of ECCLESIASTES, with critical annotations on the Hebrew text, printed at Antwerp in 1523[u]. This, in an elegant Latin epistle, he dedicates to John Webbe, prior of the Benedictine cathedral convent at Coventry; whom he styles, for his singular learning, and attention to the general cause of letters, MONACHORUM DECUS. John Batmanson, prior of the Carthusians in London, controverted Erasmus's commentary on the new Testament with a degee of spirit and erudition, which was unhappily misapplied, and would have done honour to the cause of his antagonist[v]. He wrote many other pieces; and was patronised by Lee, a learned archbishop of York, who opposed Erasmus, but allowed Ascham a pension[x]. Kederminster, abbot of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, a traveller to Rome, and a celebrated preacher before king Henry the eighth, established regular lectures in his monastery, for explaining both scriptures in their original languages; which were so generally frequented, that his little cloister acquired the name and reputation of a new university[y]. He was master of a terse and perspicuous Latin style, as appears from a fragment of the HISTORY OF WYNCHCOMB ABBEY, written by himself[z]. His erudition is attested in an epistle from the university to king Henry the eighth[a]. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the most eloquent preacher of his time,

[u] Quarto.

[v] Theodor. Petreus, BIBL. CARTHUS. edit. Col. 1609. p. 157.

[x] Ascham, EPISTOL. lib. ii. p. 77. a. edit. 1581. [See also iii. p. 86. a.]. On the death of the archbishop, in 1544, Ascham desires, that a part of his pension then due might be paid out of some of the archbishop's greek books: one of these he wishes may be Aldus's DECEM RHETORES GRÆCI, a book which he could not purchase or procure at Cambridge.

[y] "Non aliter quam si fuisset altera NOVA UNIVERSITAS, tametsi exiguus, claustrum Wynchelcombense tunc temporis se "haberet." From his own HISTORIA, as below. Wood, HIST. Univ. Oxon. i. p. 248. There is an Epistle from Colet, the learned dean of St. Paul's, to this abbot, concerning a passage in saint Paul's EPISTLES, first printed by Knight, from the original manuscript at Cambridge. Knight's LIFE, p. 311.

[z] Printed by Dugdale, before the whole of the original was destroyed in the fire of London. MONAST. i. 188. But a transcript of a part remains in Dodsworth's MSS. Bibl. Bodl. lxv. 1. Compare A. Wood, ut supr. and ATHEN. OXON. i. 28.

[a] Registr. Univ. Oxon. FF. fol. 46.

in

in the dedication to Kederminster, of five quadragesimal sermons, delivered at court, and printed by Pinson in the year 1517, insists largely on his SINGULARIS ERUDITIO, and other shining qualifications.

Before we quit the reign of Henry the eighth, in this review of the rise of modern letters, let us turn our eyes once more on the universities; which yet do not always give the tone to the learning of a nation [b]. In the year 1531, the learned Simon Grynaeus visited Oxford. By the interest of Clay-

[b] It ought not here to be unnoticed, that the royal library of the kings of England, originally subsisting in the old palace at Westminster, and lately transferred to the British Museum, received great improvements under the reign of Henry the eighth; who constituted that elegant and judicious scholar, John Leland, his librarian, about the year 1530. Tanner, BIBL. pag. 475. Leland, at the dissolution of the monasteries, removed to this royal repository a great number of valuable manuscripts; particularly from saint Austin's abbey at Canterbury. SCRIPT. BRIT. p. 299. One of these was a manuscript given by Athelstan to that convent, a HARMONY of the FOUR GOSPELS. Bibl. Reg. MSS. i. A. xviii. See the hexasthic of Leland prefixed. See also SCRIPT. BRIT. ut supra, V. ATHELSTANUS. Leland says, that he placed in the PALATINE library of Henry the eighth the COMMENTARII IN MATTHÆUM of Claudius, Bede's disciple. Ibid. V. CLAUDIUS. Many of the manuscripts of this library appear to have belonged to Henry's predecessors; and if we may judge from the splendour of the decorations, were presents. Some of them bear the name of Humphrey duke of Glocester. Others were written at the command of Edward the fourth. I have already mentioned the librarian of Henry the seventh. Bartholomew Traheron, a learned divine, was appointed the keeper of this library by Edward the sixth, with a salary of twenty marcs, in the year 1549. See Rymer's FŒD. xv. p. 351. Under the reign of Elisabeth, Heatzner, a German traveller, who saw this library at Whitehall in 1598, says, that it was well furnished with Greek, Latin, Italian, and French books, all bound in velvet of different colours, yet chiefly red, with clasps of gold and silver; and that the covers of some were adorned with pearls and precious stones. ITINERAR. *Germaniæ, Angliæ*, &c. Noringb. 1629. 8vo. p. 188. It is a great mistake, that James the first was the first of our kings who founded a library in any of the royal palaces; and that this establishment commenced at St. James's palace, under the patronage of that monarch. This notion was first propagated by Smith in his life of Patrick Junius, Vit. QUORUND. etc. Lond. 1707. 4to. pp. 12. 13. 34. 35. Great part of the royal library, which indeed migrated to St. James's under James the first, was partly sold and dispersed, at Cromwell's accession: together with another inestimable part of its furniture, 12000 medals, rings, and gems, the entire collection of Gorlaeus's DACTYLIOTHECA, purchased by prince Henry and Charles the first. It must be allowed, that James the first greatly enriched this library with the books of lord Lumley and Casaubon, and sir Thomas Roe's manuscripts brought from Constantinople. Lord Lumley's chiefly consisted of lord Arundel's, his father in law, a great collector at the dissolution of monasteries. James had previously granted a warrant to sir Thomas Bodley, in 1613, to chuse any books from the royal library at Whitehall, over the *Queen's Chamber*. [RELIQ. BODL. p. Hearne, p. 205. 286. 320.]

mund,

mund, president of Corpus Christi college, an admirable scholar, a critical writer, and the general friend and correspondent of the literary reformers, he was admitted to all the libraries of the university; which, he says, were about twenty in number, and amply furnished with the books of antiquity. Among these he found numerous manuscripts of Proclus on Plato, many of which he was easily permitted to carry abroad by the governors of the colleges, who did not know the value of these treasures [c]. In the year 1535, the king ordered lectures in humanity, institutions which have their use for a time, and while the novelty lasts, to be founded in those colleges of the university, where they were yet wanting: and these injunctions were so warmly approved by the scholars in the largest societies, that they seized on the venerable volumes of Duns Scotus and other irrefragable logicians, in which they had so long toiled without the attainment of knowledge, and tearing them in pieces, dispersed them in great triumph about their quadrangles, or gave them away as useless lumber [d]. The king himself also established some public lectures with large endowments [e]. Notwithstanding, the number of students at Oxford daily decreased: insomuch, that in 1546, not because a general cultivation of the new species of literature was increased, there were only ten inceptors in arts, and three in theology and jurisprudence [f].

As all novelties are pursued to excess, and the most beneficial improvements often introduce new inconveniencies, so this universal attention to polite literature destroyed philo-

[c] During his abode in England, having largely experienced the bounty and advice of sir Thomas More, he returned home, fraught with materials which he had long sought in vain, and published his PLATO, viz. "Platonis Opera, cum commentariis Procli "in Timæum et Politica, Basil. 1534." fol. See the EPISTLE DEDICATORY to sir Thomas More. He there mentions other pieces of Proclus, which he saw at Oxford.

[d] See Dr. Layton's letter to Cromwell. Strype's ECCL. MEM. i. 210.

[e] Wood, HIST. Univ. Oxon. i. 26. ii. 36.

[f] Wood, ibid. sub anno.

ſophy. The old philoſophy was abolifhed, but a new one was not adopted in its ſtead. At Cambridge we now however find the antient ſcientific learning in ſome degree reformed, by the admiſſion of better ſyſtems.

In the injunctions given by Henry to that univerſity in the year 1535, for the reformation of ſtudy, the dialectics of Rodolphus Agricola, the great favorite of Eraſmus, and the genuine logic of Ariſtotle, are preſcribed to be taught, inſtead of the barren problems of Scotus and Burlaeus[g]. By the ſame edict, theology and cauſuiſtry were freed from many of their old incumbrances and perplexities: degrees in the canon law were forbidden; and heavy penalties were impoſed on thoſe academics, who relinquiſhed the ſacred text, to explain the tedious and unedifying commentaries on Peter Lombard's ſcholaſtic cyclopede of divinity, called the SENTENCES, which alone were ſufficient to conſtitute a moderate library. Claſſical lectures were alſo directed, the ſtudy of words was enforced, and the books of Melancthon, and other ſolid and elegant writers of the reformed party, recommended. The politer ſtudies, ſoon afterwards, ſeem to have riſen into a flouriſhing ſtate at Cambridge. Biſhop Latimer complains, that there were now but few who ſtudied divinity in that univerſity[h]. But this is no proof of a decline of learning in that ſeminary. Other purſuits were now gaining ground there; and ſuch as in fact were ſubſervient to theological truth, and to the propagation of the reformed religion. Latimer himſelf, whoſe diſcourſes from the royal pulpit appear to be barbarous beyond their age, in ſtyle, manner, and argument, is an example of the neceſſity of the ornamental ſtudies to a writer in divinity. The

[g] Collier, ECCLES. HIST. vol. ii. p. 110.

[h] SERMONS, &c. p. 63. Lond. 1584. 4to. Sermon before Edward the ſixth, in the year 1550. His words are, "It would pitty a man's heart to hear that I hear of the ſtate of Cambridge: what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. There be few that ſtudy divinity but ſo many as of neceſſitie muſt furniſh the colledges."

Greek

Greek language was now making considerable advances at Cambridge, under the instruction of Cheke and Smith; notwithstanding the interruptions and opposition of bishop Gardiner, the chancellor of the university, who loved learning but hated novelties, about the proprieties of pronunciation. But the controversy which was agitated on both sides with much erudition, and produced letters between Cheke and Gardiner equal to large treatises, had the good effect of more fully illustrating the point in debate, and of drawing the general attention to the subject of the Greek literature[i]. Perhaps bishop Gardiner's intolerance in this respect was like his persecuting spirit in religion, which only made more heretics. Ascham observes, with no small degree of triumph, that instead of Plautus, Cicero, Terence, and Livy, almost the only classics hitherto known at Cambridge, a more extensive field was opened; and that Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, an Isocrates, were universally and critically studied[k]. But Cheke being soon called away to the court, his auditors relapsed into dissertations on the doctrines of original sin and predestination; and it was debated with great obstinacy and acrimony, whether those topics had been most successfully handled by some modern German divines or saint Austin[l]. Ascham observes, that at Oxford, a decline of taste in both languages was indicated, by a preference of Lucian, Plutarch, and Herodian, in Greek, and of Seneca, Gellius, and Apuleius, in Latin, to the more pure, antient, and original writers, of Greece and Rome[m]. At length,

[i] Ascham. Epistol. ut modo infr. p. 65. a. Ascham calls Gardiner, "omnibus literarum, prudentiæ, consilii, authoritatis, "præsidiis ornatissimus, *absque hac una re* "*esset*, literarum et academiæ nostræ patronus amplissimus." But he says, that Gardiner took this measure, "quorundam "*invidorum hominum* precibus victus:" ibid. p. 64. b.

[k] Strype's Cranmer, p. 170. Ascham. Epistol. L. ii. p. 64. b. 1581.

[l] Ascham. Epist. lib. ii.

[m] Epistol. lib. i. p. 18. b. Dat. 1550. edit. 1581.

both universities seem to have been reduced to the same deplorable condition of indigence and illiteracy.

It is generally believed, that the reformation of religion in England, the most happy and important event of our annals, was immediately succeeded by a flourishing state of letters. But this was by no means the case. For a long time afterwards an effect quite contrary was produced. The reformation in England was completed under the reign of Edward the sixth. The rapacious courtiers of this young prince were perpetually grasping at the rewards of literature, which being discouraged or despised by the rich, was neglected by those of moderate fortunes. Avarice and zeal were at once gratified in robbing the clergy of their revenues, and in reducing the church to its primitive apostolical state of purity and poverty[a]. The opulent see of Winchester was lowered to a bare title: its amplest estates were portioned out to the laity; and the bishop, a creature of the protector Somerset, was contented to receive an inconsiderable annual stipend from the exchequer. The bishoprick of Durham, almost equally rich, was entirely dissolved. A favorite nobleman of the court occupied the deanery and treasurership of a cathedral with some of its best canonries[b]. The ministers of this abused monarch, by these arbitrary, dishonest, and imprudent measures, only provided instruments, and furnished arguments, for restoring in the succeeding reign that superstitious religion, which they professed to destroy. By thus impoverishing the ecclesiastical dignities, they countenanced the clamours of the catholics; who declared, that the reformation was apparently founded on temporal views, and that the protestants pretended to oppose the doctrines of the church, solely with a view that they might share in the plunder of its revenues. In every one of these sacrilegious robberies the interest of

[a] See Collier's Eccl. Hist. Records, lxvii. p. 80. [b] Burnet, Ref. P. ii. 8.

learning

learning also suffered. Exhibitions and pensions were, in the mean time, substracted from the students in the universities [p]. Ascham, in a letter to the marquis of Northampton, dated 1550, laments the ruin of grammar schools throughout England; and predicts the speedy extinction of the universities from this growing calamity [q]. At Oxford the public schools were neglected by the professors and pupils, and allotted to the lowest purposes [r]. Academical degrees were abrogated as antichristian [s]. Reformation was soon turned into fanaticism. Absurd refinements, concerning the inutility of human learning, were superadded to the just and rational purgation of christianity from the papal corruptions. The spiritual reformers of these enlightened days, at a visitation of the last-mentioned university, proceeded so far in their ideas of a superior rectitude, as totally to strip the public library, established by that munificent patron Humphrey duke of Gloucester, of all its books and manuscripts [t].

I must not, however, forget, as a remarkable symptom of an attempt now circulating to give a more general and unreserved diffusion of science, that in this reign, Thomas Wilson, originally a fellow of King's college in Cambridge, preceptor to Charles and Henry Brandon dukes of Suffolk, dean of Durham, and chief secretary to the king, published a system a rhetoric and of logic, in English [u]. This display of the venerable mysteries of the latter of these arts in a vernacular language, which had hitherto been confined within the sacred pale of the learned tongues, was esteemed

[p] Wood, sub ann. 1550. See also Strype's CRANMER, Append. N. xciii. p. 220. viz. A Letter to secretary Cecil, dat. 1552.

[q] EPISTOL. lib. III. COMMENDAT. p. 194. a. Lond. 1581. "Ruinam et interitum "publicarum scholarum, &c."—"Quam "gravis hæc universa scholarum calamitas, "&c." See p. 62. b. p. 210. a.

[r] Wood, ut supr. p. 273.

[s] Catal. MSS. ANGL. fol. edit. 1697. in Hist. Bibl. Bodl. Prefat.

[t] See supr. p. 44.

[u] First printed in the reign of Edward the sixth. See Preface to the second edition of the RHETORIC, in 1560. He translated the three Olynthiacs, and the four Philippics, of Demosthenes, from the Greek into English. Lond. 1570. 4to.

an

an innovation almost equally daring with that of permitting the service of the church to be celebrated in English: and accordingly the author, soon afterwards happening to visit Rome, was incarcerated by the inquisitors of the holy see, as a presumptuous and dangerous heretic.

It is with reluctance I enter on the bloody reign of the relentless and unamiable Mary; whose many dreadful martyrdoms of men eminent for learning and piety, shock our sensibility with a double degree of horrour, in the present softened state of manners, at a period of society when no potentate would inflict executions of so severe a nature, and when it would be difficult to find devotees hardy enough to die for difference of opinion. We must, however, acknowledge, that she enriched both universities with some considerable benefactions: yet these donations seem to have been made, not from any general or liberal principle of advancing knowledge, but to repair the breaches of reformation, and to strengthen the return of superstition. It is certain, that her restoration of popery, together with the monastic institution, its proper appendage, must have been highly pernicious to the growth of polite erudition. Yet although the elegant studies were now beginning to suffer a new relapse, in the midst of this reign, under the discouragement of all these inauspicious and unfriendly circumstances, a college was established at Oxford, in the constitution of which, the founder principally inculcates the use and necessity of classical literature; and recommends it as the most important and leading object in that system of academical study, which he prescribes to the youth of the new society[v]. For, beside a lecturer in philosophy appointed for the ordinary purpose of teaching the scholastic sciences, he establishes in this seminary a teacher of humanity. The business of this preceptor is described with a particularity not usual in the con-

[v] In the year 1554.

stitutions

ſtitutions given to collegiate bodies of this kind, and he is directed to exert his utmoſt diligence, in tincturing his auditors with a juſt reliſh for the graces and purity of the Latin language [z]: and to explain critically, in the public hall, for the ſpace of two hours every day, the Offices, De Oratore, and rhetorical treatiſes of Cicero, the inſtitutes of Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Plautus, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Livy, and Lucan; together with the moſt excellent modern philological treatiſes then in vogue, ſuch as the ELEGANCIES of Laurentius Valla, and the MISCELLANIES of Politian, or any other approved critical tract on oratory or verification [y]. In the mean time, the founder permits it to the diſcretion of the lecturer, occaſionally to ſubſtitute Greek authors in the place of theſe [z]. He moreover requires, that the candidates for admiſſion into the college be completely ſkilled in Latin poetry; and in writing Epiſtles, then a favorite mode of compoſition [a], and on which Eraſmus [b], and Conradus Celtes the reſtorer of letters in Germany [c], had each recently publiſhed a diſtinct ſyſtematical work. He injoins, that the ſtudents ſhall be exerciſed every day, in the intervals of vacation, in compoſing declamations, and Latin verſes both

[z] "Latini ſermonis ornatu et elegantia "imbuendos diligenter curabit, &c." Statut. Coll. Trin. Oxon. cap. iv. Again, "Cupiens et ego Collegii mei juventutem "*in primis* Latini ſermonis *Puritate* ac "*ingenuarum* artium rudimentis, conve-"nienter erudiri, &c." Ibid. cap. xv.

[y] Ibid. cap. xv. A modern writer in dialectics, Rodolphus Agricola, is alſo recommended to be explained by the reader in philoſophy, together with Ariſtotle.

[z] Ibid. cap. xv. It may be alſo obſerved here, that the philoſophy reader is not only ordered to explain Ariſtotle, but Plato. Ibid. cap. xv. It appears by implication in the cloſe of this ſtatute, that the public lectures of the univerſity were now growing uſeleſs, and dwindling into mere matters of form, viz. "Ad hunc modum Domi meos "LECTIONIBUS erudiri cupiens, eos a "publicis in Academia lectionibus avocare "nolui.—Verum, ſi temporis tractu, et "magiſtratuum incuria, adeo a primario "inſtituto degenerent Magiſtrorum regen-"tium Lectiones ordinariæ, ut inde nulla, "aut admodum exigua, auditoribus acce-"dat utilitas, &c. Ibid. cap. xv.

[a] Ibid. cap. vii.

[b] DE RATIONE CONSCRIBENDI EPISTOLAS.

[c] About the year 1500. At Baſil, 1522. It was reprinted at Cambridge by Siberch, and dedicated to archbiſhop Fiſher, 1521. 4to.

lyric

lyric and heroic[d]: and in his prefatory ſtatute, where he deſcribes the nature and deſign of his foundation, he declares, that he deſtines the younger part of his eſtabliſhment, not only to dialectics and philoſophy, but to the more polite literature[e]. The ſtatutes of this college were ſubmitted to the inſpection of cardinal Pole, one of the chief protectors of the revival of polite letters in England, as appears from a curious paſſage in a letter written by the founder, now remaining; which not only diſplays the cardinal's ideas of the new erudition, but ſhews the ſtate of the Greek language at this period. "My lord Cardinalls grace has had the overſeeinge "of my ſtatutes. He muche lykes well, that I have therein "ordered the Latin tonge [Latin claſſics] to be redde to my "ſchollers. But he advyſes me to order the Greeke to be "more taught there than I have provyded. This purpoſe I "well lyke: but I fear *the tymes will not bear it now*. I re-"member when I was a yong ſcholler at Eton[f], the Greeke "tonge was growing apace; the ſtudie of which is now "alate much decaid[g]." Queen Mary was herſelf eminently learned. But her accompliſhments in letters were darkened or impeded by religious prejudices. At the deſire of queen Catharine Parr, ſhe tranſlated in her youth Eraſmus's paraphraſe on ſaint John. The preface is written by Udall, maſter of Eton ſchool: in which he much extolls her diſtinguiſhed proficience in literature[h]. It would have been fortunate, if Mary's attention to this work had ſoftened her temper, and enlightened her underſtanding. She frequently ſpoke in public with propriety, and always with prudence and dignity.

[d] Ibid. cap. xv. Every day after dinner "Aliquis ſcholarium, a Præſidente aut "Lectore Rhetorico juſſus, de themate "quodam propoſito, ad edendum *ingenii* "ac profectus ſui ſpecimen, diligenter, "*ornate*, ac breviter, dicat, &c." Ibid. cap. x.

[e] "Cæteri autem, *ſcholares* nuncupati, "POLITIORIBUS Literis, &c." Ibid. cap. i.

[f] About the year 1520.

[g] Dated 1556. See LIFE of ſir Thomas Pope, p. 226.

[h] Lond. 1548. fol.

In

In the beginning of the reign of queen Elisabeth, which soon followed, when the return of protestantism might have been expected to produce a speedy change for the better, puritanism began to prevail; and, as the first fervours of a new sect are always violent, retarded for some time the progress of ingenuous and useful knowledge. The scriptures being translated into English, and every man assuming a right to dictate in matters of faith, and to chuse his own principles, weak heads drew false conclusions, and erected an infinite variety of petty religions. Such is the abuse which attends the best designs, that the meanest reader of the new Testament thought he had a full comprehension of the most mysterious metaphysical doctrines in the christian faith; and scorned to acquiesce in the sober and rational expositions of such difficult subjects, which he might have received from a competent and intelligent teacher, whom it was his duty to follow. The bulk of the people, who now possessed the means of discussing all theological topics, from their situation and circumstances in life, were naturally averse to the splendor, the dominion, and the opulence of an hierarchy, and disclaimed the yoke of episcopal jurisdiction. The new deliverance from the numerous and burthensome superstitions of the papal communion, drove many pious reformers into the contrary extreme, and the rage of opposition ended in a devotion entirely spiritual and abstracted. External forms were abolished, as impediments to the visionary reveries of a mental intercourse with heaven; and because the church of Rome had carried ceremonies to an absurd excess, the use of any ceremonies was deemed unlawful. The love of new doctrines and a new worship, the triumph of gaining proselytes, and the persecutions which accompanied these licentious zealots, all contributed to fan the flame of enthusiasm. The genius of this refined and false species of religion, which defied the salutary checks of all human authority, when operating in its full force,

was attended with consequences not less pernicious to society, although less likely to last, than those which flowed from the establishment of the antient superstitions. During this unsettled state of things, the English reformed clergy who had fled into Germany from the menaces of queen Mary, returned home in great numbers: and in consideration of their sufferings and learning, and their abilities to vindicate the principles of a national church erected in opposition to that of Rome, many of them were preferred to bishopricks, and other eminent ecclesiastical stations. These divines brought back with them into England those narrow principles concerning church-government and ceremonies, which they had imbibed in the petty states and republics abroad, where the Calvinistic discipline was adopted, and where they had lived like a society of philosophers; but which were totally inconsistent with the nature of a more extended church, established in a great and magnificent nation, and requiring an uniform system of policy, a regular subordination of officers, a solemnity of public worship, and an observance of exterior institutions. They were, however, in the present circumstances, thought to be the most proper instruments to be employed at the head of ecclesiastical affairs; not only for the purpose of vindicating the new establishment by argument and authority, but of eradicating every trace of the papal corruptions by their practice and example, and of effectually fixing the reformation embraced by the church of England on a durable basis. But, unfortunately, this measure, specious and expedient as it appeared at first, tended to destroy that constitution which it was designed to support, and to counteract those principles which had been implanted by Cranmer in the reformed system of our religion. Their reluctance or refusal to conform, in a variety of instances, to the established ceremonies, and their refinements in theological discipline, filled the church with the most violent divisions; and introduced end-

less

less intricate disputations, not on fundamental doctrines of solid importance to the real interests of christianity, but on positive points of idle and empty speculation, which admitting no elegance of composition, and calling forth no vigour of abilities, exercised the learning of the clergy in the most barbarous and barren field of controversial divinity, and obstructed every pursuit of polite or manly erudition. Even the conforming clergy, from their want of penetration, and from their attachment to authorities, contributed to protract these frivolous and unbecoming controversies: for if, in their vindication of the sacerdotal vestments, and of the cross of baptism, instead of arguing from the jews, the primitive christians, the fathers, councils, and customs, they had only appealed to common sense and the nature of things, the propriety and expediency of those formalities would have been much more easily and more clearly demonstrated. To these inconveniencies we must add, that the common ecclesiastical preferments were so much diminished by the seizure and alienation of impropriations, in the late depredations of the church, and which continued to be carried on with the same spirit of rapacity in the reign of Elisabeth, that few persons were regularly bred to the church, or, in other words, received a learned education. Hence, almost any that offered themselves were, without distinction or examination, admitted to the sacred function. Insomuch, that in the year 1560, an injunction was directed to the bishop of London from his metropolitan, requiring him to forbear ordaining any more artificers and other illiterate persons who exercised secular occupations [i]. But as the evil was unavoidable, this caution took but little effect [k].

[i] Strype's GRINDAL. B. i. ch. iv. b. 40.

[k] Numerous illuminated artificers began early to preach and write in defence of the reformed religion. The first mechanic who left his lawful calling to vindicate the cause of the catholics, was one Miles Hoggard, a shoe-maker or hosier, of London; who, in the reign of queen Mary, wrote a pamphlet entitled, *The Displaying of protestants, and sundry their practices*, &c. Lond. 1556. 12mo. This piece soon acquired importance, by being answered by Lawrence Humphries,

About the year 1563, there were only two divines, and those of higher rank, the president of Magdalen college[l], and the dean of Christ Church, who were capable of preaching the public sermons before the university of Oxford[m]. I will mention one instance of the extreme ignorance of our inferiour clergy about the middle of the sixteenth century. In the year 1570, Horne, bishop of Winchester, enjoined the minor canons of his cathedral to get by memory, every week, one chapter of saint Paul's epistles in Latin: and this formidable task, almost beneath the abilities of an ordinary school-boy, was actually repeated by some of them, before the bishop, dean, and prebendaries, at a public episcopal visitation of that church[n]. It is well known that a set of homilies was published to supply their incapacity in composing sermons: but it should be remembered, that one reason for prescribing this authorised system of doctrine, was to prevent preachers from disturbing the peace of the church by disseminating their own novel and indigested opinions.

The taste for Latin composition in the reign of Elisabeth, notwithstanding it was fashionable both to write and speak in that language, was much worse than in the reign of Henry the eighth, when juster models were studied, and when the novelty of classical literature excited a general emulation to imitate the Roman authors. The Latinity of Ascham's prose has little elegance. The versification and phraseology of

Humphries, and other eminent reformers. He printed other pieces of the same tendency. He was likewise an English poet; and I am glad of this opportunity of mentioning him in that character, as I could not have ventured to give him a place in the series of our poetry. He wrote the MIRROUR of LOVE, Lond. 1555. 4to. Dedicated to queen Mary. Also the PATHWAY TO THE TOWRE of PERFECTION. Lond. 1556. 4to. with some other pieces.

[l] Doctor Lawrence Humphreys, mentioned in the last note. Of whom it will not be improper to observe further in this place, that about the year 1553, he wrote an *Epistola de Grecis literis et Homeri lectione et imitatione ad præsidem et socios collegii Magdalenæ, Oxon.* In the CORNUCOPIA of Hadrian Junius, Basil. 1558. fol.

[m] Wood, ut supr. i. 285.

[n] Registr. Horne, Episc. Winton. fol. 80. b.

Buchanan's

Buchanan's Latin poetry are ſplendid and ſonorous, but not marked with the chaſte graces and ſimple ornaments of the Auguſtan age. One is ſurpriſed to find the learned archbiſhop Grindal, in the ſtatutes of a ſchool which he founded, and amply endowed, recommending ſuch barbarous and degenerate claſſics as Palingenius, Sedulius, aud Prudentius, to be taught in his new foundation [o]. Theſe, indeed, were the claſſics of a reforming biſhop: but the well-meaning prelate would have contributed much more to the ſucceſs of his intended reformation, by directing books of better taſte and leſs piety. That claſſical literature, and the public inſtitution of youth, were now in the loweſt ſtate, we may collect from a proviſion in archbiſhop Parker's foundation of three ſcholarſhips at Cambridge, in the year 1567. He orders that the ſcholars, who are appointed to be elected from three the moſt conſiderable ſchools in Kent and Norfolk, ſhall be "the *beſt* and *apteſt* ſchollers, well inſtructed in "the grammar, and, *if it may be*, ſuch as *can make a verſe* [p]." It became faſhionable in this reign to ſtudy Greek at court. The maids of honour indulged their ideas of ſentimental affection in the ſublime contemplations of Plato's Phaedo: and the queen, who underſtood Greek better than the canons of Windſor, and was certainly a much greater pedant than her ſucceſſor James the firſt, tranſlated Iſocrates [q]. But this paſſion for the Greek language ſoon ended where it began: nor do we find that it improved the national taſte, or influenced the writings, of the age of Eliſabeth.

All changes of rooted eſtabliſhments, eſpecially of a national religion, are attended with ſhocks and convulſions, unpropitious to the repoſe ſcience and ſtudy. But theſe unavoidable inconveniencies laſt not long. When the liberal genius of proteſtantiſm had perfected its work, and the firſt

[o] Strype's GRINDAL. B. ii. ch. xvii. p. 312. This was in iu 1583.

[p] Blomefield's NORFOLK, ii. 224.

[q] Aſcham's SCHOLEMASTER, p. 19. b. edit. 1589. And EPISTOL. lib. i. p. 19. ut ſupr.

fanaticiſms

fanaticiſms of well-meaning but miſguided zealots had ſubſided, every ſpecies of uſeful and elegant knowledge recovered its ſtrength, and aroſe with new vigour. Acquiſitions, whether in theology or humanity, were no longer excluſively confined to the clergy: the laity eagerly embraced thoſe purſuits from which they had long been unjuſtly reſtrained: and, ſoon after the reign of Eliſabeth, men attained that ſtate of general improvement, and thoſe ſituations with reſpect to literature and life, in which they have ever ſince perſevered.

But it remains to bring home, and to apply, this change in the ſentiments of mankind, to our main ſubject. The cuſtoms, inſtitutions, traditions, and religion, of the middle ages, were favorable to poetry. Their pageaunts, proceſſions, ſpectacles, and ceremonies, were friendly to imagery, to perſonification and allegory. Ignorance and ſuperſtition, ſo oppoſite to the real intereſts of human ſociety, are the parents of imagination. The very devotion of the Gothic times was romantic. The catholic worſhip, beſides that its numerous exteriour appendages were of a pictureſque and even of a poetical nature, diſpoſed the mind to a ſtate of deception, and encouraged, or rather authoriſed, every ſpecies of credulity: its viſions, miracles, and legends, propagated a general propenſity to the Marvellous, and ſtrengthened the belief of ſpectres, demons, witches, and incantations. Theſe illuſions were heightened by churches of a wonderful mechaniſm, and conſtructed on ſuch principles of inexplicable architecture as had a tendency to impreſs the ſoul with every falſe ſenſation of religious fear. The ſavage pomp and the capricious heroiſm of the baronial manners, were replete with incident, adventure, and enterpriſe: and the intractable genius of the feudal policy, held forth thoſe irregularities of conduct, diſcordancies of intereſt, and diſſimilarities of ſituation, that framed rich materials for the minſtrel-muſe. The tacit compact of faſhion, which promotes civility by diffuſing

diffuſing habits of uniformity, and therefore deſtroys peculiarities of character and ſituation, had not yet operated upon life: nor had domeſtic convenience aboliſhed unwieldy magnificence. Literature, and a better ſenſe of things, not only baniſhed theſe barbarities, but ſuperſeded the mode of compoſition which was formed upon them. Romantic poetry gave way to the force of reaſon and inquiry; as its own inchanted palaces and gardens inſtantaneouſly vaniſhed, when the chriſtian champion diſplayed the ſhield of truth, and baffled the charm of the necromancer. The ſtudy of the claſſics, together with a colder magic and a tamer mythology, introduced method into compoſition: and the univerſal ambition of rivalling thoſe new patterns of excellence, the faultleſs models of Greece and Rome, produced that bane of invention, IMITATION. Erudition was made to act upon genius. Fancy was weakened by reflection and philoſophy. The faſhion of treating every thing ſcientifically, applied ſpeculation and theory to the arts of writing. Judgment was advanced above imagination, and rules of criticiſm were eſtabliſhed. The brave eccentricities of original genius, and the daring hardineſs of native thought, were intimidated by metaphyſical ſentiments of perfection and refinement. Setting aſide the conſideration of the more ſolid advantages, which are obvious, and are not the diſtinct object of our contemplation at preſent, the lover of true poetry will aſk, what have we gained by this revolution? It may be anſwered, much good ſenſe, good taſte, and good criticiſm. But, in the mean time, we have loſt a ſet of manners, and a ſyſtem of machinery, more ſuitable to the purpoſes of poetry, than thoſe which have been adopted in their place. We have parted with extravagancies that are above propriety, with incredibilities that are more acceptable than truth, and with fictions that are more valuable than reality.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

EMENDATIONS

AND

ADDITIONS

IN THE

Firſt and Second VOLUME.

*** *The Binder is directed to place* EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS *at the* End *of the* Second Volume.

EMENDATIONS

AND

ADDITIONS.

VOL. I.

DISSERTATION I.

SIGNAT. a. fol. verſ. Not. [a]. lin. For "Pocock," READ "Erpenius,"
Signat. c 2. fol. verſ. lin. 3. READ "Vienne."
Signat. e. Not. [q]. lin. 4. For "101," READ "92."
Signat. g. lin. 3. For "mulſorum," READ "mulſo ſeu."
Ibid. lin. 4. READ "Woton."
Signat. h 2. lin. 20. Before "compoſed," INSERT "not."

DISSERTATION II.

SIGNAT. a. fol. verſ. lin. 24. READ "Fryeſby."
Signat. b. lin. 7. READ "Roger."
Ibid. lin. antep. and pen. READ "Bukdene, 10 jun."
Ibid. Not. [x]. lin. 2. READ "vii."
Signat. b 2. fol. verſ. lin. ult. For "monks," READ "canons."

Signat. b 4. Not. °. lin. 9. READ "ſon."

Signat. c 3. lin. 19. READ "Vitalian." So again fol. verſ. lin. 5.

Signat. e 4. fol. verſ. lin. 22. READ "York."

Signat. f. 2. lin. 9. READ "priory of Dunſtable."

Signat. f. 4. Not. ˣ. lin. ult. READ "Hall."

Signat. g. fol. verſ. lin. 15. READ "1270." [In Tanner's date, (viz. MLXX) CC had probably ſlipped out at the Preſs.]

Signat. i. Notes, col. 2. lin. 10. READ "Martyrologium Ovidii de faſtis."

Signat. i. 4. Not. ᵐ. lin. 1. DELE "Monoſtichon."

Signat. k. 2. fol. verſ. to Note ᶠ. ADD, "But ſee Wood, Hiſt. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 46. a."

PAG. 1. Not. ᵇ. lin. 1. For "4," READ "24."

Pag. 3. l. 7. For "even the lower claſs of people," READ "the nobility."

Pag. 6. lin. 17. After "language," INSERT "Among the Records of the Tower, a great revenue-roll, on many ſheets of vellum, or MAGNUS ROTULUS, of the Duchy of Normandy, for the year 1083, is ſtill preſerved; indorſed, in a cœvel hand, ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DNI M° LXXX° III° APUD CADOMUM [Caen] WILLIELMO FILIO RADULFI SENESCALLO NORMANNIE. This moſt exactly and minutely reſembles the pipe-rolls of our exchequer belonging to the ſame age, in form, method, and character. Ayloffe's CALENDAR of ANT. CHART. Pref. p. xxiv. edit. Lond. 1774. 4ᵗᵒ.

Pag. 8. Not. ᵉ. lin. 13. READ "Flacius Illyricus."

Pag. 11. to the laſt Note ADD, "The ſecular indulgences, particularly the luxury, of a female convent, are intended to be repreſented in the following paſſage of an antient poem, called *A Diſpu-*

A Disputation bytwene a crystene mon and a Jew, written before the year 1300. MS. Vernon, fol. 301. [See vol. ii. p. 231.]

Till a Nonneri thei came,
But I knowe not the name;
Ther was mony a derworthe [a] dame
In dyapre dere [b]:
Squizeres [c] in vche syde,
In the wones [d] so wyde:
Hur schul we longe [e] abyde,
Auntres [f] to heare.
Thene swithe [g] spekethe he,
Til a ladi so fre,
And biddeth that he welcum be,
"Sire Water my feere [h]."
Ther was bords [i] i clothed clene
With schire [k] clothes and schene,
Seppe [l] a wasschen [m], i wene,
And wente to the sete:
Riche metes was forth brouht,
To all men that gode thouht:
The cristen mon wolde nouht
Drynke nor ete.
Ther was wyn ful clere
In mony a feir masere [n],
And other drynkes that weore dere,
In coupes [o] ful gret:

[a] Dear-worthy.
[b] Diaper fine.
[c] Squires. Attendants.
[d] Rooms. Apartments.
[e] Shall we long.
[f] Adventures.
[g] Swiftly. Immediately.
[h] My Companion. My Love. He is called afterwards, "Sire [Sir] Walter of "Berwick."
[i] Tables.
[k] Sheer. Clean.
[l] Or *Sithe*, i. e. often.
[m] Washed.
[n] Mazer. Great cup.
[o] Cups.

Siththe

Siththe was schewed him bi
Murththe and munstralsy [p],
And preyed hem do gladly,
With ryal rechet [q].
Bi the bordes up thei stode, &c.

Pag. 13. l. 15. Read "Ciclatoun ant purpel pal."

Pag. 14. to Not. [t]. Add, "The Lives of the Saints in verse, in Bennet library, contain the martyrdom and translation of Becket, Num. clxv. This manuscript is supposed to be of the fourteenth century. Archbishop Parker, in a remark prefixed, has assigned the composition to the reign of Henry the second. But in that case, Becket's translation, which did not happen till the reign of king John, must have been added. See a specimen in Mr. Nasmith's accurate and learned Catalogue of the Bennet manuscripts, pag. 217. Cantab. 1777. 4to. There is a manuscript of these Lives in Trinity college library at Oxford, but it has not the Life of Becket. MSS. Num. lvii. In Pergamen. fol. The writing is about the fourteenth century. I will transcribe a few lines from the Life of saint Cuthbert. f. 2. b.

Seint Cuthberd was ybore here in Engelonde,
God dude for him meracle, as ze scholleth vnderstonde.
And wel zong child he was, in his eigtethe zere,
Wit children he pleyde atte balle, that his felawes were:
That com go a lite childe, it thozt thre zer old,
A swete creature and a fayr, yt was myld and bold:
To the zong Cuthberd he zede, sene brother he sede,
Ne þench not such ydell game for it ne ozte nozt be thy dede;
Seint Cuthberd ne tok no zeme to the childis rede
And pleyde forth with his felawes, al so they him bede.

[p] Afterwards there was sport and minstrelsy.

[q] i. e. Recept. Reception. But see Chaucer's Rom. R. v. 6509.
Him, woulde I comfort and *rechete*.
And Tr. Cress. iii. 350.

Tho

Tho this zonge child y ſez that he his red forſok,
A doun he fel to grounde, and gret del to him to tok,
It by gan to wepe ſore, and his honden wryngе,
This children hadde alle del of him, and byſened hare pleyinge.
As that they couthe hy gladede him, ſore he gan to ſiche,
At even this zonge child made del y ſiche,
A welaway, qd ſeint Cuthbert, why wepes thou ſo ſore
Zif we the haveth ozt myſdo we ne ſcholleth na more.
Thanne ſpake this zonge child, ſore hy wothe beye,
Cuthberd it falleth nozt to the with zonge children to pleye,
For no ſuche idell games it ne cometh the to worche,
Whanne god hath y proveyd the an heved of holy cherche.
With this word, me nyſte whidder, this zong child wente,
An angel it was of heven that our lord thuder ſent.

Saxon letters are uſed in this manuſcript. I will exhibit the next twelve lines as they appear in that mode of writing; together with the punctuation.

þo bẏ gan ſeint Cuthberd. for to wepe ſore
He made his fader and frendis. ſette him to lore
So þat he ſervede boþe nẏȝt and daẏ. to pleſe god þe more
And in his ȝoughede nẏȝt and day. of ſervede godis ore
þo he in grettere elde was. as þe bok us haþ ẏ ſed
It bẏ fel þat ſeint Aẏdan. þe biſſchop was ded
Cuthberd was a felde with ſchep. angeles of heven he ſez
þe biſſchopis ſoule ſeint Aẏdan. to heven bere on hez
Allas ſede ſeint Cuthberd. fole ech am to longe
I nell þis ſchep no longer kepe. a fonge hem who ſo a fonge
He wente to þe abbeẏe of Germans. a grey monk he þer bẏcom
Gret joye made alle þe covent. þo he that abbyt nom, &c."

The reader will obſerve the conſtant return of the hemiſtichal point, which I have been careful to preſerve, and to repreſent with exactneſs; as I ſuſpect, that it ſhews how theſe poems were ſung to the harp by the minſtrels. Every line was perhaps uniformly recited to the ſame monotonous modulation, with a pauſe

a pauſe in a midſt: juſt as we chant the pſalms in our choral ſervice. In the pſalms of our liturgy, this pauſe is expreſſed by a colon: and often, in thoſe of the Roman miſſal, by an aſteriſc. The ſame mark occurs in every line of this manuſcript; which is a folio volume of conſiderable ſize, with upwards of fifty verſes in every page.

Pag. 18. Not. [z]. lin. 3. Inſtead of "Saint Dorman," Read "The Seven Sleepers."

Pag. 30. to Not. [d]. Add, "In the ſame ſtile, as it is manifeſtly of the ſame antiquity, the following little deſcriptive ſong, on the Approach of Summer, deſerves notice. MSS. Harl. 978. f. 5.

Sumer is i cumen,
Lhude ſing cuccu:
Groweth ſed, and bloweth med,
And ſpringeth the wde nu.
Sing, cuccu, cuccu.
Awe bleteth after lomb,
Louth after calve cu;
Bulluc ſterteth,
Bucke verteth:
Murie ſing, cuccu:
Wel ſings thu cuccu;
Ne ſwik thou never nu.

That is, "Summer is coming: Loud ſing, Cuckow! Groweth "ſeed, and bloweth mead, and ſpringeth the wood now. Ewe "bleateth after lamb, loweth cow after calf; bullock ſtarteth, "buck *verteth*[r]: merry ſing, Cuckow! Well ſingeſt thou, "Cuckow, Nor ceaſe to ſing now." This is the moſt antient Engliſh ſong that appears in our manuſcripts, with the muſical notes annexed. The muſic is of that ſpecies of compoſition

[r] Goes to harbour among the fern.

which

which is called *Canon in the Unison*, and is supposed to be of the fifteenth century.

Pag. 47. ADD to Not. [e]. "Compare Tanner in JOANNES CORNUBIENSIS, who recites his other pieces. BIBL. p. 432. Notes, [f]. [s].

Pag. 50. Not. [q]. For "hills," READ "halls."

Pag. 59. l. 9. For "monk," READ "canon."

Pag. 62. Not. [l]. lin. 7. READ "Johnston."

Pag. 68. Not. [n]. lin. 1. DELE "absurdly." And l. 3. DELE "It is a catapult or battering ram."

Pag. 68. Ibid. Notes, col. 2. After lin. 4. INSERT, "See infr. p. 72. MANGONEL also signified what was thrown from the machine so called. Thus Froissart." Et avoient les "Brabançons de tres grans engins devant la ville, qui *gettoient* "pierres de faix et *mangoneaux* jusques en la ville." Liv. iii. c. 118. And in the old French OVIDE cited by Borel, TRESOR. in V.

Onques pour une tor abatre,
Ne oit on *Mangoniaux descendre*
Plus briement ne du ciel destendre
Foudre pour abatre un clocher.

Ibid. ibid. After lin. 17. ADD, "The use of artillery, however, is proved by a curious passage in Petrarch, to be older than the period to which it has been commonly referred. The passage is in Petrarch's book de REMEDIIS UTRIUSQUE FORTUNÆ, undoubtedly written before the year 1334. "G. Habeo "machinas et balistas. R. Mirum, nisi et glandes æneas, quæ "flammis injectis horrisono sonitu jaciuntur.—Erat hæc pestis "*nuper rara*, ut cum ingenti miraculo cerneretur: *nunc*, ut "rerum pessimarum dociles sunt animi, *ita communis* est, ut "*quodlibet* genus armorum." Lib. i. DIAL. 99. See Muratori, ANTIQUITAT. Med. Æv. tom. ii. col. 514. Cannons are supposed to have been first used by the English at the battle of Cressy, in the year 1346. It is extraordinary that Froissart,

 who

who minutely describes that battle, and is fond of decorating his narrative with wonders, should have wholly omitted this circumstance. Musquets are recited as a weapon of the infantry so early as the year 1475. "Quilibet peditum habeat balistam "vel *bombardam*." LIT. Casimiri iii. an. 1475. LEG. POLON. tom. i. p. 228. These are generally assigned to the year 1520.

Pag. 72. l. 6. READ "sueynes."

Pag. 73. to l. 21. ADD this Note, "The rhymes here called, by Robert de Brunne, *Couwée*, and *Enterlacée*, were undoubtedly derived from the Latin rhymers of that age, who used versus *caudati* et *interlaqueati*. Brunne here professes to avoid these elegancies of composition, yet he has intermixed many passages in *Rime Couwée*. See his CHRONICLE, p. 266. 273. &c. &c. And almost all the latter part of his work from the Conquest is written in rhyme *enterlacée*, each couplet rhyming in the middle, as well as the end. As thus, MSS. HARL. 1002.

Plausus Græcorum | lux cæcis et via claudis |
Incola cælorum | virgo dignissima laudis.

The rhyme *Baston* had its appellation from Robert Baston, a celebrated Latin rhymer about the year 1315. The rhyme *strangere* means *uncommon*. See CANTERBURY TALES, vol. 4. p. 72. seq. ut infr. The reader, curious on this subject, may receive further information from a manuscript in the Bodleian library, in which are specimens of METRA *Leonina, cristata, cornuta, recriproca*, &c. MSS. LAUD. K. 3. 4to. In the same library, there is a very antient manuscript copy of Aldhelm's Latin poem *De Virginitate et Laude Sanctorum*, written about the year 700, and given by Thomas Allen, with Saxon glosses, and the text almost in semi-saxon characters. These are the two first verses.

Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina casti,
Et laudem capiat quadrato carmine Virgo.

Langbaine,

Langbaine, in reciting this manuſcript, thus explains the *quadratum* carmen. " Scil. prima cujuſque verſus litera, per " Acroſtichidem, conficit verſum illum *Metrica tyrones.* Ul- " tima cujuſque verſus litera, ab ultimo carmine ordine retro- " gardo numerando, hunc verſum facit.

" Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina caſti."

[Langb. MSS. v. p. 126.] MSS. Digb. 146. There is a very antient tract, by one Mico, I believe called alſo Levita, on Proſody, *De Quantitate Syllabarum*, with examples from the Latin poets, perhaps the firſt work of the kind. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. A. 7. 9. See J. L. Hocker's Catal. MSS. Bibl. Heidelb. p. 24. who recites a part of Mico's Preface, in which he appears to have been a grammatical teacher of youth. See alſo Dacheri Spicileg. tom. ii. p. 300. b. edit. ult.

Pag. 85. Not. [d]. After " pereſſe," Insert, " In this manuſcript the whole title is this. " Le Rossignol, ou la " penſee Jehan de Hovedene clerc la roine d'Engleterre mere le " roi Edward de la naiſſance et de la mort et du relievement et " de laſcenſion Jeſu Criſt et de laſſumpcion notre dame." This manuſcript was written in the fourteenth century.

Pag. 86. Insert at the Beginning of Not. [f]. " Among the learned Engliſhmen who now wrote in French, The Editor of the Canterbury Tales mentions Helis de Guinceſtre, or Winchester, a tranſlator of Cato into French. [See vol. ii. p. 169.] And Hue de Roteland, author of the Romance, in French verſe, called Ipomedon, MSS. Cott. Vesp. A. vii. [See vol. i. p. 169.] The latter is alſo ſuppoſed to have written a French Dialogue in metre, MSS. Bodl. 3904. *La pleinte par entre mis Sire Henry de Lacy Counte de Nichole* [Lincoln] *et Sire Wauter de Bybleſworth pur la croiſerie en la terre ſeinte.* And a French romantic poem on a knight called Capanee, perhaps Statius's Capaneus. MSS. Cott. Vesp. A. vii. ut ſupr. It begins,

cites an old history of Bologna, under the year 1288, by which it appears, that they swarmed in the streets of Italy. "Ut "Cantatores Francigenarum in plateis comunis ad "cantandum morari non possent." On which words he observes, "Colle quali parole sembra verosimile, che sieno diseg-"nati i cantatore del *favole romanze*, che *spezialmente* della "*Franzia* erano portate in Italia." Dissert. Antichit. Ital. tom. ii. c. xxix. p. 16. In Napoli, 1752. He adds, that the minstrels were so numerous in France, as to become a pest to the community; and that an edict was issued about the year 1200, to suppress them in that kingdom. Muratori, in further proof of this point, quotes the above passage from Hoveden; which, as I had done, he misapplies to our king Richard the first. But, in either sense, it equally suits his argument. In the year 1334, at a feast on Easter Sunday, celebrated at Rimini, on occasion of some noble Italians receiving the honour of knighthood, more than one thousand five hundred histriones are said to have attended. "Triumphus quidem maximus fuit "ibidem, &c. — Fuit etiam multitudo Histrionum circa "mille quingentos et ultra." Annal. Cæsenat. tom. xiv. Rer. Italic. Scriptor. col. 1141. But their countries are not specified. In the year 1227, at a feast in the palace of the archbishop of Genoa, a sumptuous banquet and vestments without number were given to the minstrels, or *Joculatores*, then present, who came from Lombardy, Provence, Tuscany, and other countries. Caffari Annal. Genuens. lib. vi. p. 449. D. Apud Tom. vi. ut supr. In the year 774, when Charlemagne entered Italy and found his passage impeded, he was met by a minstrel of Lombardy, whose song promised him success and victory. "Contigit Joculatorem ex *Longobardorum gente* "ad Carolum venire, et Cantiunculam a se composi-"tam, rotando in conspectu suorum, cantare." Tom. ii. P. 2. ut supr. Chron. Monast. Noval. lib. iii. cap. x. p. 717. D.

To recur to the origin of this Note. Rymer, in his Short View of Tragedy, on the notion that Hoveden is here speaking

ſpeaking of king Richard, has founded a theory, which is conſequently falſe, and is otherwiſe but imaginary. See p. 66. 67. 69. 74. He ſuppoſes, that Richard, in conſequence of his connection with Raimond count of Tholouſe, encouraged the hereſy of the Albigenſes; and that therefore the hiſtorian Hoveden, as an eccleſiaſtic, was intereſted in abuſing Richard, and in inſinuating, that his reputation for poetry reſted only on the venal praiſes of the French minſtrels. The words quoted are, indeed, written by a churchman, although not by Hoveden. But whatever invidious turn they bear, they belong, as we have ſeen, to quite another perſon; to a biſhop who juſtly deſerved ſuch an indirect ſtroke of ſatire, for his criminal enormities, not for any vain pretenſions to the character of a Provencial ſongſter.

Pag. 114. l. 15. For "ſecond," READ "third."

Pag. 15. l. 4. To "Robert Borron" ADD this Note, "In Bennet college library at Cambridge, there is an Engliſh poem on the SANGREAL, and its appendages, containing forty thouſand verſes. MSS. LXXX. chart. The manuſcript is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end. The title at the head of the firſt page is ACTA ARTHURI REGIS, written probably by Joceline, chaplain and ſecretary to archbiſhop Parker. The narrative, which appears to be on one continued ſubject, is divided into books, or ſections, of unequal length. It is a tranſlation made from Robert Borron's French romance called LANCELOT, abovementioned, which includes the adventure of the SANGREAL, by Henry Lonelich Skynner, a name which I never remember to have ſeen among thoſe of the Engliſh poets. The diction is of the age of king Henry the ſixth. Borel, in his TRESOR *de Recherches et Antiquitez Gauloiſes et Francoiſes*, ſays, "Il y'a un Roman ancien intitule LE CONQUESTE DE SAN-"GREALL, &c." Edit. 1655. 4to. V. GRAAL. It is difficult to determine with any preciſion which is Robert Borron's French Romance now under conſideration, as ſo many have been written on the ſubject. [See vol. i. p. 134.] The diligence

gence and accuracy of Mr. Nasmith have furnished me with the following transcript from Lonelich Skynner's translation in Bennet college library.

Thanne passeth forth this storye with al
That is cleped of som men SEYNT GRAAL
Also the SANK RYAL iclepid it is
Of mochel peple with owten mys
* * * * * *
Now of al this storie have I mad an ende
That is schwede of Celidoygne and now forthere to wend
And of anothir brawnche most we be gynne
Of the storye that we clepen prophet Merlynne
Wiche that Maister ROBERT of BORROWN
Owt of Latyn it transletted hol and soun
Onlich into the langage of Frawnce
This storie he drowgh be adventure and chaunce
And doth Merlynne insten with SANK RYAL
For the ton storie the tothir medlyth withal
After the satting of the forseid ROBERT
That somtym it transletted in Middilerd
And I as an unkonneng man trewely
Into Englisch have drawen this storye
And thowgh that to zow not plesyng it be
Zit that ful excused ze wolde haven me
Of my neclegence and unkonnenge
On me to taken swich a thinge
Into owre modris tonge for to endite
The swettere to sowne to more and lyte
And more cler to zoure undirstondyng
Thanne owthir Frensh other Latyn to my supposing
And therfore atte the ende of this storye
A pater noster ze wolden for me preye
For me that HERRY LONELICH hyhte
And greteth owre lady ful of myhte

Hartelich

Hartelich with an ave that ze hir bede
This proceſſe the bettere I myhte procede
And bringen this book to a good ende
Now thereto Jeſu Criſt grace me ſende
And than an ende there offen myhte be
Now good Lord graunt me for charite

* * * * * * *

Thanne Merlyn to Blaſye cam anon
And there to hym he ſeide thus ſon
Blaſye thou ſchalt ſuffren gret peyne
This ſtorye to an ende to bringen certeyne
And zit ſchall I ſuffren mochel more
How ſo Merlyn quod Blaſye there
I ſchall be ſowht quod Merlyne tho
Owt from the weſt with meſſengeris mo
And they that ſcholen comen to ſeken me
They have maad ſewrawnce I telle the
Me forto flen for any thing
This ſewrawnce hav they mad to her kyng
But whanne they me ſen and with me ſpeke
No power they ſchol hav on me to ben a wreke
For with hem hens moſte I gon
And thou into othir partyes ſchalt wel ſon
To hem that hav the holy veſſel
Which that is icleped the Seynt Graal
And wete thow wel and ek forſothe
That thow and ek this ſtorye bothe
Ful wel beherd now ſchall it be
And alſo beloved in many contre
And has that will knowen in ſertaygne
What kynges that weren in grete Bretaygne
Sithan that Criſtendom thedyn was browht
They ſcholen hem fynde has ſo that it ſawht
In the ſtorye of Brwttes book
There ſcholen ze it fynde and ze weten look

Which that MARTYN DE BEWRE translated here
From Latyn into Romaunce in his manere
But leve me now of BRWTTES book
And aftyr this storye now lete us look.

After this latter extract, which is to be found nearly in the middle of the manuscript, the scene and personages of the poem are changed; and king Enalach, king Mordrens, Sir Nesciens, Joseph of Arimathea, and the other heroes of the former part, give place to king Arthur, king Brangors, king Loth, and the monarchs and champions of the British line. In a paragraph, very similar to the second of these extracts, the following note is written in the hand of the text, *Henry Lonelich Skynner, that translated this boke out of Frenshe into Englyshe, at the instaunce of Harry Barton.*

The QUEST OF THE SANGREAL, as it is called, in which devotion and necromancy are equally concerned, makes a considerable part of king Arthur's romantic history, and was one grand object of the knights of the Round Table. He who achieved this hazardous adventure was to be placed there in the *siege perillous*, or *seat* of *danger*. "When Merlyn had ordayned the rounde table, he said, by them that be fellowes of the rounde table the truthe of the SANGREALL shall be well knowne, &c.—They which heard Merlyn say soe, said thus to Merlyn, sithence there shall be such a knight, thou shouldest ordayne by thy craft a siege that no man should sitte therein, but he onlie which shall passe all other knights. —Then Merlyn made the siege perillous, &c." Caxton's MORT D'ARTHUR, B. xiv. cap. ii. Sir Lancelot, *who is come but of the eighth degree from our lord Jesus Christ*, is represented as the chief adventurer in this honourable expedition. Ibid. B. iii. c. 35. At a celebration of the feast of Pentecost at Camelot by king Arthur, the Sangreal suddenly enters the hall, "but there was no man might see it nor who bare it," and the knights, as by some invisible power, are instantly supplied with a feast

a feast of the choicest dishes. Ibid. c. 35. Originally Le Brut, Lancelot, Tristan, and the Saint Greal were separate histories; but they were so connected and confounded before the year 1200, that the same title became applicable to all. The book of the Sangreal, a separate work, is referred to in Morte Arthur. "Now after that the quest of the "Sancgreall was fulfylled, and that all the knyghtes that "were lefte alive were come agayne to the Rounde Table, as "the Booke of the Sancgreall makethe mencion, than "was there grete joye in the courte. And especiallie king "Arthur and quene Guenever made grete joye of the remnaunt "that were come home. And passynge glad was the kinge and "quene of syr Launcelot and syr Bors, for they had been "passynge longe awaye in the quest of the Sancgreall. "Then, as the Frenshe booke sayeth, syr Lancelot, &c." B. xviii. cap. 1. And again, in the same romance. "Whan "syr Bors had tolde him [Arthur] of the adventures of the "Sancgreall, such as had befallen hym and his felawes,— "all this was made in grete bookes, and put in almeryes at "Salisbury." B. xvii. cap. xxiii [s]. The former part of this passage is almost literally translated from one in the French romance of Tristan, Bibl. Reg. MSS. 20 D. ii. fol. antep. "Quant Boort ot conte laventure del Saint Graal teles com eles "esloient avenues, eles furent mises en escrit, gardees en la- "mere de Salibieres, *dont Mestre* Galtier Map *l'estrest a faist* "*son livre du Saint Graal por lamor du roy Herri son sengor, qui* "*fist lestoire tralater del Latin en romanz* [t]." Whether *Salisbury*, or *Salibieres* is, in the two passages, the right reading, I cannot ascertain. [But see Not [s]. p. 117. vol. ii.] But in the royal library at Paris there is "Le Roman de Tristan et Iseult, "traduit de Latin en François, par Lucas chevalier du Gast "pres de Sarisberi, Anglois, avec figures." Montfauc. Catal.

[s] The romance says, that king Arthur "made grete clerkes com before him that "they should cronicle the adventures of "these goode knygtes." [See supr. vol. i. p. 336.]

[t] See supr. vol. ii. p. 235.

MSS. Cod. Reg. Paris. Cod. 6776. fol. max. And again Cod. 6956. fol. max. "Liveres de TRISTAN mis en François par "Lucas chevalier sieur de chateau du Gat [a]." [See supr. vol. i. p. 115. Notes.] *Almeryes* in the English, and *l'Amere*, properly *aumoire* in the French, mean, I believe, *Presses*, *Chests*, or *Archives*. *Ambry*, in this sense, is not an uncommon old English word. From the second part of the first French quotation which I have distinguished by Italics, it appears, that Walter Mapes, a learned archdeacon in England, under the reign of king Henry the second, wrote a French SANGREAL, which he translated from Latin, by the command of that monarch. Under the idea, that Walter Mapes was a writer on this subject, and in the fabulous way, some critics may be induced to think, that the WALTER, archdeacon of Oxford, from whom Geoffrey of Monmouth professes to have received the materials of his history, was this Walter Mapes, and not Walter Calenius, who was also an eminent scholar, and an archdeacon of Oxford. [See vol. i. p. 65.] Geoffrey says in his Dedication to Robert earl of Gloucester, "Finding nothing said in Bede or Gildas of "king Arthur and his successours, although their actions highly "deserved to be recorded in writing, and are orally celebrated "by the British bards, I was much surprised at so strange an "omission. At length Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a man "of great eloquence, and learned in foreign histories, offered "me an ancient book in the British or Armorican tongue; "which, in one unbroken story, and an elegant diction, re-"lated the deeds of the British kings from Brutus to Cadwal-"lader. At his request, although unused to rhetorical flou-"rishes, and contented with the simplicity of my own plain "language, I undertook the translation of that book into "Latin." B. i. ch. i. See also B. xii. ch. xx. Some writers suppose, that Geoffrey pretended to have received his materials

[a] There is printed, "Le Roman du "noble et vaillant Chevalier Tristan fils "du noble roy Meliadus de Leonnoys, "par Luce, chevalier, seigneur du chas-"teau de Gast. Rouen, 1489. fol."

from

from archdeacon Walter, by way of authenticating his romantic history. These notices seem to disprove that suspicion. In the year 1488, a French romance was published, in two magnificent folio volumes, entitled, HISTOIRE *de* ROY ARTUS *et des* CHEVALIERS *de la* TABLE RONDE. The first volume was printed at *Rouen*, the second at *Paris*. It contains in four detached parts, the Birth and Achievements of king Arthur, the Life of Sir Lancelot, the Adventure of the Sangreal, and the Death of Arthur, and his Knights. In the body of the work, this romance more than once is said to be written by Walter Map or Mapes, and by the command of his master king Henry. For instance, tom. ii. at the end of PARTIE DU SAINT GRAAL, Signat. d d i. "Cy fine Maistre GUALTIER "MAP son traittie du Saint Graal." Again, tom. ii. LA DERNIERE PARTIE, ch. i. Signat. d d ii. "Apres ce que "Maistre GUALTIER MAP eut tractie des avantures du Saint "Graal, assez soufisamment, sicomme il luy sembloit, il fut ad "adviz au ROY HENRY SON SEIGNEUR, que ce quil avoit "fait ne debuit soufrire sil ne racontoys la fin de ceulx dont il "fait mention.—Et commence Maistre Gualtier en telle manier "ceste derniere partie." This *derniere partie* treats of the death of king Arthur and his knights. At the end of the second tome there is this colophon. "Cy fine le dernier volume de "La Table Ronde, faisant mencion des fais et proesses de mon-"seigneur Launcelot du Lac et dautres plusieurs nobles et vail-"lans hommes ses compagnons. Compile et extraict precise-"ment et au juste des vrayes histoires faisantes de ce mencion "par tresnotable et tresexpert historien Maistre GUALTIER "MAP, et imprime a Paris par Jehan du Pre. Et lan du "grace, mil. cccc. iiiixx. et viii. le xvi jour du Septembre." The passage quoted above from the royal manuscript in the British Museum, where king Arthur orders the adventures of the Sangreal to be chronicled, is thus represented in this romance. "Et quant Boort eut compte depuis le commencement "jusques a la fin les avantures du Saint Graal telles comme ils

"les

" les avoit veues, &c. Si fist le roy Artus rediger et mettre " par escript aus dictz clers tout ci que Boort avoit compte, " &c." Ibid. tom. ii. La Partie du SAINT GRAAL, ch. ult. * At the end of the royal manuscript at Paris, [Cod. 6783.] entitled LANCELOT DU LAC *mis en François par Robert de Borron par le commandement de Henri roi d'Angleterre*, it is said, that Messire Robert de Borron translated into French, not only LANCELOT, but also the story of the SAINT GRAAL *li tout du Latin du* GAUTIER MAPPE. But the French antiquaries in this sort of literature are of opinion, that the word *Latin*, here signifies *Italian*; and that by this LATIN of Gualtier Mapes, were are to understand *English* versions of those romances made from the *Italian* language. The French History of the SANGREAL, printed at Paris in folio by Gallyot du Prè in 1516, is said, in the title, to be translated from Latin into French rhymes, and from thence into French prose by Robert Borron. This romance was reprinted in 1523.

Caxton's MORTE ARTHUR, finished in the year 1469, professes to treat of various separate histories. But the matter of the whole is so much of the same sort, and the heroes and adventures of one story are so mutually and perpetually blended with those of another, that no real unity or distinction is preserved. It consists of twenty-one books. The first seven books treat of king Arthur. The eighth, ninth, and tenth, of sir Trystram. The eleventh and twelfth of sir Lancelot *. The thirteenth of the SAINGRAL, which is also called sir Lancelot's Book. The fourteenth of sir Percival. The fifteenth, again, of sir Lancelot. The sixteenth of sir Gawaine. The seventeenth of sir Galahad. [But all the four last mentioned books are also called the *historye of the holy Sancgreall.*] The eighteenth and nine-

* Just before it is said, " Le roy Artus " fist venir les CLERCS qui les aventures " aux chevalliers mettoient en escript." As in MORT D'ARTHUR.

* But at the end, this twelfth book is called the *the second book of* SYR TRYSTRAM. And it is added, " But here is " no rehersall of the thyrd booke [*of* SIR " TRISTRAM."]

teenth

teenth of miſcellaneous adventures. The two laſt of king Arthur and all the knights. Lwhyd mentions a Welſh SANGREALL, which, he ſays, contains various fables of king Arthur and his knights, &c. ARCHÆOLOG. BRIT. Tit. vii. p. 265. col. 2. MORTE ARTHUR is often literally tranſlated from various and very ancient detached hiſtories of the heroes of the round table, which I have examined; and on the whole, it nearly reſembles Walter Map's romance abovementioned, printed at Rouen and Paris, both in matter and diſpoſition.

I take this opportunity of obſerving, that a very valuable vellum fragment of LE BRUT, of which the writing is uncommonly beautiful and of high antiquity, containing part of the ſtory of Merlin and king Vortigern, covers a manuſcript of Chaucer's ASTROLABE, lately preſented, together with ſeveral oriental manuſcripts, to the Bodleian library, by Thomas Hedges, eſquire, of Alderton in Wiltſhire: a gentleman poſſeſſed of many curious manuſcripts, and Greek and Roman coins, and moſt liberal in his communications.

Pag. 119. ADD to Not. [z]. "Among Crynes's books in the Bodleian library is a copy of king Richard's romance, printed by W. de Worde in 1509. CR. 734. 8[vo]. This edition was in the Harleian library.

Pag. 120. Notes. l. 13. col. 2. After "ſixth," ADD "By the way, it appears from this quotation, that there was an old romance called WADE. Wade's *Bote* is mentioned in Chaucer's MARCHAUNTS TALE, v. 940. p. 68. Urr.

> And eke theſe olde wivis, god it wote,
> They connin ſo much crafte in *Wadis bote*.

Again, TROIL. CRESS. iii. 615.

> He ſonge, ſhe plaide, he tolde a tale of *Wade*.

Where, ſays the gloſſariſt, "A romantick ſtory, famous at that "time, of one WADE, who performed many ſtrange exploits, "and

" and met with many wonderful adventures in his Boat *Guige-*
" *lot*." Speght ſays, that Wade's hiſtory was *long* and *fabulous*.

Pag. 126. ADD to Not. [e]. l. 9. " See Preface to Hearne's Rob. of Glouceſter, p. lx. And Strype's ANNALS, ii. p. 313. edit. 1725. Where Stowe is mentioned as an induſtrious collector of antient chronicles. In the year 1568, among the proofs of Stowe's attachment to popery, it was reported to the privy council by archbiſhop Grindal, that " he had a great ſort
" of fooliſh fabulous books of *old print*, as of ſir DEGORY, ſir
" TRYAMOUR, &c. A great parcell alſo of old-written Eng-
" liſh chronicles, both in parchment and paper." See Strype's GRINDALL. B. i. ch. xiii. pag. 125. And APPEND. Num. xvii."

Pag. 127. Not. [d]. l. 2. After " Latin," ADD " romance." In Lincoln's-inn library there is a poem entitled BELLUM TROJANUM, Num. 150. Pr.

Sichen god hade this worlde wroght.

Pag. 128. l. 7. DELE the firſt " of."

Pag. 129. l. 3. READ " Olynthian."

Pag. 131. l. 21. Not. col. 1. After " fables," ADD " See Wolfii Bibl. Hebr. i. 468. ii. 931. iii. 350. iv. 934."

Pag. 143. Not. [p]. ADD " Among the Bennet manuſcripts there is ROMANZ DE GUI DE WARWYK. Num. L. It begins,

Puis cel tems ke deus fu nez.

This book belonged to Saint Auguſtin's abbey at Canterbury. With regard to the preceding romance of BEVIS, the Italians had *Buovo d'Antona*, undoubtedly from the French, before 1348. And Luhyd recites in Welſh, *Yſtori Boun o Hamtun*. ARCHÆOL. p. 264.

Pag. 147. Not. [d]. l. 2. DELE " Treatiſe on Monarchy." Afterwards READ " that piece."

Pag. 154. to l. 14. ADD this Note, " It is " One and twenti
" inches

" inches aboute." So doctor Farmer's manuſcript, purchaſed from Mr. Martin's library. See ſupr. p. 121. Not. [s]. This is in Engliſh.

Pag. 156. Add to Not. [r]. " Or perhaps, *By the lyfte*, is, through the air. See Lye in Junius, V. Lift.

Pag. 157. l. 15. read " Comnena."

Pag. 158. Not. [t]. l. 17. Read " area."

Pag. 161. Add to Not. [q]. " In the wardrobe-roll of prince Edward, afterwards king Edward the ſecond, under the year 1272, the maſters of the horſe render their accounts for horſes purchaſed, ſpecifying the colours and prices with the greateſt accuracy. One of them is called, " Unus equus favellus " cum ſtella in fronte, &c." Hearne's Joann. de Trokelowe. Præf. p. xxvi. Here *favellus* is interpreted by Hearne to be *honeycomb*. I ſuppoſe he underſtands a dappled or roan horſe. But favellus, evidently an adjective, is barbarous Latin for falvus, or *fulvus*, a dun or light yellow, a word often uſed to expreſs the colour of horſes and hawks. See Carpentier, Suppl. Du Freſne Lat. Gloss. V. Favellus. tom. ii. p. 370. It is hence that king Richard's horſe is called favel. From which word Phanuel, in Robert de Brunne, is a corruption.

Pag. 165. Not. [x]. l. 3. Read " paytrell."

Pag. 170. to " corall" in l. 16. Add this Note, " I do not perfectly underſtand the materials of this fairy palace.

> The walls thereof were of criſtall
> And the ſomers of *corall*.

But Chaucer mentions *corall* in his temple of Diana. Knightes Tale, v. 1912.

> And northward, in a touret on the wall,
> Of alabaſtre white, and red corall,
> An oratorie riche for to ſee.

Carpentier cites a paſſage from the romance *De Troyes*, in which a chamber of alabaſter is mentioned. SUPPL. LAT, GLOSS. Du Cange, tom. i. p. 136.

> En celle chambre n'oit noienz,
> De chaux, d'areine, de cimenz,
> Enduit, ni moillerons, ni emplaiſtre,
> Tot entiere fut *alambaſtre*.

Pag. 175. ADD to Not. [v]. "The etymologiſts have been puzzled to find the derivation of an oriel-window. A learned correſpondent ſuggeſts, that ORIEL is Hebrew for *Lux mea*, or *Dominus illuminatio mea*.

Pag. 180. to Not. [c]. ADD, "Cloath of Rennes ſeems to have been the fineſt ſort of linen. In the old manuſcript MYSTERY, or religious comedy, of MARY MAGDALENE, written in 1512, a GALANT, one of the retainers to the groupe of the Seven Deadly Sins, is introduced with the following ſpeech.

> Hof, Hof, Hof, a fryſch new galaunt!
> Ware of thryſt, ley that a doune:
> What mene ye, ſyrrys, that I were a marchaunt,
> Becauſe that I am new com to toun?
> With praty . . . . wold I fayne round,
> I have a *ſhert* of *reyns* with ſleves peneaunt,
> A laſe of ſylke for my lady Conſtant——
> I woll, or even, be ſhaven for to ſeme yong, &c.

So alſo in Skelton's MAGNIFICENCE, a Morality written much about the ſame time. f. xx. b.

> Your ſkynne, that was wrapped in *ſhertes of raynes*,
> Nowe muſt be ſtorm yboten.——

Pag. 186. Not. [a]. READ "Ne wiſt."

Pag. 190. Not. col. 1. lin. 7. After "Robert," ADD "The French

French prose romance of Robert le Diable, printed in 1496, is extant in the little collection, of two volumes, called Bibliotheque Bleue. It has been translated into other languages: among the rest into English. The English version was printed by Wynkyn de Worde. The title of one of the chapters is, *How god sent an aungell to the hermyte to shewe him the penaunce that he sholde gyve to Robert for his synnes.*—" Yf that Robert wyll " be shryven of his synnes, he must kepe and counterfeite the " wayes of a fole and be as he were dombe, &c." It ends thus,

Thus endeth the lyfe of Robert the devyll
That was the servaunte of our lorde
And of his condycyons that was full evyll
Emprinted in London by Wynkyn de Worde.

The volume has this colophon. " Here endeth the lyfe of " the moost ferefullest and unmercyfullest and myschevous " Robert the devill which was afterwards called the servaunt " of our Lorde Jhesu Cryste. Emprinted in Fletestrete in [at] " the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde." There is an old English Morality on this tale, under the very corrupt title of Robert Cicyll, which was represented at the High-Cross in Chester, in 1529. There is a manuscript copy of the poem, on vellum, in Trinity college library at Oxford, MSS. Num. lvii. fol.

Pag. 197. to l. 15. Add this Note, " I know not if by *sire Jovyn* he means Jupiter, or the Roman emperour called Jovinian, against whom saint Jerom wrote, and whose history is in the Gesta Romanorum, c. 59. He is mentioned by Chaucer as an example of pride, luxury, and lust. Somp. T. v. 7511. Verdier (in V.) recites a *Moralite* on Jovinian, with nineteen characters, printed at Lyons, from an antient copy in 1581, 8vo. With the title *L'Orgueil et presomption de l'Empereur* Jovinian. But *Jovyn* being mentioned here with *Plotoun* and *Apollin*, seems to mean *Jove* or *Jupiter*; and the appellation, sire, perhaps implies *father*, or *chief*, of the heathen gods.

Pag. 200. to the Note Add, "Margaret countess of Richmond was a justice of peace."

Pag. 208. to Not. [e]. Add "I make no apology for adding here an account of the furniture of a Closet at the old royal palace of Greenwich, in the reign of Henry the eighth; as it throws light on our general subject, by giving a lively picture of the fashions, arts, amusements, and modes of life, which then prevailed. From the same manuscript in the British Museum. "A clocke. A glasse of steele. Four battell axes of "wood. Two quivers with arrowes. A painted table, [i. e. "a picture.] A payre of ballance [balances], with waights. "A case of tynne with a plot. In the window [a large bow-"window], a rounde mapp, A standinge glasse of steele in "ship.—A branche of flowres wrought upon wyre. Two "payre of playing tables of bone. A payre of chesmen in a "case of black lether. Two birds of Araby. A gonne [gun] "upon a stocke wheeled. Five paxes [crucifixes] of glasse and "woode. A tablet of our ladie and saint Anne. A standinge "glasse with imagery made of bone. Three payre of hawkes "gloves, with two lined with velvett. Three combe-cases of "bone furnished. A night-cappe of blacke velvett embraw-"dered. Sampson made in alablaster. A peece of unicorne's "horne. Littel boxes in a case of woode. Four littel coffres "for jewels. A horne of ivorie, A standinge diall in a case "of copper. A horne-glasse. Eight cases of trenchers. Forty "four dogs collars, of sondrye makynge. Seven *lyans* of silke. "A purse of crymson satten for a . . . . . embrawdered with "golde. A round painted table with th' ymage of a kinge. A "foldinge table of images. One payre of bedes [beads] of "jasper garnyshed with lether. One hundred and thirty eight "hawkes hoodes. A globe of paper. A mappe made lyke a "scryne. Two green boxes with wrought corall in them. "Two boxes covered with blacke velvett. A reede tipt at "both ends with golde, and bolts for a turony bowe [y]. A

[y] Perhaps Tyrone in Ireland.

"chaire

" chaire of joyned worke. An elle of ſynnamounde [cinna-
" mon] ſticke tipt with ſylver. Three ridinge rodde for ladies,
" and a yard [rod] of blake tipt with horne. Six walkyng
" ſtaves, one covered with ſilke and golde. A blake ſatten-bag
" with cheſmen. A table with a cloth [a picture] of ſaint
" George embrawdered. A caſe of fyne carved work. A
" box with a bird of Araby. Two long caſes of blacke lether
" with pedegrees. A caſe of Iriſh arrows. A table, with
" wordes, of Jheſus. A target. Twenty-nine bowes." MSS. Harl. 1419. fol. 58. In the GALLERY at Greenwich, mention is made of a " Mappe of England." Ibid. fol. 58. And in Weſtminſter-palace " a Mappe of Hantſhire." fol. 133. A proof that the topography of England was now ſtudied. Among various HEADS of Furniture, or ſtores, at the caſtle of Windſor, ſuch as HORNS, GYRDELLES, HAWKES HOODS, WEAPONS, BUCKLERS, DOGS COLLARS, and AIGLETTES, WALKING-STAVES are ſpecified. Under this laſt HEAD we have, " A
" Cane garniſhed with ſylver and gilte, with aſtronomie upon
" it. A Cane garniſhed with golde havinge a perfume in the
" toppe, undre that a diall, with a paire of twitchers, and a
" paire of compaſſes of golde and a foote reule of golde, a
" knife and the file, th' afte [the handle of the knife] of golde
" with a whetſtone tipped with golde, &c." fol. 407.

Ibid. Notes, col. 1. To l. 25. ADD " It is in this romance of Syr BEVYS, that the knight paſſes over a bridge, the arches of which are hung round with ſmall bells. Signat. E iv. This is an oriental idea. In the ALCORAN it is ſaid, that one of the felicities in Mahomet's paradiſe, will be to liſten to the raviſhing muſic of an infinite number of bells, hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of God. Sale's KORAN, Prelim. Diſc. p. 100. In the enchanted horn, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, in *le Lai du Corn*, the rim of the horn is hung round with a hundred bells of a moſt muſical ſound.

Pag. 219. REFER Not. *. to *ikome* in the text.

Pag.

Pag. 220. to l. 18. Add this Note. In the Lincoln's-inn manuſcript it is,

Divers is this myddel erde.

Hoſpit. Linc. MSS. N. 150.

Pag. 221. Not. [f]. Read "*Aurifrigium*."

Ibid. Not. col. 1. l. 2, For "Ethiope," Read "Europe." So MS. Hoſpit. Linc.

Pag. 232. Not. [e]. l. antep. Read "Hubert." [See Leland. Script. Brit. p. 228. And a Note in the editor's firſt Index, under Gulielmus de Canno.]

Pag. 248. l. 8. Read "canonical."

Pag. 255. Not. [s]. Read "238."

Pag. 265. To l. 11. Add this Note, "Much about the ſame period, Lawrence Minot, not mentioned by Tanner, wrote a collection of poems on the principal events of the reign of king Edward the third, preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum. MSS. Cotton. Galb. E. ix.

Pag. 276. Not. [t]. Read "360."

Pag. 277. Add to Not. [x]. "Or, Couſin."

Pag. 278. Add to Not. [f]. "See below, p. 300."

Pag. 279. l. 18. To the word "Wy" Add this Note. "Wy is probably Weyhill in Hampſhire, where a famous fair ſtill ſubſiſts.

Pag. 289. Not. [d]. Read "Auſtins."

Pag. 292. For "John," Read "Thomas."

Pag. 298. Not. Read "p. 40."

Ibid. Dele Not. [t]. And Substitute "Robartes men, or Roberdſmen, were a ſet of lawleſs vagabonds, notorious for their outrages when Pierce Plowman was written, that is, about the year 1350. The ſtatute of Edward the third [an. reg. 5. c. xiv.] ſpecifies "divers manſlaughters, felonies, and "robberies, done by people that be called *Roberdeſmen*, Waſ-"tours, and drawlatches." And the ſtatute of Richard the ſecond [an. reg. 7. c. v.] ordains, that the ſtatute of king Edward

Edward concerning *Roberdſmen* and *Drawlacches* ſhall be rigorouſly obſerved. Sir Edward Coke [Instit. iii. 197.] ſuppoſes them to have been originally the followers of Robert Hood in the reign of Richard the firſt. See Blackſtone's Comm. B. iv. ch. 17. Biſhop Latimer ſays, that in a town where he intended to preach, he could not collect a congregation, becauſe it was *Robinhoodes daye*. "I thought my rochet "would have been regarded, though I were not: but it would "not ſerve, it was faine to give place to *Robinhoodes men*." Sermons, fol. 74. b. This expreſſion is not without an alluſion to the *bad* ſenſe of *Roberdſmen*.

Pag. 299. To l. 4. Add this Note. "In the Liber Pænitentialis there is this injunction, "Si monachus per ebrietatem *vomitum fecerit*, triginta dies *pæniteat*." MSS. Jam. V. 237. Bibl. Bodl.

Pag. 300. Add to Not. [p]. "Moſt of the printed copies read *praid*. Hearne, in a quotation of this paſſage, reads *yrad*. Gul. Newbrig. p. 770. He quotes an edition of 1553. "Your "name ſhall be richly written in the windows of the church "of the monaſtery, which men will read there for ever." This ſeems to be the true reading.

Ibid. Not. [m]. Before "Painted," Insert "Muſt be." *Mote* is often uſed in Chaucer for muſt.

Pag. 301. l. antep. Read "ycorven."

Pag. 302. Dele Not. [p]. And Substitute, "By *Merkes of merchauntes* we are to underſtand their ſymbols, cyphers, or badges, drawn or painted in the windows. Of this paſſage I have received the following curious explication from Mr. Cole, rector of Blechley in Bucks, a learned antiquary in the heraldic art. "*Mixed with the arms of their founders and benefactors* "*ſtand alſo the* marks *of tradeſmen and merchants, who had no* "*Arms, but uſed their Marks in a Shield like Arms.* Inſtances "of this ſort are very common. In many places in Great Saint "Mary's church in Cambridge ſuch a Shield of Mark oc-"curs: the ſame that is to be ſeen in the windows of the "great

" great ſhop oppoſite the Conduit on the Market-hill, and the " corner houſe of the Petty Curry. No doubt, in the reign of " Henry the ſeventh, the owner of theſe houſes was a bene- " factor to the building, or glaſing Saint Mary's church. I " have ſeen like inſtances in Briſtol cathedral; and the churches " at Lynn are full of them."—In an antient ſyſtem of heraldry in the Britiſh Muſeum, I find the following illuſtration, under a ſhield of this ſort. " Theys be none armys, bvt a " MARKE as MARCHAUNTS vſe, for every mane may take " hyme a Marke, but not armys, without an herawde or pur- " cyvaunte." MSS. Harl. 2259. 9. fol. 110.

Ibid. Not. *. ADD " But perhaps we ſhould read HURNES, interpreted, in the ſhort Gloſſary to the CREDE, CAVES, that is, in the preſent application, *niches*, *arches*. See GLOSS. Rob. Glouc. p. 660. col. i. HURN, is *angle*, *corner*. From the Saxon Þýnn, *Angulus*. Chaucer FRANKEL. T. Urr. p. 110. v. 2677.

Seeking in every halke [nook], and every *herne*.

And again, CHAN. YEM. Prol. p. 121. v. 679.

Lurking in *hernis* and in lanis blind.

Read the line, thus pointed.

Houſed in HURNES hard ſet abouten.

The ſenſe is therefore. " The tombs were within lofty-pin- " nacled tabernacles, and encloſed in a multiplicity of thick- " ſet arches." HARD is *cloſe* or *thick*. This conveys no bad idea of a Gothic ſepulchral ſhrine.

Ibid. DELE Not. *.

Ibid. l. antep. For " often," READ " of ten."

Pag. 303. l. antep. READ " quentelyche."

Pag. 309. Not. *. l. 1. READ " 140."

Pag. 317. ADD to Not. *. " The Holy Virgin appears to a priest

prieſt who often ſung to her, and calls him her *joculator*. MSS. James. xxvi. p. 32.

Pag. 321. l. 23. Read "1594."

Pag. 339. Not. [s]. Add "Perhaps by *Cenes*, Froiſſart means Shene, the royal palace at Richmond.

Pag. 343. l. 10. Read "Glouceſterſhire."

Ibid. Not. [t]. l. 1. Read "Glanville." And Add at the end "See Lewis's Wiccliffe, p. 66. 329. And Lewis's History of the Translations of the Bible, p. 66.

Pag. 346. l. 17. After "Lucca in," Insert, "1570. The title of Granucci's proſe Theseide is this, Theseide *di Boccacio de ottava Rima nuovamente ridotta in proſa per Nicolao Granucci di Lucca. In Lucca appreſſo Vinzenzza Buſdraghi.* MDLXX. In the Dedicazione to this work, which was printed more than two hundred years ago, and within one hundred years after the Ferrara edition of the Theseide appeared, Granucci mentions Boccacio's work as a translation from the barbarous Greek poem cited below. Dedicaz. fol. 5. "Volendo far "coſa, que non ſio ſtata fatta da loro, pero mutato parere mi "dicoli a ridurre in proſa queſto Innamoramento, Opera di M. "Giovanni Boccacio, *quale egli* tranſporto dal Greco *in* "*octava* rima per compiacere alla ſua Fiametta, &c." Lib. Slonian. 1614. Brit. Muſ.

Pag. 349. l. 5. After "Theſeid," Insert "The writer has tranſlated the prefatory epiſtle addreſſed by Boccacio to the Fiametta.

Ibid. l. 10. Read "1453."

Pag. 350. Add to the laſt Note. "In the edition of the Gesta Romanorum, printed at Rouen in 1521, and containing one hundred and eighty-one chapters, the hiſtory of Apollonius of Tyre occurs, ch. 153. This is the firſt of the additional chapters.

Pag. 352. To Not. [r]. Add "The tranſlation of Flores and Blancaflore in Greek iambics might alſo be made in compliment to Boccacio. Their adventures make the principal

 ſubject

ſubject of his Philocopo: but the ſtory exiſted long before, as Boccacio himſelf informs us, L. i. p. 6. edit. 1723. Flores and Blancaflore are mentioned as illuſtrious lovers by *Matfres Eymengau de Bezers*, a poet of Languedoc, in his Breviari d'Amor, dated in the year 1288. MSS. Reg. 19 C. i. fol. 199. This tale was probably enlarged in paſſing through the hands of Boccacio. See Canterb. T. iv. p. 169.

Ibid. Add to Not. [t]. "I am informed, that Dr. George's books, amongſt which was the Greek Theſeid, were purchaſed by Lord Spencer.

Ibid. Not. [c]. l. 3. Read "Tzetzes."

Pag. 357. l. 7. Add this Note. "Boccacio's ſituations and incidents, reſpecting the lovers, are often inartificial and unaffecting. In the Italian poet, Emilia walking in the garden and ſinging, is ſeen and heard firſt by Arcite, who immediately calls Palamon. They are both equally, and at the ſame point of time, captivated with her beauty; yet without any expreſſions of jealouſy, or appearance of rivalry. But in Chaucer's management of the commencement of this amour, Palamon by ſeeing Emilia firſt, acquires an advantage over Arcite, which ultimately renders the cataſtrophe more agreeable to poetical juſtice. It is an unnatural and unanimated picture which Boccacio preſents, of the two young princes violently enamoured of the ſame object, and ſtill remaining in a ſtate of amity. In Chaucer, the quarrel between the two friends, the foundation of all the future beautiful diſtreſs of the piece, commences at this moment, and cauſes a converſation full of mutual rage and reſentment. This rapid tranſition from a friendſhip cemented by every tie, to the moſt implacable hoſtility, is on this occaſion not only highly natural, but produces a ſudden and unexpected change of circumſtances, which enlivens the detail, and is always intereſting. Even afterwards, when Arcite is releaſed from the priſon by Perithous, he embraces Palamon at parting. And in the fifth book of the Theseide, when Palamon goes armed to the grove in ſearch of Arcite, whom he finds ſleeping,

ſleeping, they meet on terms of much civility and friendſhip, and in all the mechanical formality of the manners of romance. In Chaucer, this dialogue has a very different caſt. Palamon at ſeeing Arcite, feels a *colde ſwerde* glide throughout his heart: he ſtarts from his ambuſcade, and inſtantly ſalutes Arcite with the appellation of *falſe traitour*. And although Boccacio has merit in diſcriminating the characters of the two princes, by giving Palamon the impetuoſity of Achilles, and Arcite the mildneſs of Hector; yet Arcite by Boccacio is here injudiciouſly repreſented as too moderate and pacific. In Chaucer he returns the ſalute with the ſame degree of indignation, draws his ſword, and defies Palamon to ſingle combat. So languid is Boccacio's plan of this amour, that Palamon does not begin to be jealous of Arcite, till he is informed in the priſon, that Arcite lived as a favorite ſervant with Theſeus in diſguiſe, yet known to Emilia. When the lovers ſee Emilia from the window of their tower, ſhe is ſuppoſed by Boccacio to obſerve them, and not to be diſpleaſed at their ſigns of admiration. This circumſtance is juſtly omitted by Chaucer, as quite unneceſſary; and not tending either to promote the preſent buſineſs, or to operate in any diſtant conſequences. On the whole, Chaucer has eminently ſhewn his good ſenſe and judgement in rejecting the ſuperfluities, and improving the general arrangement, of the ſtory. He frequently corrects or ſoftens Boccacio's falſe manners: and it is with ſingular addreſs he has often abridged the Italian poet's oſtentatious and pedantic parade of antient hiſtory and mythology.

Pag. 357. l. 21. Read "ſharpe."

Pag. 359. l. 14. For "boris," Read "beris."

Pag. 360. Not. [c]. l. 11. For "wende," Read "wonde."

Pag. 362. l. ult. Dele "court."

Pag. 363. Add to end of Note, col. 2. "But to be more particular as to theſe imitations.

Ver. 900. p. 8. Urr. edit.

A company of ladys twey and twey, &c.

 Thus

Thus Theſeus, at his return in triumph from conquering Scythia, is accoſted by the dames of Thebes, Stat. Theb. xii. 519.

Jamque domos patrias, Scythicæ poſt aſpera gentis
Prælia, laurigero ſubeuntem Theſea curru
Lætifici plauſus, &c. &c.
Paulum et ab inſeſſis mœſtæ Pelopeides aris
Promovere gradum, ſeriemque et dona triumphi
Mirantur, victique animo rediere mariti.
Atque ubi tardavit currus, et ab axe ſuperbo
Explorat cauſas victor, poſcitque benigna
Aure preces; orſa ante alias Capaneia conjux,
Belliger Ægide, &c.

Chaucer here copies Statius, (v. 861,—966.) Kn. T. from v. 519. to v. 600. Theb. See alſo ibid. 465. ſeq.

V. 930. p. 9.

Here in the Temple of the goddeſs Clemence, &c.

Statius mentions the temple of Clemency as the aſylum where theſe ladies were aſſembled, Theb. xii. 481.

Urbe fuit media, nulli conceſſa potentum
Ara deum, mitis poſuit Clementia ſedem, &c.

V. 2947.

Ne what jewillis men into the fire caſt, &c.

Literally from Statius, Theb. vi. 206.

Ditantur flammæ, non unquam opulentior illa
Ante cinis; crepitant gemmæ, &c.

But the whole of Arcite's funeral is minutely copied from Statius. More than a hundred parallel lines on this ſubject might be produced from each poet. In Statius the account of the

the trees felled for the pyre, with the consternation of the Nymphs, takes up more than twenty-four lines. v. 84.—116. In Chaucer about thirteen, v. 2922.—2937. In Boccacio, six stanzas. B. xi. Of the three poets, Statius is most reprehensible, the first author of this ill-placed and unnecessary description, and who did not live in a Gothic age. The statues of Mars and Venus I imagined had been copied from Fulgentius, Boccacio's favorite mythographer. But Fulgentius says nothing of Mars: and of Venus, that she only stood in the sea on a couch, attended by the Graces. It is from Statius that Theseus became a hero of romance.

Pag. 366. l. antep. "Read "laughith." And Add this Note. "For *Orient*, perhaps *Orisount*, or the *horison*, is the true reading. So the edition of Chaucer in 1561. So also the barbarous-Greek poem on this story, ὁ ουρανος ὁλος γελα. Dryden seems to have read, or to have made out of this mispelling of Horison, Orient.

Pag. 370. l. 8. Read "buske."

Pag. 372. l. antep. For "at," Read "al."

Pag. 374. l. 20. Read "forto."

Pag. 375. l. 6. Read "This."

Pag. 376. Add to Not. in col. 1. "Amiled is from the French Email, or Enamel. This art flourished most at Limoges in France. So early as the year 1197, we have "Duas "tabulas æneas superauratas de *labore Limogiæ*." Chart. ann. 1197. apud Ughelin. tom. vii. Ital. Sacr. p. 1274. It is called *Opus Lemnoviticum*, in Dugdale's Mon. iii. 310. 313. 331. And in Wilkins's Concil. i. 666. where two cabinets for the host are ordered, one of silver or of ivory, and the other de *opere Lemovicino*. Synod. Wigorn. A. D. 1240. And in many other places. I find it called *Limaise*, in a metrical romance, the name of which I have forgot, where a tomb is described,

And yt was, the Romans sayes,
All with golde and *limaise*.

Carpentier

Carpentier [V. Limogia.] obſerves, that it was antiently a common ornament of ſumptuous tombs. He cites a Teſtament of the year 1327, "*Je lais huit cent livres pour faire deux* "*tombes hautes et levées de l'*Euvre *de* Limoges." The original tomb of Walter de Merton, biſhop of Rocheſter, erected in his cathedral about the year 1276, was made at Limoges. This appears from the accompts of his executors, viz. "Et "computant xl l. v s. vi d. liberat. Magiſtro Johanni Linnom-"ceniſi, pro tumba dicti Epiſcopi Roffenſis, ſcil. pro Conſtruc-"tione et carriagio de Lymoges ad Roffam. Et xl s. viii d. "cuidam Executori apud Lymoges ad ordinandum et provi-"dendum Conſtructionem dictæ Tumbæ. Et x s. viii d. cui-"dam garcioni eunti apud Lymoges quærenti dictam tumbam "conſtructam, et ducenti eam cum dicto Mag. Johanne uſque "Roffam. Et xxii l. in materialibus circa dictam tumbam "defricandam. Et vii marcas, in ferramento ejuſdem, et car-"riagio a Londin. uſque ad Roff. et aliis parandis ad dictam "tumbam. Et xi s. cuidam vitriario pro vitris feneſtrarum "emptarum juxta tumbam dicti Epiſcopi apud Roffam." Ant. Wood's MS. Merton Papers, Bibl. Bodl. Cod. Ballard. 46.

Pag. 378. l. 9. Read "preis."

Pag. 383. l. 4. Read "Petrarch having defired his friend Guy de Gonzague to ſend him ſome new piece, he ſent him, &c."

Pag. 385. l. 2. To the word Boccacio, Add this Note. "Boccacio's Filostrato was printed in quarto at Milan, in 1488. The title is, "Il Fyolostrato, che tracta de lo "innamoramento de Troilo a Gryseida: et de molte altre "infinite battaglie. Impreſſo nella inclita cita de Milano par "magiſtro Ulderiche Scinzenzeler nell anno M.CCCCLXXXXVIII. "a di xxvii di meſe Septembre." It is in the octave ſtanza. The editor of the Canterbury Tales informs me, that Boccacio himſelf, in his Decameron, has made the ſame honourable mention of this poem as of the Theseida: although without acknowledging either for his own. In the Introduction to the Sixth Day, he ſays, that "Dioneo inſieme con

"Lauretta

" Lauretta de Troile et di Criseida cominciarono can-
" tare." Just as, afterwards, in the conclusion of the Seventh Day he says, that the same " Dioneo et Fiametta gran pezzi " cantarono insieme d'Arcita et di Palamone." See Canterb. T. vol. iv. p. 85. iii. p. 311. Chaucer appears to have been as much indebted to Boccacio in his Troilus and Cresseide, as in his Knightes Tale. At the same time we must observe, that there are several long passages, and even episodes, in Troilus, of which no traces appear in the Filostrato. Chaucer speaks of himself as a translator *out of Latin*, B. ii. 14. And he calls his author Lollius, B. i. 394.—421. and B. v. 1652. The latter of these two passages is in the Philostrato: but the former, containing Petrarch's sonnet, is not. And when Chaucer says, he *translates from Latin*, we must remember, that the *Italian* language was called *Latino volgare*. Shall we suppose, that Chaucer followed a more complete copy of the Filostrato than that we have at present, or one enlarged by some officious interpolator? The Parisian manuscript might perhaps clear these difficulties. In Bennet library at Cambridge, there is a manuscript of Chaucer's Troilus, elegantly written, with a frontispiece beautifully illuminated, lxi.

Ibid. l. 16. Read " sike, and efte to."

Pag. 387. l. 5. Read " alofte."

Ibid. l. 15. Read " lo which a dede!"

Pag. 388. l. 14. Read " Bradwardine." So also, p. 421. l. 2. infr.

Pag. 389. Not. *. l. 3. Read " B. iii."

Ibid. ibid. l. 2. col. 2. For " Thomas a Beckett," Read " Thomas Becket." So also, p. 14. l. 13. p. 85. l. 15. p. 397. l. 4. p. 445. l. 12. [For this, see H. Wharton's Letter at the end of Strype's Cranmer, p. 526.]

Ibid. ibid. l. 5. col. 2. Read " B. ii. v. 526."

Pag. 390. Not. r. l. 3. Read " owne."

Pag. 392. l. 21. Read " parlirs."

Ibid.

Ibid. Not. [z]. Read "iii."

Ibid. l. 25. Read "William Thomas." And Add this Note. "Chaucer's Life in Urry's edition. William Thomas digested this Life from collections by Dart. His brother, Dr. Timothy Thomas, wrote or compiled the Glossary and Preface to that edition. See Dart's Westminst. Abbey, i. 86. Timothy Thomas was of Christ Church Oxford, and died in 1751.

Pag. 401. l. 18. For "Seraphic," Read "Angelic."

Pag. 403. l. 9. Read "mede."

Pag. 407. Not. [f]. Add "The same fiction is in Caxton's Troye boke. "Upon the pinacle or top of the towre he "made an ymage of copper and gave hym in his hande a "looking-glasse, having such vertue, that if it happened that "any shippes came to harme the citie suddenly, their army "and their coming should appear in the said looking-glasse." B. ii. ch. xxii.

Pag. 408. Not. [i]. l. 1. col. 2. Read "Gallic."

Pag. 413. To Not. [h]. l. 2. Add, "Mahomet believed this foolish story, at least thought it fit for a popular book, and has therefore inserted it in the Alcoran. See Grey on Hudibras, part i. cant. i. v. 547.

Pag. 415. Add to l. 15. this Note. "The bridle of the enchanted horse is carried into the tower, which was the treasury of Cambuscan's castle, to be kept among the *jewels*. Thus when king Richard the first, in a crusade, took Cyprus, among the treasures in the castles are recited pretious stones, and golden cups, together with "*Sellis aureis* frenis *et calcaribus*." Galfr. Vinesauf. Iter. Hierosol. cap. xli. p. 328. Vet. Script. Angl. tom. ii.

Pag. 416. Add to Not. [r]. "It may be doubted whether Boccacio invented the story of Grisilde. For, as the late inquisitive and judicious editor of The Canterbury Tales observes, it appears by a Letter of Petrarch to Boccacio, [Opp. Petrarch. p. 540—7. edit. Basil. 1581.] sent with his Latin translation,

tranſlation, in 1373, that Petrarch had *heard the ſtory with pleaſure*, many years before he ſaw the Decameron. vol. iv. p. 157.

Pag. 417. To l. 9. Add, "And in Bennet college library with this title. "Historia ſive Fabula de nobili Mar-" chione Walterio domino terræ Saluciarum, quomodo " duxit in uxorem Grisildem pauperculam, et ejus conſtan-" tiam et patientiam mirabiliter et acriter comprobavit: quam " de vulgari ſermone Saluciarum in Latinum tranſtulit D. Fran-" ciſcus Petrarcha." CLXXVII. 10. fol. 76. Again, ibid. CCLXXV. 14. fol. 163. Again, ibid. CCCCLVIII. 3. with the date 1476, I ſuppoſe, from the ſcribe. And in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. G. 80.

Ibid. Not. *. l. 2. After "Bonnefons," Insert, "This is the whole title. "Le Myſtere de Griſeldis, Marquis de " Saluces, mis en rime françoiſe et par perſonnaiges." Without date, in quarto, and in the Gothic type. In the colophon, *Cy finiſt la vie de Griſeldis*, &c.

Pag. 419. l. 2. After "growth," Insert, "The ſtory of the cock and the fox is evidently borrowed from a collection of Eſopean and other fables, written by Marie a French poeteſs, whoſe Lais are preſerved in MSS. Harl. ut infr. ſee f. 139. Beſide the abſolute reſemblance, it appears ſtill more probable that Chaucer copied from Marie, becauſe no ſuch fable is to be found either in the Greek Eſop, or in any of the Latin Eſopean compilations of the dark ages. See MSS. Harl. 978. f. 76. All the manuſcripts of Marie's fables in the Britiſh Muſeum prove, that ſhe tranſlated her work "de l'Anglois en Roman." Probably her Engliſh original was Alfred's Anglo-Saxon verſion of Eſop moderniſed, and ſtill bearing his name. She profeſſes to follow the verſion of a king; who, in the beſt of the Harleian copies, is called Li reis Alured. MSS. Harl. 978. ſupr. citat. She appears, from paſſages in her Lais, to have underſtood Engliſh. See Chaucer's Canterb. Tales, vol. iv. p. 179. I will give her Epilogue to the Fables from MSS. James. viii. p. 23. Bibl. Bodl.

Al finement de ceſt eſcrit
Qu' en romanz ai treite e dit
Me numerai pour remembraunce
Marie ai nun ſui de France
Pur cel eſtre que clerc pluſur
Prendreient ſur eus mun labeur
Ne voit que nul ſur li ſa die
Eil feit que fol que ſei ublie
Pur amur le cunte Wllame
Le plus vaillant de nul realme
Meinlemir de ceſte livre feire
E des Engleis en romanz treire
Eſop apelum ceſt livre
Quil tranſlata e fiſt eſcrire
Del Gru en Latin le turna
Le Reiz Alurez que mut lama
Le tranſlata puis en Engleis
E jeo lai rimee en Franceis
Si cum jeo poi plus proprement
Ore pri a dieu omnipotent, &c.

Pag. 420. l. 18. Read "beke."

Pag. 421. To Not. [t]. Add, "The ludicrous adventure of the Pear Tree, in January and May, is taken from a collection of Fables in Latin elegiacs, written by one Adolphus in the year 1315. Leyſer. Hist. Poet. Med. Ævl. p. 2008. The ſame fable is among the *Fables* of *Alphonſe*, in Caxton's Esop.

Pag. 425. l. 15. For "in," Read "is."

Pag. 427. l. 9. Read "perlid."

Pag. 428. Not. [a]. l. 2. Read "be went." [So the edit. in 1561.]

Ibid. To Not. [s]. Add, "*Calcei feneſtraſti* occur in antient Injunctions to the clergy. In Eton-college ſtatutes, given in 1446, the fellows are forbidden to wear, *ſotularia roſtrata*, as alſo

alſo *caligæ*, white, red, or green. CAP. xix. In a chantry, or chapel, founded at Wincheſter in the year 1318, within the cemitery of the Nuns of the Bleſſed Virgin by Roger Inkpenne, the members, that is, a warden, chaplain and clerk, are ordered to go " in meris caligis, et ſotularibus non roſtratis, niſi forſi- " tan *botis* uti voluerunt." And it is added, " Veſtes deferant " non *fibulatas*, ſed deſuper clauſas, vel *brevitate* non notandas." REGISTR. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. MS. ſupr. citat. Quatern. 6. Compare Wilkins's CONCIL. iii. 670. ii. 4.

Pag. 429. l. 3. READ " Oxenforde."

Ibid. l. 6. READ " ſong ſometime a loud."

Pag. 430. Not. [q]. l. . After " DISSERRAT. i." ADD, " It is not my intention to enter into the controverſy concerning the cultivation of vines, for making wine, in England. I ſhall only bring to light the following remarkable paſſage on that ſubject from an old Engliſh writer on gardening and farming. " We might have a reaſonable good wine growyng in " many places of this realme: as undoubtedly wee had imme- " diately after the Conqueſt; tyll partly by ſlouthfulneſſe, not " liking any thing long that is painefull, partly by civill diſ- " cord long continuyng, it was left, and ſo with tyme loſt, as " appeareth by a number of places in this realme that keepe " ſtill the name of Vineyardes: and uppon many cliffes and " hilles, are yet to be ſeene the rootes and olde remaynes of " Vines. There is beſides Nottingham, an auncient houſe " called Chilwell, in which houſe remayneth yet, as an aun- " cient monument, in a Great Wyndowe of Glaſſe, the whole " Order of planting, pruyning, [pruning,] ſtamping and preſ- " ſing of vines. Beſide, there [at that place] is yet alſo grow- " ing an old vine, that yields a grape ſufficient to make a right " good wine, as was lately proved.—There hath, moreover, " good experience of late yeears been made, by two noble and " honorable barons of this realme, the lorde Cobham and the " lorde Wylliams of Tame, who had both growyng about " their houſes, as good wines as are in many parts of Fraunce,

" &c." Barnabie Googe's FOURE BOOKES OF HUSBANDRY, &c. Lond. 1578. 4to. TO THE READER.

Pag. 431. To Not. k. ADD, " But both Boccacio and Chaucer probably borrowed from an old CONTE, or FABLIAU, by an anonymous French rhymer, *De Gombert et des deux Clers*. See FABLIAUX et CONTES, Paris, 1756. tom. ii. p. 115.—124. The SHIPMAN'S TALE, as I have hinted, originally came from ſome ſuch French FABLEOUR, through the medium of Boccacio.

Ibid. To Not. b. ADD, " It is entitled BURNELLUS, *ſive Speculum ſtultorum*, and was written about the year 1190. See Leyſer. POET. MED. ÆVI. p. 752. It is a common manuſcript. *Burnell* is a nick-name for Balaam's aſs in the Cheſter WHITSUN PLAYS. MSS. HARL. 2013.

Pag. 432. Not. l. l. 4. After " Cambridge," INSERT, " There is, however, Abington, with a mill-ſtream, ſeven miles from Cambridge.

Ibid. Not. n. l. 9. READ " 881."

Ibid. l. 14. READ " Salarii."

Pag. 436. To Not. c. ADD " The Prioreſſe's exact behaviour at table, is copied from ROM. ROSE, 14178.—14199.

Et bien ſe garde, &c.

To ſpeak French is mentioned above, among her accompliſhments. There is a letter in old French from queen Philppa, and her daughter Iſabell, to the Priour of Saint Swithin's at Wincheſter, to admitt one Agnes Patſhull into an eleemoſynary ſiſterhood belonging to his convent. The Priour is requeſted to grant her, " Une Lyvere en votre Maiſon dieu de Wynceſtere " et eſtre un des ſoers," for her life. Written at *Windeſor*, Apr. 25. The year muſt have been about 1350. REGISTR. Priorat. MS. ſupr. citat. Quartern. xix. fol. 4. I do not ſo much cite this inſtance to prove that the Priour muſt be ſuppoſed to underſtand French, as to ſhew that it was now the court language, and even

even on a matter of business. There was at least a great propriety, that the queen and princess should write in this language, although to an ecclesiastic of dignity. In the same Register, there is a letter in old French from the queen Dowager Isabell to the Priour and Convent of Winchester; to shew, that it was at her request, that king Edward the third her son had granted a church in Winchester diocese, to the monastery of Leedes in Yorkshire, for their better support, " a trouver sis chagnoignes " chantans tous les jours en la chapele du Chastel de Ledes, " pour laime madame Alianore reyne d'Angleterre, &c." A. D. 1341. Quatern vi.

The Prioresse's *greatest* oath is by Saint Eloy. I will here throw together some of the most remarkable oaths in the Canterbury Tales. The Host, swears by *my father's soule*. Urr. p. 7. 783. Sir Thopas, by *ale and breade*. p. 146. 3377. Arcite, by *my pan*, i. e. *head*. p. 10. 1167. Theseus, by *mightie Mars the red*. p. 14. 1749. Again, *as he was a trew knight*. p. 9. 961. The Carpenter's wife, by *saint Thomas of Kent*. p. 26. 183. The Smith, by *Christes foote*. p. 29. 674. The Cambridge Scholar, by *my father's kinn*. p. 31. 930. Again, by *my croune*, ib. 933. Again, for *godes benes*, or *benison*. p. 32. 965. Again, by *seint Cuthberde*, ib. 1019. Sir Johan of Boundis, by *seint Martyne*. p. 37. 107. Gamelyn, by *goddis bake*. p. 38. 181. Gamelyn's brother, by *saint Richere*. ibid. 273. Again, by *Cristis ore*. ib. 279. A Frankeleyn, by *saint Jame that in Galis is*, i. e. saint James of Galicia. p. 40. 549. 1514. A Porter, by *Goddis berde*. ib. 581. Gamelyn, by *my hals*, or neck. p. 42. 773. The Maistir Outlawe, by the *gode rode*. p. 45. 1265. The Hoste, by the *precious corpus Madrian*, p. 160. 4. Again, by *saint Paulis bell*. p. 168. 893. The Man of Lawe, *Depardeux*. p. 49. 39. The Marchaunt, by *saint Thomas of Inde*. p. 66. 745. The Sompnour, by *goddis armis two*. p. 82. 833. The Hoste, by *cockis bonis*. p. 106. 2235. Again, by *naylis* and by *blode*, i. e. of Christ. p. 130. 1802. Again, by

saint

ſaint Damian. p. 131. 1824. Again, by *ſaint Runion*. ib. 1834. Again, by *Corpus domini*. ib. 1838. The Riottour, *by Goddis digne bones*. p. 135. 2211. The Hoste, to the Monke, by *your father kin*. p. 160. 43. The Monke, by his *portheſe*, or breviary. p. 139. 2639. Again, by *God and ſaint Martin*. ib. 2656. The Hoste, by *armis, blode and bonis*. p. 24. 17.

Pag. 438. l. 14. Read "man."

Pag. 440. l. 8. Read "unyd."

Pag. 441. l. 10. Read "Peripatetic."

Ibid. Not. [n]. l. 2. Read "L. ii."

Pag. 442. l. ult. Read "Pits."

Pag. 443. Not. col. 1. l. 6. After "249," Add, "See Freind's Hist. of Physick, ii. 257.

Ibid. Not. [v]. l. 3. Read "quæſtum."

Ibid. l. 5. For "foreign writers," Read "Engliſh ſtudents abroad." Add to the end of the Note, "See more of Gilbertus Anglicus, ibid. p. 356.

Pag. 445. l. 16. Read "Watte." And Add as a Note, "So edit. 1561. See Johnſon's Dictionary, in Magpie.

Pag. 446. l. 5. For "to," Read "the."

Pag. 447. Notes, col. 2. l. 2. Read "298."

Pag. 449. To Not. [d]. Add, "The gulf and caſtle of Satalia are mentioned by Benedictus Abbas, in the cruſade under the year 1191. "Et cum rex Franciæ receſſiſſet ab Antiochet, "ſtatim intravit *gulfum* Sathaliæ.—Sathaliæ *Caſtellum* "eſt optimum, unde gulfus ille nomen accepit; et ſuper gul-"fum illum ſunt duo Caſtella et Villæ, et utrumque dicitur "Satalia. Sed unum illorum eſt deſertum, et dicitur Vetus "Satalia quod piratæ deſtruxerunt, et alterum Nova Sa-"talia dicitur, quod Manuel imperator Conſtantinopolis "firmavit." Vit. et Gest. Henr. et Ric. ii. p. 680. Afterwards he mentions *Mare Græcum*, p. 683. That is, the Mediterranean from Sicily to Cyprus. I am inclined, in the ſecond verſe following, to read "Greke *ſea*." *Leyis* is the town of Layas in Armenia.

Pag.

Pag. 450. l. 16. For " in," Read " is."
Ibid. l. ult. Read " Sheff."
Ibid. Not. [1]. l. 3. Read " chivauchie."
Pag. 452. l. 10. Dele " in."
Ibid. Not. [1]. Read " 447."
Pag. 453. Note, col. 2. l. 14. Read " full."
Pag. 454. Not. [b]. l. 9. Read " Tapiſer." And in the next line, " Chanon's."

Pag. 458. l. 19. Add this Note to " Provence." " The ingenious editor of the Canterbury Tales treats the notion, that Chaucer imitated the Provencial poets, as totally void of foundation. He ſays, " I have not obſerved in any of " his writings a ſingle phraſe or word, which has the leaſt ap- " pearance of having been fetched from the South of the Loire. " With reſpect to the manner and matter of his compoſitions, " till ſome clear inſtance of imitation be produced, I ſhall be " ſlow to believe, that in either he ever copied the poets of " Provence; with whoſe works, I apprehend, he had very " little, if any acquaintance." Vol. i. Append. Pref. p. xxxvi. I have advanced the contrary doctrine, at leaſt by implication: and I here beg leave to explain myſelf on a ſubject materially affecting the ſyſtem of criticiſm that has been formed on Chaucer's works. I have never affirmed, that Chaucer imitated the Provencial bards; although it is by no means improbable, that he might have known their tales. But as the peculiar nature of the Provencial poetry entered deeply into the ſubſtance, caſt, and character, of ſome of thoſe French and Italian models, which he is allowed to have followed, he certainly may be ſaid to have copied, although not immediately, the *matter* and *manner* of theſe writers. I have called his House of Fame originally a Provencial compoſition. I did not mean that it was written by a Provencial troubadour: but that Chaucer's original was compounded of the capricious mode of fabling, and that extravagant ſtyle of fiction, which conſtitute the eſſence of the Provencial poetry. As to the

Flour

FLOURE AND THE LEAFE, which Dryden pronounces to have been composed *after their manner*, it is framed on the old allegorising spirit of the Provencial writers, refined and disfigured by the fopperies of the French poets in the fourteenth century. The ideas of these fablers had been so strongly imbibed, that they continued to operate long after Petrarch had introduced a more rational method of composition.

Pag. 462. Not. [q]. BEGIN this Note with "Compare" in the preceding Note.

Pag. 463. Not. col. 1. To the end of l. 8. ADD, "The ground-work of DOLOPATHOS is a Greek story-book called SYNTIPAS, often cited by Du Cange, whose copy appears to have been translated from the Syriac. See GLOSS. MED. et INFIM. Græcitat.—IND. Auctor. p. 33. Among the Harleian manuscripts is another, which is said to be translated from the Persic. MSS. HARL. 5560. Fabricius says, that Syntipas was printed at Venice, *lingua vulgari*. BIBL. GR. x. 515. On the whole, the plan of SYNTIPAS appears to be exactly the same with that of LES SEPT SAGES, the Italian ERASTO, and our own little story book the SEVEN WISE MASTERS: except that, instead of Diocletian of Rome, the king is called CYRUS of PERSIA; and, instead of one Tale, each of the Philosophers tells two. The circumstance of Persia is an argument, that SYNTIPAS was originally an oriental composition." See what is collected on this curious subject, which is intimately concerned with the history of the invention of the middle ages, by the learned editor of the CATERBURY TALES, vol. iv. p. 329. There is a translation, as I am informed by the same writer, of this Romance in octosyllable verse, probably not later than the age of Chaucer. MSS. COTTON. GALB. E. ix. It is entitled "The Proces of the seven Sages," and agrees entirely with LES SEPT SAGES DE ROME in French prose. MSS. HARL. 3860. See also MSS. C. C. Coll. Oxon. 252. in membran. 4°. The Latin book, called HISTORIA SEPTEM SAPIENTUM ROMÆ, is not a very scarce manuscript: it was printed before

before 1500. I think there are two old editions among More's books at Cambridge. Particularly one printed in quarto at Paris, in 1493.

Pag. 466. Notes, col. 2. l. 1. Instead of "All this while," READ "Speght supposes that." To the end ADD, "See *Le dit de la fleur de lis et de la Marguerite*, by Guillaume Machaut, ACAD. INSCRIPT. xx. p. 381. x. 669. infr. citat. On the whole, it may be doubted whether, either Froissart, or Chaucer, means Margaret, countess of Pembroke. For compare APPEND. PREF. CANTERB. TALES, vol. i. p. xxxiv. I add, that in the year 1547, the poetical pieces of Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, were collected and published under the title of MARGUERITE *de la Marguerites des Princesses, tres illustre Royne de Navarre*, by John de la Haye, her valet de chambre. It was common in France, to give the title of MARGUERITES to studied panegyrics, and flowery compositions of every kind, both in prose and verse.

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PAGE 5. ADD to Not. [k]. "The nations bordering upon the Jews, attributed the miraculous events of that people, to those external means and material instruments, such as symbols, ceremonies, and other visible signs or circumstances, which by God's special appointment, under their mysterious dispensation, they were directed to use. Among the observations which the oriental Gentiles made on the history of the Jews, they found that the Divine will was to be known by certain appearances in pretious stones. The Magi of the east, believing that the preter-

natural discoveries obtained by means of the Urim and Thummim, a contexture of gems in the breast-plate of the Mosaic priests, were owing to some virtue inherent in those stones, adopted the knowledge of the occult properties of gems as a branch of their magical system. Hence it became the peculiar profession of one class of their Sages, to investigate and interpret the various shades and coruscations, and to explain, to a moral purpose, the different colours, the dews, clouds, and imageries, which gems, differently exposed to the sun, moon, stars, fire, or air, at particular seasons, and inspected by persons particularly qualified, were seen to exhibit. This notion being once established, a thousand extravaganeies arose, of healing diseases, of procuring victory, and of seeing future events, by means of pretious stones and other lucid substances. See Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 9. 10. These superstitions were soon ingrafted into the Arabian philosophy, from which they were propagated all over Europe, and continued to operate even so late as the visionary experiments of Dee and Kelly [a]. It is not in the mean time at all improbable, that the Druidical doctrines concerning the virtues of stones were derived from these lessons of the Magi: and they are still to be traced among the traditions of the vulgar, in those parts of Britain and Ireland, where Druidism retained its latest establishments. See Martin's West. Isles, p. 167. 225. And Aubrey's Miscell. p. 128. Lond. 8vo.

Pag. 31. Add, "In lord Gower's library, there is a thin oblong manuscript on vellum, containing some of Gower's poems in Latin, French, and English. By an entry in the first leaf, in the hand-writing, and under the signature, of Thomas lord Fairfax, Cromwell's general, an antiquarian, and a lover and collector of curious manuscripts [b], it appears, that this book

[a] When king Richard the first, in 1191, took the Isle of Cyprus, he is said to have found the castles filled with rich furniture of gold and silver, "necnon lapidibus "pretiosis, et *plurimum varietate* habentibus." G. Vinef. Itin. Hierosol. cap. xii. p. 328. Hist. Anglic. Script. vol. ii. Oxon. 1687.

[b] He gave twenty-nine antient manuscripts to the Bodleian library, one of which is a beautiful manuscript of Gower's Confessio Amantis. When the Record-

was presented by the poet Gower, about the year 1400, to Henry the fourth; and that it was given by lord Fairfax to his *friend and kinsman* sir Thomas Gower knight and baronet, in the year 1656. By another entry, lord Fairfax acknowledges to have received it, in the same year, as a present, from *that learned gentleman* Charles Gedde esquire, of saint Andrews in Scotland: and at the end, are five or six Latin anagrams on Gedde, written and signed by lord Fairfax, with this title, "In NOMEN venerandi et annosi Amici sui Caroli Geddei." By king Henry the fourth it seems to have been placed in the royal library: it appears at least to have been in the hands of king Henry the seventh, while earl of Richmond, from the name *Rychemond*, inserted in another of the blank leaves at the beginning, and explained by this note, "Liber Henrici septimi "tunc Comitis Richmond, propria manu scripsit." This manuscript is neatly written, with miniated and illuminated initials: and contains the following pieces. I. A Panegyric in stanzas, with a Latin prologue or rubric in seven hexameters, on king Henry the fourth. This poem, commonly called *Carmen de pacis Commendatione in laudem Henrici quarti*, is printed in Chaucer's WORKS, edit. Urr. p. 540.——II. A short Latin poem in elegiacs on the same subject, beginning, "*Rex cœli* "*deus et dominus qui tempora solus.*" [MSS. COTTON. OTHO. D. i. 4.] This is followed by ten other very short pieces, both in French and English, of the same tendency.—III. CINKANTÉ BALADES, or Fifty Sonnets in French. Part of the first is illegible. They are closed with the following epilogue and colophon.

cord-tower in S. Mary's abbey at York was accidentally blown up in the grand rebellion, he offered rewards to the soldiers who could bring him fragments of the scattered parchments. Luckily, however, the numerous original evidences lodged in this repository had been just before transcribed by Roger Dodsworth; and the transcripts, which formed the ground-work of Dugdale's MONASTICON, consisting of forty-nine large folio volumes, were bequeathed by Fairfax to the same library. Fairfax also, when Oxford was garrisoned by the parliamentary forces, exerted his utmost diligence in preserving the Bodleian library from pillage; so that it suffered much less, than when that city was in the possession of the royalists.

O gentile

O gentile Engleterre a toi ieſcrits,
Pour remembrer ta ioie qeſt nouelle,
Qe te ſurvient du noble Roy Henris,
Par qui dieus ad redreſte ta querele,
A dieu purceo prient et cil et celle,
Qil de ſa grace, au fort Roi corone,
Doignit peas, honour, ioie et proſperite.

Expliciunt carmina Jobis Gower que Gallice compoſita BALADES *dicuntur.* — IV. Two ſhort Latin poems in elegiacs. The Firſt beginning, "*Ecce patet tenſus ceci Cupidinis arcus.*" The Second, "*O Natura viri potuit quam tollere nemo.*"—V. A French poem, imperfect at the beginning, *On the Dignity or Excellence of Marriage*, in one book. The ſubject is illuſtrated by examples. As no part of this poem was ever printed, I tranſcribe one of the ſtories.

Qualiter Jaſon uxorem ſuam Medeam relinquens, Creuſam Creontis regis filiam ſibi carnaliter copulavit. Verum ipſe cum duobus filiis ſuis poſtea infortunatus periit.

Li prus Jaſon qeu liſle de Colchos
Le toiſon dor, pour laide de Medee
Conquiſt dont il donour portoit grant loos
Par tout le monde encourt la renomee
La joefne dame oue ſoi ad amenee
De ſon pays en Grece et leſpouſa
Ffreinte eſpouſaile dieus le vengera.
Quant Medea meulx qui de etre en repos
Ove ſon mari et qelle avoit porte
Deux fils de luy lors changea le purpos
El quelle Jaſon permer fuiſt oblige
Il ad del tout Medeam refuſe
Si priſt la file au roi Creon Creuſa
Ffrenite eſpouſaile dieux le vengera.

Medea

Medea qot le coer de dolour cloos
En ſon corous et ceo fuiſt grant pite
Sas joefnes fils queux et jadis en clos
Veniz ſes coſtees enſi com forſeue
Devant ſes oels Jaſon ele ad tue
Ceo qeu fuiſt fait pecche le fortuna
Ffrenite eſpouſaile dieux le vengera.

Towards the end of the piece, the poet introduces an apology for any inaccuracies, which, as an Engliſhman, he may have committed in the French idiom.

Al univerſite de tout le monde
Johan Gower ceſte Balade evoie;
Et ſi ieo nai de Francois faconde,
Pardonetz moi qe ieo de ceo forſvoie.
Jeo ſuis Englois: ſi quier par tiele voie
Eſtre excuſe mais quoique mills endie
L'amour parfait en dieu ſe juſtifie.

It is finiſhed with a few Latin hexameters, viz. "Quis ſit vel "qualis ſacer order connubialis." This poem occurs at the end of two valuable folio manuſcripts, illuminated and on vellum, of the Confessio Amantis, in the Bodleian library, viz. MSS. Fairfax, iii. And NE. F. 8. 9. Alſo in the manuſcript at All Souls college Oxford, MSS. xxvi. deſcribed and cited above. And in MSS. Harl. 3869. In all theſe, and, I believe, in many others, it is properly connected with the Confessio Amantis by the following rubric. "Puiſqu' il ad dit cidevant en Englois, par voie deſſample, "la ſotie de cellui qui par amours aimie par eſpecial, dirra ore "apres en Francois a tout le mond en general une traitie "ſelonc les auctors, pour eſſemplar les amants mariez, &c." It begins,

Le creature du tout creature.

But

But the Cinquante Balades, or fifty French Sonnets abovementioned, are the curious and valuable part of lord Gower's manuſcript. They are not mentioned by thoſe who have written the life of this poet, or have catalogued his works. Nor do they appear in any other manuſcript of Gower which I have examined. But if they ſhould be diſcovered in any other, I will venture to pronounce, that a more authentic, unembarraſſed, and practicable copy than this before us, will not be produced: although it is for the moſt part unpointed, and obſcured with abbreviations, and with thoſe miſpellings which flowed from a ſcribe unacquainted with the French language.

To ſay no more, however, of the value which theſe little pieces may derive from being ſo ſcarce and ſo little known, they have much real and intrinſic merit. They are tender, pathetic, and poetical; and place our old poet Gower in a more advantageous point of view than that in which he has hitherto been uſually ſeen. I know not if any even among the French poets themſelves, of this period, have left a ſet of more finiſhed ſonnets: for they were probably written when Gower was a young man, about the year 1350. Nor had yet any Engliſh poet treated the paſſion of love with equal delicacy of ſentiment, and elegance of compoſition. I will tranſcribe four of theſe balades as correctly and intelligibly as I am able: although I muſt confeſs, there are ſome lines which I do not exactly comprehend.

Balade xxxvi.

Pour comparer ce jolif temps de Maij,
Jeo dirrai ſemblable a Paradis;
Car lors chantoit et merle et papegai,
Les champs ſont vert, les herbes ſont floris;
Lors eſt Nature dame du paijs:
Dont Venus poignt l'amant a tiel aſſai,
Rencontre amour neſt qui poet dire Nai.

Quant

Quant tout ceo voi, et que ieo penſerai,
Coment Nature ad tout le mond ſuſpris,
Dont pour le temps ſe fait minote et gai,
Et ieo des autres ſuis ſouleni horſpris,
Com al qui ſanz amie eſt vrais amis,
Neſt pas mervaile lors ſi ieo meſmai,
Qencontre amour neſt qui poet dire Nai.
En lieu de roſe, urtie cuillerai,
Dont mes chapeals ferrai par tiel devis,
Qe tout ioie et confort ieo lerrai,
Si celle ſoule eu qui iai mon coer mis,
Selonc le ponit qe iai ſovent requis,
Ne deigne alegger les griefs mals qe iai,
Qencontre amour neſt qui poet dire Nai.
Pour pite querre et pourchacer intris,
Va ten balade ou ieo tenvoierai,
Qore en certain ieo lai treſbien apris
Qencontre amour neſt qui poet dire Nai.

Balade xxxiv.

Saint Valentin, l'Amour, et la Nature,
Des touts oiſeals ad en gouernement,
Dont chaſcun deaux, ſemblable a ſa meſure,
Un compaigne honeſte a ſon talent
Eſliſt, tout dun accord et dun aſſent,
Pour celle ſoule laiſt a covenir;
Toutes les autres car nature aprent
Ou li coers eſt le corps falt obeir.
Ma doulce Dame, enſi ieo vous aſſure,
Qe ieo vous ai eſlieu ſemblablement,
Sur toutes autres eſtes a deſſure
De mon amour ſi treſentierement,
Qe riens y falt pourquoi ioioufement,

De

Ma volente ferroit tout tielement
Qe ſans envie et danger de la gent,
Nous porroions enſemble pour loiſir
Voler tout francs en votre eſbatement
Ou li coers eſt le corps falt obeir.
Ma belle oiſel, vers qui mon penſement
Seu vole ades ſanz null contretenir
Preu ceſt eſcript car ieo ſai voirement
Ou li coers eſt le corps falt obeir.

BALADE XLIII.

Pluſtricherous qe Jaſon a Medee,
A Deianire ou q' Ercules eſtoit,
Plus q' Eneas q' avoit Dido laſſee,
Plus qe Theſeus q' Adriagne [c] amoit,
Ou Demophon qut Phillis oubliot,
Te trieus, helas, qamer iadis ſoloie,
Dont chanterai deſore en mon endroit
Ceſt ma dolour qe fuiſt amicois ma joie.
Unques Ector qama Pantaſilee [d],
En tiele haſte a Troie ne ſarmoit,
Qe tu tout mid nes deniz le lit couche
Amis as toutes quelques venir doit,
Ne poet chaloir mais qune femme y ſoit,
Si es comun plus qe la halte voie,
Helas, qe la fortune me deçoit,
Ceſt ma dolour qe fuiſt amicois ma joie.

De Lancelot[d] si fuissetz remembre,
Et de Tristans, com il se countenoit,
Generides[e], Fflorent[f], par Tonope[g],
Chascun des ceaux sa loialte gardoit;
Mais tu, helas, qest ieo qe te forfvoit
De moi qa toi iamais mill iour falsoie,
Tu es a large et ieo sui en destroit,
Cest ma dolour qe fuist amicois ma joie.
Des toutz les mals tu qes le plus maloit,
Ceste compleignte a ton oraille envoie
Sante me laist, et langour me recoit,
Cest ma dolour qe fuist amicois ma joie.

BALADE XX.

Si com la nief, quant le fort vent tempeste,
Pur halte mier se torna ci et la,
Ma dame, ensi mon coer manit en tempeste,
Quant le danger de vo parrole orra,
Le nief qe votre bouche soufflera,
Me fait sigler sur le peril de vie,
Qest en danger falt quil mera supplie.
Rois Ulyxes, sicom nos dist la Geste,
Vers son paiis de Troie qui sigla,
Not tiel paour du peril et moleste,

[d] Sir Lancelot's intrigue with Geneura, king Arthur's queen, and sir Tristram with Bel Isoulde, incidents in Arthur's romance, are made the subject of one of the stories of the French poem just cited, viz.

Commes sont la cronique et listoire
De Lancelot et Tristrans ensement, &c.

[e] This name, of which I know nothing, must be corruptly written.

[f] Chaucer's WIFE OF BATHES TALE is founded on the story of Florent, a knight of Rome, who delivers the king of Sicily's daughter from the enchantments of her stepmother. His story is also in our author's CONFESSIO AMANTIS, Lib. iii. fol. 48. a col. 1. seq. Lib. viii. fol. 175. a col. 2. seq. And in the GESTA ROMANORUM. [See supr. p. 31.] Percy [NUM. 2.] recites a Romance called LE BONE FLORENCE DE ROME, which begins,

As ferre as men ride or gon.

I know not if this be Shakespeare's Florentius, or Florentio, TAM. SHR. i. 5.

Be she as foul as was FLORENTIUS' love.

[g] That is Partenope, or Parthenopeus, one of Statius's heroes, on whom there is an old French romance. [See supr. vol. i. p. 123.]

Quant les Sereines en la mier passa,
Et la danger de Circes eschapa,
Qe le paour nest plus de ma partie,
Qest en danger falt quil mera supplie.
Danger qui tolt damour tout la feste,
Unques un mot de confort ne sona,
Ainz plus cruel qe nest la fiere beste
Au point quant danger me respondera.
La chiere porte et quant le nai dirra,
Plusque la mort mestoie celle oie
Qest en danger falt quil mera supplie.
Vers vous, ma bone dame, horspris cella,
Qe danger manit en votre compainie,
Cest balade en mon message irra
Qest en danger falt quil mera supplie.

For the use, and indeed the knowledge, of this manuscript, I am obliged to the unsolicited kindness of Lord Trentham; a favour which his lordship was pleased to confer with the most polite condescension.

Pag. 31. Notes, col. 2. l. 5. Add, "A Greco-barbarous translation of the romance of Apollonius of Tyre was made by one Gabriel Contianus[h], a Grecian, about the year 1500, as appears by a manuscript in the imperial library at Vienna[i]; and printed at Venice in 1503. [See vol. i. p. 350.] Salviati, in his *Avvertimenti*, mentions an Italian romance on this subject, which he supposes to have been written about the year 1330. Lib. ii. c. 12. Velser first published this romance in Latin at

[h] Γαβριὴλ Κοντιανοῦ. Perhaps Κοντιανοῦ.

[i] Lambecc. Catal. Bibl. Cæsar. Nesselii Suppl. tom. i. p. 341. MSS. Græc. cexliv. (Vind. et Norinb. 1690. fol.) Pr. "Μιθίξαν τοῦ Ιησοῦ χριστοῦ." Fin. "Πόλημα ὃν ἀπεχειρὸς Γαβριὴλ Κοντιάνου, &c." This is in prose. But under this class of the imperial library, Nesselius recites many manuscript poems in the Greco-barbarous metre of the fifteenth century or thereabouts, viz. *The Loves of Hemperius*; *Description of the city of Venice*; *The Romance of Florius and Platzflora*; *The Blindness and Beggary of Belisarius*; *The Trojan War*; *Of Hell*; *Of an Earthquake in the Isle of Crete*, &c. These were all written at the restoration of Learning in Italy. [See vol. i. p. 348. 350.]

Ausburgh,

Auſburgh, in 1595. 4to. The ſtory is here much more elegantly told, than in the GESTA ROMANORUM. In Godfrey of Viterbo's PANTHEON, it is in Leonine verſe. There has been even a German tranſlation of this favorite tale, viz. "Hiſtoria "APPOLLONII TYRIÆ et Sidoniæ regis ex Latino ſermone in "Germanicum tranſlata. Auguſt. Vindel. apud Gintherum "Zainer, 1471. fol." At the end is a German colophon, importing much the ſame.

Pag. 41. Not. p. DELE "author of the Lives of the Dramatic Poets." [The author of the ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH DRAMATIC POETS, was Gerard the ſon of doctor Langbaine, provoſt of Queen's college, Oxford. This book was firſt publiſhed under the title of MOMUS TRIUMPHANS, Lond. 1687. 4to. Five hundred copies were quickly ſold; but the remainder of the impreſſion appeared the next year with a new title, *A new Catalogue of Engliſh Plays, containing comedies*, &c. Lond. 1688. 4to. The author at length digeſted his work anew with great acceſſions and improvements, which he entitled as above, AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH DRAMATICK POETS, &c. Oxon. 1691. 8vo. This book, a good ground-work for a new publication on the ſame ſubject and plan, and which has merit as being the firſt attempt of the kind, was reprinted by Curl, with flimzy additions, under the conduct of Giles Jacob, a hero of the Dunciad, Lond. 1719. 8vo. Our author, after a claſſical education, was firſt placed with a bookſeller in London; but at ſixteen years of age, in 1672, he became a gentleman commoner of Univerſity college in Oxford. His literature chiefly conſiſted in a knowledge of the novels and plays of various languages; and he was a conſtant and critical attendant of the play-houſes for many years. Retiring to Oxford in the year 1690, he died the next year; having amaſſed a collection of more than a thouſand printed plays, maſques, and interludes.]

Pag. 54. Notes, col. 2. l. 19. ADD, "The moſt antient complete French copy of LA DANSE MACABRE was printed in folio at Lyons, in 1499, together with ſome other ſhort ſpi-

ritual pieces, under the title *La Grand* DANSE MACABRE *des hommes et des femmes historiée, avec de beaux dits en Latin et huitains en François*, &c. To this work Erasmus alludes in the third book of his RATIO CONCIONANDI, where he says, "Quin et vulgares rhetoristæ censuerunt hoc decus, qui interdum versibus certo numero comprehensis, pro clausula, accinunt brevem et argutam sententiam, velut in Rhythmis quos Gallus quispiam edidit in CHOREAM MORTIS." tom. v. Opp. pag. 1007. Naude calls this allegory, "Chorea ab eximio Macabro edita." MASCUR. p. 224. I believe the first Latin edition, that of Pierre Desrey which I have mentioned, was printed at Troyes in 1490, not 1460. The French have an old poem, partly on the same idea, LA DANSE DES AVEUGLES, under the conduct of Love, Fortune, and Death, written by Pierre Michault, about the year 1466. See MEM. ACAD. INSCRIPT. et BEL. LET. ii. 742. And Goujet, BIBL. FR. ix. 358. In De Bure's BIBLIOGRAPHIE INSTRUCTIVE, an older but less perfect edition of *Le Danse Macabre* is recited, printed at Paris in 1486, for Guyot Marchant. fol. In this edition the French rhymes are said to be by Michel Marot. tom. i. p. 512. num. 3109. BELL. LETTR. He has catalogued all the antient editions of this piece in French, which are many. Pierre Desrey abovementioned wrote a French romance called LA GENEALOGIE, on Godfrey of Bouloign. Paris, 1511. fol.

Pag. 103. To Not. [n]. ADD, "These BRITISH LAIS, of which I have given specimens at the beginning of the FIRST DISSERTATION, and of which sir LAUNFAL is one, are discovered to have been translated into French from the language of Armorican Bretagne, about the thirteenth century, by Marie a French poetess, who made the translation of ESOP abovementioned. See CANT. T. vol. iv. p. 165. edit. 1775. But Marie's was not the only Collection of BRITISH LAIS, in French: as appears, not only from the EARL of THOLOUSE, but by the romance

romance of EMARE, a tranſlation from the French, which has this ſimilar paſſage, St. ult.

> Thys ys on of *Brytayne layes*
> That was uſed of old dayes.

MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A ii. fol. 69. (ſee f. 70.) The SONG of SIR GOWTHER is ſaid by the writer to be taken from one of *the Layes of Brytayne:* and in another place he calls his ſtory *the firſt Laye of Britanye.* MSS. REG. 17 B. xliii. Chaucer's FRANKELEIN'S TALE was alſo a *Bretagne Lay,* Urr. p. 107. In the Prologue he ſays,

> The *olde gentill Bretons* in their dayes
> Of divers aventoures madin their *Layes,*
> Rymeyed firſt in their owne *Breton* tonge,
> Whiche *layis* with ther inſtruments thei ſonge.

Here he tranſlates from Marie, although this ſtory is not in her manuſcript, viz. fol. 181.

> *Li auntien Bretun curteis.*

But in his DREME, he ſeems to have copied her LAY of ELIDUS. [See Diſſ. i.] To the *Britiſh Lais* I would alſo refer LA LAI DU CORN, which begins,

> De un aventure ci avint
> A la court del bon rei Artus.

MSS. DIGB. 86. Bibl. Bodl. membran. 4°. It probably exiſted before the year 1300. The ſtory, which much reſembles the old French metrical romance, called LE COURT MANTEL, is ſlightly touched in MORTE ARTHUR. ii. 33. A magical horn, richly garniſhed, the work of a fairy, is brought by a beautiful boy riding on a fleet courſer, to a ſumptuous feaſt held at Carleon by king Arthur, in order to try the fidelity of the knights and

and ladies, who are in number sixty thousand. Those who are false, in drinking from this horn, spill their wine. The only successful knight, or he who accomplishes the adventure, is *Garaduc* or Cradok. I will here give the description of the horn.

—— Un dauncel [k],
Mout avenaunt et bel,
Seur un cheval corant,
En palleis vint eraunt:
En sa main tont un COR
A quatre bendel de or,
Ci com etoit diveure
Entaillez de ad trifure [l],
Peres ici ont assises,
Qu en le or furent mises,
Berreles et sardoines,
Et riches calcedoines;

[k] More properly written *daunzel*, or *danzel*. As in the old French romance of GARIN.

Et li *danzel* que Bues ot norris.

And in other places. So our king Richard the first, in a fragment of one of his Provencial sonnets.

E lou *donzel* de Thuscana.

"For *Boys* Tuscany is the couutry." In Spanish, Lo *Donzell*. See Andr. Bosch, *Dels Titols de honor de Cathalanya*. L. iii. c. 3. §. 16. In some of these instances, the word is restrained to the sense of *Squire*. It is from the Latin DOMICELLUS. Froissart calls Richard the second, when prince of Wales," Le jeune *Damoisel* Richart." tom. i. c. 325.

[l] Or rather trifore. Undoubtedly from the Latin *triforium*, a rich ornamented edge or border. The Latin often occurs under Dugdale's INVENTORY of saint Paul's, in the MONASTICON, viz. "Morsus [a buckle] W. de Ely argenteus, "cresta ejus argentea, cum TRIFORIO "exterius aureo et lapillis insitis, &c." tom. iii. ECCL. CATH. p. 309. TRIFORIATUS repeatedly occurs in the same page, as thus. "Morsus Petri de Blois "TRIFORIATUS de auro."——"Medio "circulo [of a buckle] aurato, TRIFORIATO, inserto grossis lapidibus, &c." —"Cum multis lapidibus et perlis insitis "in limbis, et quadraturis TRIPHORATUS "aureis," &c. &c. ibid. p. 309. et seq. It is sometimes written TRIFORIA. As, "Pannus cujus campus purpureus, cum "xiv listis in longitudine *ad modum* TRIFORIÆ contextis." ibid. p. 326. col. 2. TRIFURE, in the text, may be literally interpreted *jewel-work*. As in CHRON. S. Dion. tom. iii. Collect. Histor. Franc. p. 183. "Il estoient de fin or esmere et "aourné de tres riches pierres precieuses "d' *uere* [œuvre] TRIPHOIRE." Which Aimon calls, "gemmisque ornata *Opere inclusorio*," that is, *work consisting of jewels set in*. De GEST. FRANC. Lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 44. G. edit. Paris. 1603. fol.

Il fu fust de ollifaunt,
Ounques ne ni si graunt,
Ne si fort, ne si bel,
Desus ont un anel,
Neèle de ad argent,
Eschelettes il ont cent
Perfectees de or fin,
En le tens Constantin,
Les fist une Fee,
Qu preuz ert, et senee,
E le corn destina
Si cum vous orres ja:
Qu sour le corn ferroit
Un petit de soun doit,
Ses eschelettes cent
Sounent tant doucement,
Qu harpe ne viele
Ne deduit de pucelle,
Ne Sereigne du mer
Nest tele desconter.

These lines may be thus interpreted. "A boy, very graceful "and beautiful, mounted on a swift horse, came into the pa- "lace of king Arthur. He bore in his hand a horn, having "four bandages of gold; it was made of ivory, engraved with "*trifoire:* many pretious stones were set in the gold, beryls, "sardonyces, and rich chalcedonies: it was of elephant [ivory]: "nothing was ever so grand, so strong, or so beautiful: at "bottom was a ring [or rim] wrought of silver; where were "hanging an hundred little bells, framed of fine gold, in the "days of Constantine, by a Fairy, brave and wise, for the "purpose which ye have just heard me relate. If any one "gently struck the horn with his finger, the hundred bells "sounded so sweetly, that neither harp nor viol, nor the sports "of a virgin, nor the syrens of the sea, could ever give such "music." The author of this *Lai* is one Robert Bikez, as

appears

appears by the last lines; in which the horn is said still to be seen at Cirencester. From this tale came Ariosto's ENCHANTED CUP, ORL FURIOS. xlii. 92. And Fontaine's LA COUPE ENCHANTEE. From the COURT MANTEL, a fiction of the same tendency, and which was common among the Welsh bards, Spenser borrowed the wonderful virtues and effects of his FLORIMEL'S GIRDLE, iv. 5. 3. Both stories are connected in an antient Ballad published by Percy. vol. iii. p. 1.

In the Digby manuscript, which contains *La Lai du Corn*, are many other curious chansons, romantic, allegorical, and legendary, both in old French and old English. I will here exhibit the rubrics, or titles, of the most remarkable pieces, and of such as seem most likely to throw light on the subjects or allusions of our antient English poetry. *Le Romaunz Peres Aunfour* [Alfonse] *coment il apreist et chastia son fils belement.* [See Notes to CANTERB. T. p. 328. vol. iv.] *De un demi ami.—De un bon ami enter.—De un sage homme et de i fol.—De un gopil et de un mul.—De un roi et de un clerc.—De un homme et de une serpente et de un gopil.—De un roi et de un versifiour.—De* ii *clercs escoliers.—De un prodome et de sa male femme.—Del engin de femme del nelons.——Del espee autre engin de femme.——De un roy et de un fableour.——De une veille et de une lisette.——De la gile de la per e el pin.——De un prodfemme bone cointise.* [Pr. "Un Espagnol ceo vy counter."]——*De* ii *menestreus.* [i. e. Minstrels.]——*De une roy et de Platoun.——De un vilein de* i *lou et de un gopil.—De un roy fol large.—De maimound mal esquier.—De Socrates et de roi Alisaundre.—De roi Alisaundre et de* i *philosophe.—De un philosofel et del alme.—Ci commence le romaunz de Enfer, Le Sounge Rauf de Hodenge de la voie denfer.* [Ad calc. "Rauf de Hodeng, saunz mensounge,—Qu cest romaunz fist de sun songe." See Verdier, BIBL. FR. ii. 394. v. 394. Paris, 1773.]—*De un vallet qui soutint dames et dammaisales.—De Romme et de Gerusalem.—La lais du corn.—Le fabel del gelous.—Ci comence la bertournee.—La vie de un vaillet amerous.—De* iiii *files* . . . [Pr. "Un rois estoit de "graunt pouer."]—*How Jheu Crist herewede belle,* &c. [See

vol.

vol. ii. p. 207.]——*Le* xv *fingnes* [ſignes] *de domeſday*. [Pr. " Fifteene toknen ich tellen may." Compare vol. i. p. 219.]—*Ci comence la vie ſeint Euſtace ci ant nom Placidas*.

[Pr. " Alle þat loveþ godes lore
" Olde and yonge laſſe and more."

See MS. Vernon, fol. 170. ut ſupr.] — *Le diz de ſeint Bernard*. [Pr. " þe bleſſinge of hevene kinge."] — *Vbi ſont ci ante nos fuerount*. [In Engliſh.]——*Chaunçon de noſtre dame*. [Pr. " Stond wel moder ounder rode."] —*Here beginneth the ſawe of ſeint Bede preeſt*. [Pr. " Holi goſt þi migtee.]—*Coment le ſaunter notre dame fu primes cuntrone*. [Pr. " Luedi ſwete and milde."] —*Les . . . peines de enfen*. [Pr. " Oiez Seynours une de- " mande."] — *Le regret de Maximian*. [Pr. " Herkeneþ to mi " ron." MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 82. See vol. i. p. 32.] — *Ci comence le cuntent par entre le mavis et la ruſſinole*. [Pr. " Somer " is cumen wiþ love to tonne." See vol. i. p. 30.]—*Of the fox and of the wolf*. [Pr. " A vox gon out of þe wode go."]—*Hending the hende*. [MSS. Harl. 2253. 89. fol. 125.] — *Les proverbes del vilain*.—*Les miracles de ſeint* Nicholas.—*Ragemon le bon*.—*Chancun del ſecle*. [In Engliſh.]—*Ci commence le fable et la courtiſe de dame ſiri* . . . [Pr. " As I com bi an waie."]—*Le noms de un leure Engleis*. [i. e. The names of the Hare in Engliſh.]—*Ci comence la vie noſtre dame*.—*Ci comence le doctrinal de enſeignemens de curteiſie*. — *Ci comence les Aves nouſtre dame*.—*De* ii *chevalers torts ke plenderent aroune*. —*Bonne prieur a noſtre ſeigneur Jhu Criſt*. — *Ci comence leſcrit de* ii *dames*. — *Hic incipit carmen inter corpus et animam*. [A Dialogue in Engliſh verſe between a body laid on a bier and its Soul. Pr. " Hon on . . . . " ſtude I ſtod an lutell eſcrit to here."]—*Ci commence la maniere que le amour eſt pur aſſaier*. [Pr. " Love is ſoft, love is ſwete, " love is goed ſware."]——*Chaunçon de nouſtre ſeigneur*. This manuſcript ſeems to have been written about year 1304. Ralph Houdain, whoſe poem called Vision d'Enfer it contains, wrote about the year 1230.

The word, LAI, I believe, was applied to any ſubject, and ſignified only the verſification. Thus we have in the Bodleian library *La* LUMERE AS LAIS, *par Meſtre Pierre de Feccham.*

Verai deu omnipotent
Keſtes fin et commencement.

MSS. BODL 399. It is a ſyſtem of theology in this ſpecies of metre.

Pag. 121. To Not. [q]. ADD, "In Jean Petit's edition in 1535, and perhaps in that of 1485, of Premierfaict's tranſlation of the DECAMERON, it is ſaid to be tranſlated from Latin into French. But *Latin* here means *Italian.* Hence a miſtake aroſe, that Boccacio wrote his DECAMERON in Latin. The Italian, as I have before obſerved, was antiently called *Il volgare Latino.* Thus the French romance of MELIADUS DE LEONNOIS is ſaid to be *tranſlatè du* LATIN, by Ruſticien de Piſa, edit. Par. 1532. fol. Thus alſo GYRON LE COURTOIS is called a verſion from the Latin. [Supr. vol. ii. p. 117.] M. de la Monnoye obſerves, "Que quand on trouve que certains VIEUX ROMANS ont été traduits de LATIN en François, par Luces de Saleſberies, Robert de Borron, Ruſticien de Piſa, ou autres, cela ſignifie que ç' a été D'ITALIEN en François." REM. au BIBL. FR. du La Croix du Maine, &c. tom. ii. p. 33. edit. 1772. [See ſupr. ADDIT. ad p. 15. i.] Premierfaict's French DECAMERON, which he calls CAMERON, is a moſt wretched caricature of the original.

Pag. 148. Not. col. 2. l. 4. For "1115," READ "1015."

Pag. 153. To Not. [c]. ADD, "I have received ſome notices from the old regiſters of ſaint Ewin's church at Briſtol, antiently called the MINSTER, which import, that the church pavement was *waſhed* againſt the coming of king Edward. But this does not at all prove or imply that the king *ſat at the grete mynſterr windowe* to ſee the gallant Lancaſtrian, Baldwin, paſs to the ſcaffold; a circumſtance, and a very improbable one, mentioned in Rowlie's pretended poem on this ſubject. The notice

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at moſt will prove only, that the king aſſiſted at maſs in this church, when he came to Briſtol. Nor is it improbable, that the other churches of Briſtol were cleaned, or adorned, at the coming of a royal gueſt. Wanter, above quoted, is evidently wrong in the date 1463, which ought to be 1461, or 1462.

Pag. 156. Notes, col. 2. To l. 9. Add "I have obſerved, but for what reaſon I know not, that ſaint Ewin's church at Briſtol was called the *minſter*. I, however, ſuſpect, that the poet here means *Briſtol cathedral*. He calls, with his accuſtomed miſapplication of old words, *Worceſter cathedral* the *minſter of our ladie*, infr. p. 160. But I do not think this was a common appellation for that church. In Lydgate's Life of Saint Alban, *Minſter* is uſed in its firſt ſimple acceptation. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. Num. xxxviii. fol. 19.

——— Seynt Albone
Of that *mynſtre* leyde the firſt ſtone.

That is, of ſaint Alban's monaſtery.

Pag. 164. To the end of the Section, Add, "What is here ſaid of Rowlie, was not only written, but printed, almoſt two years before the correct and complete edition of his Poems appeared. Had I been appriſed of that publication, I ſhould have been much more ſparing in my ſpecimens of theſe forgeries, which had been communicated to me in manuſcript, and which I imagined I was imparting to my readers as curioſities. I had as yet ſeen only a few extracts of theſe poems; nor were thoſe tranſcripts which I received, always exact. Circumſtances which I mention here, to ſhew the inconveniencies under which I laboured, both with regard to my citations and my criticiſms. Theſe ſcanty materials, however, contained ſufficient evidence to convince me, that the pieces were not genuine.

The entire and accurate collection of Rowlie's now laid before the public, has been ſo little inſtrumental in inducing me to change my opinion, that it has ſerved to exemplify and confirm every argument which I have produced in ſupport of my

ſuſpicions of an impoſition. It has likewiſe afforded ſome new proofs.

Thoſe who have been converſant in the works even of the beſt of our old Engliſh poets, well know, that one of their leading characteriſtics is inequality. In theſe writers, ſplendid deſcriptions, ornamental compariſons, poetical images, and ſtriking thoughts, occur but rarely: for many pages together, they are tedious, proſaic, and unintereſting. On the contrary, the poems before us are every where ſupported: they are throughout, poetical and animated. They have no imbecillities of ſtyle or ſentiment. Our old Engliſh bards abound in unnatural conceptions, ſtrange imaginations, and even the moſt ridiculous abſurdities. But Rowlie's poems preſent us with no incongruous combinations, no mixture of manners, inſtitutions, cuſtoms, and characters. They appear to have been compoſed after ideas of diſcrimination had taken place; and when even common writers had begun to conceive, on moſt ſubjects, with preciſion and propriety. There are indeed, in the Battle of Haſtings, ſome great anachroniſms; and practices are mentioned which did not exiſt till afterwards. But theſe are ſuch inconſiſtencies, as proceeded from fraud as well as ignorance: they are ſuch as no old poet could have poſſibly fallen into, and which only betray an unſkilful imitation of antient manners. The verſes of Lydgate and his immediate ſucceſſors are often rugged and unmuſical: but Rowlie's poetry ſuſtains one uniform tone of harmony; and, if we bruſh away the aſperities of the antiquated ſpelling, conveys its cultivated imagery in a poliſhed and agreeable ſtrain of verſification. Chatterton ſeems to have thought, that the diſtinction of old from modern poetry conſiſted only in the uſe of old words. In counterfeiting the coins of a rude age, he did not forget the uſual application of an artificial ruſt: but this diſguiſe was not ſufficient to conceal the elegance of the workmanſhip.

The Battle of Haſtings, juſt mentioned, might be proved to be a palpable forgery for many other reaſons. It is

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ſaid to be tranſlated from the Saxon of Turgot. But Turgot died in 1015, and the battle of Haſtings was fought in 1066. We will, however, allow, that Turgot lived in the reign of the Conqueror. But, on that ſuppoſition, is it not extraordinary, that a cotemporary writer ſhould mention no circumſtances of this action which we did not know before, and which are not to be found in Malmſbury, Ordericus Vitalis, and other antient chroniclers? Eſpecially as Turgot's deſcription of this battle was profeſſedly a detached and ſeparate performance, and at leaſt, on that account, would be minute and circumſtantial. An original and a cotemporary writer, deſcribing this battle, would not only have told us ſomething new, but would otherwiſe have been full of particularities. The poet before us dwells on incidents common to all battles, and ſuch as were eaſily to be had from Pope's Homer. We may add, that this piece not only detects itſelf, but demonſtrates the ſpuriouſneſs of all the reſt. Chatterton himſelf allowed the firſt part of it to be a forgery of his own. The ſecond part, from what has been ſaid, could not be genuine. And he who could write the ſecond part was able to write every line in the whole collection. But while I am ſpeaking of this poem, I cannot help expoſing the futility of an argument which has been brought as a deciſive evidence of its originality. It is urged, that the names of the chiefs who accompanied the Conqueror, correſpond with the Roll of Battle-Abbey. As if a modern forger could not have ſeen this venerable record. But, unfortunately, it is printed in Hollinſhead's Chronicle.

It is ſaid that Chatterton, on account of his youth and education, could not write theſe poems. This may be true; but it is no proof that they are not forged. Who was their author, on the hypotheſis that Rowlie was not, is a new and another queſtion. I am, however, of opinion that it was Chatterton. For if we attend only to ſome of the pieces now extant in a periodical magazine, which he publiſhed under his own ſignature, and which are confeſſedly of his compoſition, to his

letters

letters now remaining in manuſcript, and to the teſtimony of thoſe that were acquainted with his converſation, he will appear to have been a ſingular inſtance of a prematurity of abilities; to have acquired a ſtore of general information far exceeding his years, and to have poſſeſſed that comprehenſion of mind, and activity of underſtanding, which predominated over his ſituations in life, and his opportunities of inſtruction. Some of his publications in the magazines diſcover alſo his propenſity to forgery, and more particularly in the walk of antient manners, which ſeem greatly to have ſtruck his imagination. Theſe, among others, are ETHELGAR, a *Saxon poem* in proſe; KENRICK, *tranſlated from the Saxon*; CERDICH, *tranſlated from the Saxon*; GODRED CROVAN, a Poem, *compoſed by Dothnel Syrric king of the iſle of Man*; The HIRLAS, *compoſed by Blythyn, prince of North Wales*; GOTHMUND, *tranſlated from the Saxon*; ANECDOTE of CHAUCER, and of the ANTIQUITY of CHRISTMAS GAMES. The latter piece, in which he quotes a regiſter of Keinſham NUNNERY, which was a priory of Black canons, and advances many imaginary facts, ſtrongly ſhews his track of reading, and his fondneſs for antiquarian imagery. In this monthly collection he inſerted ideal drawings of ſix achievements of Saxon heraldry, of an inedited coin of queen Sexburgeo, wife of king Kinewalch, and of a Saxon amulet; with explanations equally fantaſtic and arbitrary. From Rowlie's pretended parchments he produced ſeveral heraldic delineations. He alſo exhibited a draught by Rowlie of Briſtol caſtle in its perfect ſtate. I very much doubt if this fortreſs was not almoſt totally ruinous in the reign of Edward the fourth. This draught, however, was that of an edifice evidently fictitious. It was exceedingly ingenious; but it was the repreſentation of a building which never exiſted, in a capricious and affected ſtyle of Gothic architecture, reducible to no period or ſyſtem.

To the whole that is here ſuggeſted on this ſubject, let us add Chatterton's inducements and qualifications for forging theſe poems, ariſing from his character, and way of living. He

was

was an adventurer, a professed hireling in the trade of literature, full of projects and inventions, artful, enterprising, unprincipled, indigent, and compelled to subsist by expedients.

Pag. 165. To Not. [b]. Add, " In the British Museum, there is a poem entitled, " A Cristemasse Game *made by maister* " Benet *howe God Almyghty seyde to his apostelys and echeon of* " *them were baptiste and none knew of othir*." The piece consists of twelve stanzas, an apostle being assigned to each stanza. Probably *maister Benet* is Benedict Burgh. MSS. Harl. 7333. This is saint Paul's stanza.

Doctour of gentiles, a perfite Paule,
By grace convertid from thy grete erroure,
And cruelte, changed to Paule from Saule,
Of fayth and trouth most perfyte prechoure,
Slayne at Rome undir thilke emperoure
Cursyd Nero, Paule syt down in thy place
To the ordayned by purveaunce of grace.

Pag. 169. To Not. [n]. Add, " In Bennet college library, there is a copy of the French Cato by Helis of Winchester, MSS. ccccv. 24. fol. 317. It is entitled and begins thus. *Les Distiches Morales de* Caton *mises en vers par* Helis de Guynceſtre.

Ki vout saver la faitement
Ki Catun a sun fiz a prent,
Si en Latin nel set entendre,
Jci le pot en rumainz [m] aprendre,
Cum Helis de Guynceſtre
Ki deu met a se destre
La translate si fatemente.

Cod. membran. 4[to]. The transcript is of the fourteenth century. Compare Verdier, Bibl. Franc. tom. iii. p. 288. edit.

[m] In romance. In French.

1772. In the Latin Chronicle of of Anonymus Salernitanus, written about the year 900, the writer mentions a deſcription in Latin verſe of the palace of the city of Salerno, but laments that it was rendered illegible through length of time: "Nam "ſi unam paginam fuiſſemus nacti, comparare illos [verſus] "profecto potuiſſemus Maroni in *voluminibus*, CATONIQUE, "ſive profecto aliis *Sophiſtis*." cap. xxviii. col. 195. B. tom. ii. P. ii. SCRIPTOR. RER. ITAL. Mediolan. 1726.

Pag. 173. To Not. [t]. Add, "But the ſame lines occur in the Prologue to Hampole's *Speculum Vitæ*, or MIRROUR OF LIFE, as it has been called, written about the year 1350. [See MSS. BODL. 48. p. 47. a. Bibl. Bodl. And ibid. MSS. LANGB. 5. p. 64.] From which, that thoſe who have leiſure and opportunity may make a farther compariſon of the two Prologues, I will tranſcribe a few more dull lines.

Latyn als, I trowe, canne nane
Bot thaſe that it of ſcole hane tane,
Som canne *frankes* and *latyn*
That hanes vſed covrte and dwelled theryn,
And ſom canne o *latyn* a party
That canne *frankes* bot febely,
And ſom vnderſtandes in *inglys*
That canne nother *latyn* ne *frankys*,
Bot lered and lewed alde and younge
All vnderſtandes *inglyſche* tounge:
Thare fore I halde it maſte ſyker thon
To ſchew that langage that ilk a man konne,
And for all lewed men namely
Thet can no maner of clergy,
To kenne thanne what ware maſte nede,
Ffor clerkes canne bathe ſe and rede, &c.

This poem, conſiſting of many thouſand verſes, begins with the ſpiritual advantages of the Lord's Prayer, of its ſeven petitions, their effects, &c. &c. And ends with the ſeven Beatitudes,

tudes, and their rewards. [See supr. vol. i. p. 265. Not. *.] These are the two concluding lines.

> To whylk blysse he vs bryng
> That on the crosse for vs all wolde hyng.

This is supposed to be a translation from a Latin tract, afterwards printed at Cologne, 1536. fol. But it may be doubted, whether Hampole was the translator. It is, however, most probably of the fourteenth century.

Pag. 189. To l. 22. Add this Note, " The passion for versifying every thing was carried to such a heighth in the middle ages, that before the year 1300, Justinian's Institutes, and the code of French jurisprudence, were translated into French rhymes. There is a very antient edition of this work, without date, place, or typographer, said to be corrected, *par plusieurs docteurs* and *souverains legistes*, in which are these lines,

> J' ay, par paresse, demourè
> Trop longuement á commencer
> Pour Institutes *romancer*.

See Menage, Obs. sur le Lang. Fr. P. prem. ch. 3. Verdier and La Croix, iii. 428. iv. 160. 554. 560. Bibl. Fr. edit. 1773.

Pag. 191. To Not. *. Add, " Another proof which ascertains this reading of the controverted passage in Hamlet, occurs in the romance of Morte Arthur. When sir Lancelot was dying, " whan he was *bowseled* and *eneled*, and had *all that* " *a crysten man ought to have*, he praid the bishop, that his " felowes might beare his bodie unto Joyous Garde, &c." B. xxi. cap. xii.

Pag. 199. To Not. *. Add, " These highly painted infernal punishments, and joys of Paradise, are not the invention of the author of the Kalendrier. They are taken, both from M.

Paris, and from Henry of Saltry's Deſcription of ſaint Patrick's PURGATORY, written in 1140, and printed by Meſſingham in his FLORILEGIUM INSULÆ SANCTORUM, &c." Paris, 1624. fol. cap. vi. &c. p. 101. See Bibl. Bodl. MSS. BODL. 550. [See vol. ii. p. 298.] Meſſingham has connected the two accounts of M. Paris and H. de Saltry, with ſome interpolations of his own. This adventure appears in various manuſcripts. No ſubject could have better ſuited the devotion and the credulity of the dark ages.

Pag. 200. Notes, col. 2. l. 31. ADD, "To the reign of king Henry the ſixth we may alſo refer a poem written by one Richard Sellyng, whoſe name is not in any of our biographers. MSS. HARL. f. 38. a. It is entitled and begins thus, *Evidens to be ware and gode covnſayle made now late by that honovrable ſquier Richard Sellyng*.

Loo this is but a ſymple tragedie,
Ne thing lyche un to hem of Lumbardye,
Which that Storax wrote unto Pompeie,
Sellyng maketh this in his manere,
And to John Shirley now ſent it is
Ffor to amende where it is amiſſe.

He calls himſelf an old man. Of this *honovrable ſquier* I can give no further account. John Shirley, here mentioned, lived about the year 1440. He was a gentleman of good family, and a great traveller. He collected, and tranſcribed in ſeveral volumes, which John Stowe had ſeen, many pieces of Chaucer, Lydgate, and other Engliſh poets. In the Aſhmolean Muſeum, there is, *A boke cleped the Abſtracte Brevyare compyled of divers balades, roundels, virilays, tragedyes, envoys, complaints, moralities, ſtoryes, practyſed and eke devyſed and ymagined, as it ſheweth here followyng, collected by John Shirley*. MSS. 89. ii. In Thoreſby's library was a manuſcript, once belonging to the college of

of Selby, *A moſt pyteous cronycle of thorribil dethe of James Stewarde, late kynge of Scotys, nought long agone priſoner yn Englande yn the tymes of the kynges Henry the fifte and Henry the ſixte, tranſlated out of Latine into oure mothers Engliſhe tong bi your ſimple ſubject John Shirley.* Alſo, *The boke clepyd* Les bones meures *tranſlated out of French by your humble ſerviture John Shirley of London,* MCCCCXL, *compriſed in* v *partes. The firſte partie ſpekith of remedie that is agaynſt the ſevyn deadly ſins.* 2. *The eſtate of holy church.* 3. *Of prynces and lordes temporall.* 4. *Of comone people.* 5. *Of deth and univerſal dome.* Alſo, his Tranſlation of the Sanctum Sanctorum, &c. Ducat. Leod. p. 530. A preſerver of Chaucer's and Lydgate's works deſerved theſe notices. The late Mr. Ames, the induſtrious author of the History of Printing, had in his poſſeſſion a folio volume of Engliſh Ballads in manuſcript, compoſed or collected by one John Lucas about the year 1450.

Pag. 204. Add to the Note, " The moſt ſplendid ſpectacle of this ſort which occurs in hiſtory, at leaſt ſo early as the fourteenth century, is deſcribed by Froiſſart, who was one of the ſpectators. It was one of the ſhews at the magnificent entrance of queen Iſabell into Paris, in the year 1389. The ſtory is from the cruſade againſt Saladin. I will give the paſſage from lord Berners's Tranſlation, printed by Pinſon in 1523. " Than " after, under the mynſter of the Trinyte, in the ſtrete, there " was a ſtage, and therupon a caſtell. And along on the ſtage " there was ordeyned the Passe of kyng Salhadyn, and " all their dedes in Perſonages: the criſten men on the one " parte, and the Sarazins on the other parte. And there was, " in Perſonages, all the lordes of name that of olde tyme hadde " ben armed, and had done any feates of armes at the Passe " of Salhadyne, and were armed with ſuche armure as they " than uſed. And thanne, a lyttel above them, there was in " Perſonages the Frenche kynge and the twelve Peeres of " Fraunce armed, with the blaſon of their armes. And whan

" the Frenche quenes lytter was come before this ſtage, ſhe " reſted there a ſeaſon. Thenne the Perſonages on the ſtage " of kynge Rychard departed fro his company, and wente to " the Frenche kynge, and demaunded lycence to go and aſſayle " the Sarazins; and the kynge gave hym [them] leave. Thanne " kynge Rycharde retourned to his twelve companyons. Thanne " they all ſette them in order, and incontynente wente and " aſſayled Salhadyne and the Sarazins. Then in ſporte there " ſeemed a great bataile, and it endured a good ſpace. This " pageaunt was well regarded." Cron. tom. ii. c. 56. fol. clxxii. col. i. By the two kings, he means Philip of France, and our king Richard the firſt, who were jointly engaged in this expedition. It is obſervable, that the ſuperiority is here given to the king of France.

Pag. 212. Notes, col. 1. To l. 2. Add, " In the Bodleian manuſcript (Bodl. 638.) this poem, with manifeſt impropriety, is entitled the Temple of Bras. It there appears in the midſt of many of Chaucer's poems. But at the end are two poems by Lydgate, The Chaunse of the Dyse, and Ragmany's Roll. And, I believe, one or two more of Lydgate's poems are intermixed. It is a miſcellany of old Engliſh poetry, chiefly by Chaucer: but none of the pieces are reſpectively diſtinguiſhed with the author's name. This manuſcript is partly on paper and partly on vellum, and ſeems to have been written not long after the year 1500.

Pag. 241. l. 2. For " 1494," Read " 1470."

Ibid. l. 11. For " 1497," Read " 1488." And Add this Note, " With this title, " Sebaſtiani Brandt Navis Stultifera Mortalium, a vernaculo ac vulgari ſermone in Latinum " conſcripta, per Jacobum Locher cognomine Philomuſum " Suevum cum figuris. Per Jacobum Zachoni de Romano, " anno 1488." 4to. In the colophon, it is ſaid to have been *jampridem traducta* from the German original by Locher; and that this Latin tranſlation was reviſed by the inventor Brandt, with

with the addition of many new Fools. A second edition of Locher's Latin was printed at Paris, in 1498. 4to. There is a French prose translation by Jehan Drouyn, at Lyons, 1498. fol. In the royal library at Paris, there is a curious copy of Barklay's English Ship of Folys, by Pinson, on vellum, with the wood-cuts: a rarity not, I believe, to be found in England.

Ibid. To Not. k. Add, "In verse. From which the French prose translation was made the next year.

Pag. 247. To the end of Not. t. Add, "Bishop Alcock's Castel of Labourc was translated into English from a French poem by Octavien de S. Gelais, a bishop, and an eminent translator of the classics into French at the restoration of learning. Viz. "Le Chasteau de Labour en rime fran-" çoise, auquel est contenu l'adresse de riches et chemin de " pauvretè, par Octavien de S, Gèlais, &c. Paris, Gallyot du " Pré, 1536. 16mo." Our highest efforts of poetry at this period were translations from the French. This piece of S. Gelais was also translated into English rhymes by one *Done*, or *dominus, James:* the same perhaps who made the following version, "Here begynneth the Orchardc of Syon: in the " which is contayned the revelation of saynt Catherine of Sene, " with ghostly fruytes and presyous plantes for the helthe of " mannes soule. Translated by Dane James. Prynted at the " cost of master Richard Sutton esquyre, Stewarde of the mo-" nasterie of Syon, 1519." For Wynkyn de Worde, in folio, with fine Gothic cuts in wood. This *Master* Richard Sutton, steward of the opulent monastery of Sion near London, was one of the founders of Brasenose college in Oxford.

Pag. 258. Add. to Not. s. "The presents at this marriage ascertain a doubtful reading in Chaucer, viz. "Un nouche " pr. ccc livr. — It. un riche nouche. — Un nouche priz de " cynk centz marcz."—In the Clerke's Tale, Grisilde has a crown "full of *ouchis* grete and smale." The late editor acquaints us, that the best manuscripts read *nouchis*.—In the same Note,

Note, For "a golden cup, Read "a collar of gold," *colere d'or*.

Pag. 288. Add to Not. *. "In Chaucer's Cuckowe and Nightingale, the latter is ſaid to grede, v. 135. p. 544. Urr.

And that for that ſkil ocy ocy I grede.

That is, *I cry*. Ital. *Gridare*. The word is uſed with more propriety, in Adam Davie's Gest of Alexander, written in 1312. fol. 55. col. 2. [See ſupr. i. 220.]

Averil is meory, and longith the day,
Ladies loven ſolas and play,
Swaynes juſtis, knyȝtis turnay,
Syngith the nyȝtyngale, gredeth the Jay.

Pag. 289. Add this Note, "In the laſt-mentioned excellent old poem, Autumn is touched with theſe circumſtances. fol. 95. col. 2.

In tyme of herveſt merry it is ynouz,
Peres and apples hongeth on bouz,
The hayward bloweth his horne,
In everych felde ripe is corne,
The grapes hongen on the vyne,
Swete is trewe love and fyne;
Kyng Aliſaunder a morowe ariſt,
The ſonne dryveth away the miſt,
Fforth he went farre into Ynde
Moo mervayles for to fynde.

Pag. 299. To the firſt Note Add, "There is a manuſcript, Of a knight, called Sir Oweyn, viſiting ſaint Patrick's Purgatory, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. 550. MSS. Cott. Nero. A. vii. 4. [See ad p. 199.] This piece was written by Henry, a Ciſtercian monk of Saltry in Huntingtonſhire. See T. Meſſingham, Florileg. p. 86.

p. 86. ſeq. In the Catalogue of the library of Sion monaſtery, which contained fourteen hundred volumes, in Bennet library, it is falſely attributed to Hugo de Saltereia. MSS. C. C. C. C. XLI. The French have an antient ſpiritual romance on this favorite expedition, ſo fertile of wonders, entitled, "Le VOYAGE "du Puys Saint Patrix, auquel lieu on voit les peines du Pur-"gatoire et auſſi les joyes de Paradis, Lyon, 1506. 4to."

Pag. 342. Notes, col. 2. l. 13. ADD, "Boccacio borrowed the ſtory of Titus and Geſippus from the GESTA ROMANONUM, or from Alphonſus, FAB. ii. There is another Latin hiſtory of theſe two friends, probably a tranſlation from Boccacio by Fr. M. Bandello, and printed at Milan in 1509. An exceedingly ſcarce book. "Titi Romani et Hegeſippi Athe-"nienſis Hiſtoria in Latinum verſa per Fr. Mattheum Bandel-"lum Caſtronovenſem. MEDIOLANI, Apud Gotard de Ponte, "1509. 4to."

I take this opportunity of pointing out another ſource of Boccacio's TALES. Friar Philip's ſtory of the GOOSE, or of the Young Man who had never ſeen a Woman, in the Prologue to the fourth day of the DECAMERON, is taken from a ſpiritual romance, called the HISTORY OF BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. This fabulous narrative, in which Barlaam is a hermit and Joſaphat a king of India, is ſuppoſed to have been originally written in Greek by Johannes Damaſcenus. The Greek is no uncommon manuſcript. See MSS. LAUD. C. 72. It was from the old Latin tranſlation, which is mentioned by Vincent of Beavais, that it became a favorite in the dark ages. The Latin, which is alſo a common manuſcript, was printed ſo early as the year 1470. It has often appeared in French. A modern Latin verſion was publiſhed at Paris in 1577. The legendary hiſtorians, who believed every thing, and even Baronius, have placed Barlaam and Joſaphat in their catalogues of confeſſours. Saint Barlaam and ſaint Joſaphat occur in the METRICAL LIVES OF THE SAINTS. MSS. BODL. 72. fol. 288. b. This

hiſtory

hiſtory ſeems to have been compoſed by an oriental Chriſtian: and, in ſome manuſcripts, is ſaid to have been brought by a monk of ſaint Saba into the holy city from Ethiopia. Among the Baroccian manuſcripts there is an OFFICE in Greek for theſe two ſuppoſed ſaints. Cod. xxi.

Pag. 357. To Not. °. ADD, "Theſe are the only editions I have ſeen of Cocciae's work. De Bure ſays, the firſt edition was in 1517. See his curious catalogue of *Poetes Latins modernes facetieux, vulgairement appelles* MACARONIQUES. BIBL. INSTRUCT. Bel. Lett. tom. i. §. 6. p. 445. ſeq.

Ibid. DELE Not. ¹. And INSERT, "I believe one of the moſt popular of Arena's Macaronic poems, is his MEIGRA *Enterpriſa Catiloqui Imperatoris*, printed at Avignon in 1537. It is an ingenious paſquinade on Charles the fifth's expedition into France. The date of the Macaronic Miſcellany, in various languages, entitled, MACHARONEA VARIA, and printed in the Gothic character, without place, is not known. The authors are anonymous; and ſome of the pieces are little comedies intended for repreſentation. There is a Macaronic poem in hexameters, called POLEMO-MIDDINIA by Drummond of Hawthornden, printed with Notes, and a preface on this ſpecies of poetry, by Gibſon at Oxford, 1691. 4°.

Pag. 358. ADD to the laſt Note, "Friar Tuck is, however, mentioned in Skelton's play of MAGNIFICENCE. f. 5. b.

> Another bade ſhave halfe my berde,
> And boyes to the pylery gan me plucke,
> And wolde have made me FREER TUCKE
> To preche oute of the pylery hole.

Pag. 363. After the laſt ſentence, INSERT, "The only copy of Skelton's moral comedy of MAGNIFICENCE now remaining, printed by Raſtal, without date in a thin folio, has been moſt obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Garrick; whoſe valuable

valuable collection of old Plays is alone a complete history of our stage. The first leaf and the title are wanting. It contains sixty folio pages in the black letter, and must have taken up a very considerable time in the representation. [See p. 336. supr.] The substance of the allegory is briefly this. MAGNIFICENCE becomes a dupe to his servants and favorites, *Fansy*, *Counterfet Countenance*, *Crafty Conveyance*, *Clokyd Colusion*, *Courtly Abusion*, and *Foly*. At length he is seized and robbed by *Adversyte*, by whom he is given up as a prisoner to *Poverte*. He is next delivered to *Despare* and *Mischefe*, who offer him a knife and a halter. He snatches the knife, to end his miseries by stabbing himself; when *Good Hope* and *Redresse* appear, and persuade him to take the *rubarbe of repentance* with some *gostly gummes*, and a few *drammes* of *devocyon*. He becomes acquainted with *Circumspeccyon*, and *Perseverance*, follows their directions, and seeks for happiness in a state of penitence and contrition. There is some humour here and there in the dialogue, but the allusions are commonly low. The poet hardly ever aims at allegorical painting, but the the figure of POVERTY is thus drawn, fol. xxiii. a.

A, my bonys ake, my lymmys be sore,
A lasse I haue the cyatyca full euyll in my hyppe,
A lasse where is youth that was wont for to skyppe!
I am lowsy, and vnlykynge, and full of scurffe,
My coloure is tawny-coloured as a turffe:
I am POVERTIE that all men doth hate,
I am baytyd with doggys at euery mannys gate:
I am raggyd and rent, as ye may se,
Full few but they have envy at me.
Nowe must I this carcase lyst up,
He dyned with DELYTE, with POVERTE he must sup.

The stage-direction then is, "Hic accedat at levandum MAG-"NIFICENCE." It is not impossible, that DESPARE offering

 the

the knife and the halter, might give a diſtant hint to Spenſer. The whole piece is ſtrongly marked with Skelton's manner, and contains every ſpecies of his capricious verſification[a]. I have been prolix in deſcribing theſe two dramas, becauſe they place Skelton in a claſs in which he never has yet been viewed, that of a Dramatic poet. And although many MORALITIES were now written, yet theſe are the firſt that bear the name of their author. There is often much real comedy in theſe ethic interludes, and their exemplifications of Virtue and Vice in the abſtract, convey ſtrokes of character and pictures of life and manners. I take this opportunity of remarking, that a MORALITY-MAKER was a profeſſed occupation at Paris. Pierre Gringoire is called, according to the ſtyle of his age, *Compoſiteur, Hiſtorien et Facteur de Myſteres, ou Comedies*, in which he was alſo a performer. His principal piece, written at the command of Louis the twelfth, in conſequence of a quarrel with the pope and the ſtates of Venice, is entitled, *Le* JEU *du Prince de Sots et Mere Sotte, joue aux Halles de Paris*. It was printed at Paris in 1511. See Monſ. l'Abbè Goujet, BIBL. FRANC. tom. xi. p. 212.

Pag. 372. To Not. [v]. ADD, "The author of this Jewiſh tragedy ſeems to have belonged to that claſs of Helleniſtico-Judaic writers of Alexandria, of which was the author of the apocryphal BOOK OF WISDOM: a work originally written in Greek, perhaps in metre, full of alluſions to the Greek poets and cuſtoms, and containing many leſſons of inſtruction and conſolation peculiarly applicable to the diſtreſſes and ſituation of the Jews after their diſperſion.

Pag. 375. l. 6. ADD, "The tragedy called JULIUS CESAR, and two comedies, of Jaques Grevin, a learned phyſician, and

[a] *Counterfet Countenance* ſays, f. vi. a.

But nowe wyll I —— ——
In *baſtarde* ryme of *doggreil* gyſe
Tell you where of my name doth ryſe.

an

an eleant poet, of France, were firſt acted in the college of Beauvis at Paris, in the years 1558 and 1560. Bibl. Verdier, ut ſup. tom. ii. p. 284. La Croix du Maine, i. p. 415. ſeq.

Pa. 376. To Not. [k]. Add, "There is alſo a work attributed to Conradus Celtes, containing ſix Latin plays in imitation of Terence, under this title, "Hrosvite, illuſtris vir-"giuis et Monialis Germanæ, Opera: nempe, Comoediæ sex "in æmulationem terentii, Octo Sacræ Hiſtoriæ ver-"ſous compoſitæ, necnon Panegyricus, &c. Norinbergæ, "*ub privilegio Sodalitatis Socraticæ*, anno 1501. fol."

END OF EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS IN THE FIRST AND SECOND VOLUME.